THE JOURNAL

OF THE

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

London :

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PREFACE.

In issuing the Thirty-fifth Annual Volume of the Transactions of the British Archæological Association, at the close of the thirty-sixth year of the existence of that Society, the Editor desires to congratulate not only those Archæologists and others who form the body of the Association, but the antiquarian world at large, upon the increase of interest in those pursuits to the records of which this *Journal* is especially devoted.

Although many Societies that direct their labours into the same and kindred channels have arisen since the formation of the Association, carrying on with unceasing energy a vigorous system of critical research into the domains of the past, the Association has never found the flow of fitting materials for consideration, debate, comparison, and explanation, in the slightest way checked or diminished; for just as the increased number of Societies indicates a proportionate augmentation in the ranks of those individuals who take pleasure in contemplating the relics of bygone art and literature, so also in a similar degree have those very relics been brought to light, examined, and described, in far greater numbers than was formerly the case when Archæo-

logy was a less general study. Hence it is, that side by side with the fact that almost every County in England has its Archæological Society, with a Journal dedicated to the praiseworthy task of chronicling local archæology, the British Archæological Association has been able to secure for the consideration of its Associates and Supporters an unfailing supply of Original Papers and Articles upon the most important of Recent Discoveries, and upon Prominent Subjects of Antiquarian Debate.

The present Volume contains forty-four separate Papers upon Prehistoric, Roman, Saxon, Mediæval, and Foreign Antiquities, British and Continental History, Ecclesiastical, Military, and Domestic Architecture, Numismatics, Manners and Customs, Philology, and Palæography, numerously illustrated, as well as critical Reviews of Recent Publications of interest; and a large number of Papers are lying for future publication in the hands of the Editor, who here takes the opportunity of impressing upon all who have the well-being of the Association at heart to lose no opportunities in making known to the Secretaries the results of Local Examinations and Discoveries of importance, and, in relating their experiences, or framing their deductions, to condense their writing as much as is consistent with fair description of the objects which they seek to put on record in the pages of the *Journal*.

December 30, 1879.

1879.

British Archæological Association.

The British Archæological Association was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the

first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1844 CANTERBURY	LORD ALB. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845 WINCHESTER	
1846 GLOUCESTER	
1847 WARWICK	
1848 WORCESTER	
1849 CHESTER	
1850 MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, ESQ., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851 DERBY	SIR OSWALD MOSELEY, BT., D.C.L.
1852 NEWARK	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853 ROCHESTER	RALPH BERNAL, ESQ., M.A.
1854 CHEPSTOW	
1855 ISLE OF WIGHT	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856 BRIDGWATER AND BATH	
1857 NORWICH	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858 SALISBURY	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY
1859 NEWBURY	THE EARL OF CARNARVON
1860 SHREWSBURY	BERIAH BOTFIELD, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861 EXETER	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, BT.
1862 LEICESTER	JOHN LEE, ESQ., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863 LEEDS	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L.
1864 IPSWICH	GEORGE TOMLINE, ESQ., M.P., F.S.A.
1865 DURHAM	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866 HASTINGS	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867 LUDLOW	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, BT.
1868 CIRENCESTER	EARL BATHURST
1869 ST. ALBAN'S	LORD LYTTON
1870 HEREFORD	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNS, ESQ., M.P.
1871 WEYMOUTH	SIR W. COLES MEDLYCOTT, BT., D.C.L.
1872 WOLVERHAMPTON	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873 SHEFFIELD	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874 BRISTOL	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, ESQ., M.P.
1875 EVESHAM	THE MARQUIS OF HERTFORD
1876 BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877 LLANGOLLEN	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

Essays relating to the History and Antiquities of these several places will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. The *Journals* already published are sold at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association:

Vol. I, £2 to the Members.

The subsequent volumes, £1 : 1 to Members; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Members, £1 : 1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 15s. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10*s.* 6*d.*; to the public, 15*s.* Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1878-79 are as follow:—1878, Nov. 20, Dec. 4. 1879, January 15; Feb. 5, 19; March 5, 19; April 2, 16; May 7 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 21; June 4, 18.

Visitors will be admitted by order from members; or by signing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.[1]

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,[2]—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.

[1] The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

[2] Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.

3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.

4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen[1] Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen[2] other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday[3] in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.

3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

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[1] Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

[2] Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

[3] In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.

2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days[1] on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.

5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.

6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,[2] for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.

3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

---

[1] In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

[2] At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1878-9.

President.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—The Duke of Norfolk, E.M.; The Duke of Cleveland, K.G.; The Marquis of Hertford; The Earl of Carnarvon; The Earl of Dartmouth; The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe; The Lord Houghton, D.C.L.; Sir Chas. H. Rouse Boughton, Bart.; Sir W. C. Medlycott, Bart., D.C.L.; James Heywood, F.R.S., F.S.A.; Kirkman D. Hodgson; George Tomline, F.S.A.; Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart., M.P.

The Earl of Effingham
Sir H. W. Peek, Bart., M.P.
H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot.
John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. Franks, M.A., F.S.A.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A.
T. Morgan, F.S.A.
J. O. H. Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*
Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A.
Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A.
C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.
John Walter, M.P.

Treasurer.

Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.

Secretaries.

Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., British Museum, W.C.
E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., 37 Bedford Place, W.C.

Curator and Librarian.

George R. Wright, F.S.A., Junior Athenæum, Piccadilly, W.

Draughtsman.

G. F. Teniswood, F.S.A., Caton Lodge, Putney.

Palæographer.

E. M. Thompson.

Council.

George G. Adams, F.S.A.
George Ade
Thomas Blashill
Cecil Brent, F.S.A.
C. H. Compton
William Henry Cope
T. F. Dillon Croker, F.S.A.
R. Horman Fisher
J. W. Grover
Wentworth Huyshe
J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A.
J. W. Previté
Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A.
E. M. Thompson
Stephen I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix.*
J. Whitmore.

Auditors.

J. Romilly Allen.
George Patrick.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1879.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L. *denotes Life-Members.*

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

1865 ARMSTRONG, SIR WILLIAM, Newcastle-on-Tyne
1876 Ace, Rev. D., D.D., Laughton Rectory, near Gainsborough
1854 Adams, George G., F.S.A., 126 Sloane Street, S.W.
L. 1850 Ade, George, 161 Westbourne Terrace, W.
1857 Adlam, Wm., F.S.A., The Manor House, Chew Magna, Bristol
L. 1871 Aldam, William, Frickley Hall, Doncaster
L. 1855 Alger, John
1878 Allen, J. Romilly, A.I.C.E., 23 East Maitland Street, Edinburgh
L. 1857 Allen, W. E.
1874 Allott, Alfred, Norfolk Street, Sheffield
L. 1874 Ames, Reginald, M.A., 2 Albany Terrace, Regent's Park
L. 1857 Amherst, W. A. T., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
1869 Andrews, Charles, Farnham, Surrey
L. 1845 Arden, Joseph, F.S.A., 1 Clifford's Inn, E.C.
1877 Ashby, Thomas, Staines, Middlesex
1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1874 Atkinson, C., Crabtree Lodge, Sheffield
1853 Aubertin, Edmund

L. 1857 BATEMAN, LORD, Carlton Club
BAKER, REV. PREB. SIR TALBOT R. B., BART., Ranston, Blandford
L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, BART., *Vice-President*,* Downton Hall, Ludlow
L. 1860 BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall, Wigan
1864 BROKE-MIDDLETON, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE, BART., C.B., Shrubland Park, Ipswich
L. 1874 BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield
1878 Babington, Professor C., M.A., F.S.A., St. John's, Cambridge
1874 Bain, J. (for the Public Library of Victoria), 1 Haymarket, London

1873 Baily, Walker, 9, Champion Park, Denmark Hill, S.E.
1876 Ball, W. Edmund, LL.B., Library, Gray's Inn, W.C.
L. 1865 Barclay, J. H., Hill Court, Eden-Bridge
1877 Barrett, Henry, 12 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
1867 Barrow, Miss, 23 Frederick Street, Gray's Inn Road
1879 Barton, Rev. H. C. M., B.A., Andover
1877 Bate, Charles James, Thorncliffe, Malvern
L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Torr Grove, Plymouth
1865 Belk, Thomas, Hartlepool
L. 1859 Benyon, Richard, M.P., 17 Grosvenor Square, W.
L. 1857 Berrey, George, The Park, Nottingham
1864 Bevan, W.
1877 Bickley, Francis B., British Museum, W.C.
1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, British Museum, and 2 Grove Road, Highgate Road, N.
1877 Black, W. G., 1 Alfred Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow
1878 Blair, R., South Shields
1865 Bland, Ven. Archdeacon, Durham
1852 Blane, Rev. Henry, M.A., Folkton Rectory, Ganton, York
L. 1865 Blane, Thomas Law, 25 Dover Street, W.
1861 Blashill, Thomas, 10 Old Jewry Chambers, E.C.
1876 Bloxam, Matthew H., F.S.A., Rugby
1865 Bly, J. H., Vauxhall, Great Yarmouth
1870 Bomor, George, F.S.A., 42 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.
1876 Borlase, William Copeland, M.A., F.S.A., Laregan, Penzance
1879 Boutcher, Emanuel, 12 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.
1876 Bowyer, Rev. F. W. Atkins, M.A., Macaulay's Road, Clapham Common
1869 Boyson, Ambrose P., East Hill, Wandsworth
1877 Bradney, Joseph Alfred, Sutton Court, Hereford
L. 1874 Bragge, William, F.S.A., Shirle Hill, Hampstead Road, Birmingham
1872 Braid, Charles (care of G. E. Camer, 49 High Street, Marylebone)
1874 Bramble, Colonel James R., Sutherland House, Clifton, Bristol
1875 Branson, C. A., Page Hall, Sheffield
1870 Bravender, John, The Nursery, Cirencester
1877 Breese, Edward, F.S.A., Morva Lodge, Portmadoc, North Wales
1853 Brent, Cecil, F.S.A., 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
1877 Brent, John, F.S.A., Canterbury
1875 Brent, Francis, 19 Clarendon Place, Plymouth
L. 1875 Brinton, John, Moor House, Stourport
1861 Brock, E. P. Loftus, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 37 Bedford Place, Russell Square
L. 1874 Brooke, Thomas, F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield
L. 1871 Brown, A. M., 269 Camden Road, N.
1878 Brunt, E., Havelock Place, Hanley, Staffordshire
1856 Brushfield, T. N., M.D., Asylum, Brookwood, Woking, Surrey
1857 Bulwer, Rev. James, M.A., Hunworth Rectory, Thetford
1862 Bunbury, H. M., Marlston House, Newbury
1876 Burges, Rev. Dr. J. Hart, Rectory, Devizes
1844 Burgess, Alfred, F.S.A., 87 Harcourt Terrace, West Brompton

1876 Burgess, J. Tom, F.S.A., Worcester
1868 Burgess, William J., Shenfield House, Brentwood, Essex
1877 Buriatte, F. R. R. I. de, 5 Barton Street, W.C.
1875 Burlingham Charles, Bridge House, Evesham

1864 Cleveland, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., *Vice-President*,* Raby Castle
L. 1858 Carnarvon, Right Hon. the Earl of, *Vice-President*,* Highclere, Hants
L. 1853 Crewe, Sir John Harper, Bart., Calke Abbey, Derbyshire
1868 Carey, Sir P. Stafford, Candie, Guernsey
Cunliffe, Sir Robert, Bart., Acton Park, Wrexham
1876 Cowper, Hon. H. F., M.P., 4 St. James's Square, S.W.
1872 Campbell, C. Minton, Stoke-on-Trent
1861 Cann, William, Exeter
1853 Cape, George A., Utrecht House, Abbeywood, Kent
1864 Carmichael, C. H. E., M.A., F.R.S.L., M.A.I., F.L.A.S., New University Club, St. James's St. ; 46A Coleshill St., S.W.
1878 Catling, Captain R. C., Needham Hall, Wisbech
1863 Challis, J. H., Reform Club, S.W.
1855 Chapman, Thomas, 37 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
1876 Clagett, Mrs. Horatio, 17 Lowndes Street, S.W.
1853 Clarke, J. R., The Library, Hull
1852 Close, Thomas, F.S.A., Nottingham
1859 Cockeram, William, 50 South Street, Dorchester
L. 1878 Cocks, Reginald Thistlethwayte, 43 Charing Cross, S.W.
1869 Cokayne, Andreas Edward, Congleton, Cheshire
L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edward, F.S.A., *Lancaster Herald*, Heralds' College, Doctors' Commons, E.C.
1866 Cole, T. H., 1 Linton Terrace, Hastings
L. 1877 Coleman, F. S., Trevanger, Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
L. 1847 Colfox, Thomas, Bridport
1875 Collier, Rev. C., F.S.A., Andover
1864 Collins, William, M.D., 1 Albert Terrace, Regent's Park
1876 Compton, C. H., The Chase, Clapham Park, S.W.
1875 Cooke, James H., F.S.A., Berkeley, Gloucestershire
1877 Cooper, Basil Henry, B.A., Malvern Lodge, Dulwich Grove, East Dulwich, S.E.
1863 Cope, Arthur, 8 King's Road, Bedford Row, W.C.
1863 Cope, William Henry, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park
1878 Corry, Rev. W. Corry de B., Bengeworth, Evesham
L. 1869 Cosens, Fred. W., 27 Queen's Gate, S.W.
L. 1862 Cotton, Henry Perry, 84 Regent's Park Road, N.W.
1847 Coulthart, J. Ross, Croft House, Ashton-under-Lyne
1875 Cox, J. C., Chevin House, Belper
1876 Cramer, F. L., 36 Sutherland Place, Westbourne Park, W.
1861 Creswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Principal of the High School, Dublin
1871 Crickmay, G. R., St. Thomas Street, Weymouth
1873 Crighton, Hugh Ford
1867 Croker, T. F. Dillon, F.S.A., 9 Pelham Place, Brompton
1863 Crossley, Jas., F.S.A.

L. 1858 Culley, Frederick W. H., Bradestone, Blofield, Norwich
1844 Cuming, H. Syer, F.S.A. Scot., *Vice-President*, 63 Kennington Park Road
1872 Curteis, Rev. Thomas S., Sevenoaks, Kent
1876 Cutler, G. O., F.R.S.L., Brimgrove, Sheffield

I. 1872 Dartmouth, Right Hon. the Earl of, *Vice-President*,* Patshull, Wolverhampton
1853 Ducie, Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., 16 Portman Square; Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucester; and Sarsden, Chipping Norton, Oxon.
L. 1865 Durham, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Bishop Auckland, Durham
1858 Dillon, Lady, The Vicarage, Goole, Yorkshire
L. 1873 Davis, J. E., 5 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
1877 Davis, Rev. James, Moor Court, Kington, Herefordshire
1878 Dawson, Edward B., LL.B., Lime Cliffe, Lancaster
1872 Day, Robert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Rock View, Montenotte, Cork
L. 1874 Derham, Walter, M.A., LL.M., Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym
1871 Digby, G. Wingfield, Sherborne Castle, Dorset
1874 Dixon, H. J., Stumperlow Hall, Sheffield
1877 Dobson, Frederick, Castle Grove, Nottingham
1875 Dunning, S., 27 Parliament Street, S.W.
1847 Durdon, Henry, Blandford, Dorset
1875 Dymond, C. W., Penallt, Weston-super-Mare

1845 Effingham, Right Hon. the Earl of, *Vice-President*, Teesmore, Bicester, and 57 Eaton Place
1878 Edisbury, J. F., Belgrave House, Wrexham
1867 Edmonds, James, 67 Baker Street, Portman Square
1875 Edwards, G. W., 2 Sea Wall Villa, Sneyd Park, Bristol
1871 Ellery, R. G., Conservative Club, S.W.
1876 Ellis, Henry, British Museum, W.C.
1874 Ellison, Michael, Beech Hill, Norfolk Park, Sheffield
1878 Emery, Ven. Archdeacon, The College, Ely
1875 Emmet, Major, 51 Finchley Road, N.W.
1878 English, A. W., J.P., Wisbech
1855 Evans, John, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead

L. 1863 Forster, Right Hon. William Edward, M.P., Burley, near Otley
1854 Falconer, Thomas, Usk
L. 1863 Farrer, James, Ingleborough, Lancaster
1878 Faulder, W. Waring, Downing College, Cambridge
1873 Fawcett, Joseph, 16 St. James's Row, Sheffield
L. 1864 Ferguson, Robert, M.P., Morton, Carlisle
1877 Ferry, Edmund B., 15 Spring Gardens, S.W.
1864 Finch, Rev. Thomas, B.A., Morpeth
1872 Finch, Rev. T. R.
1874 Firth, Mark, Oakbrook House, Sheffield
1873 Fisher, W., Norton Grange, Sheffield

1857 Fitch, Robert, F.S.A., Norwich
1877 Fitzgerald, Rev. Frederick, M.A., Rectory, Brasted, Sevenoaks
1875 Franks, Augustus W., M.A., F.R.S., *Director of the Society of Antiquaries*, British Museum, W.C.
L. 1852 Fraser, Patrick Allen, Hospital Field, Arbroath, N.B.
1877 Fretton, W. G., F.S.A., 88 Little Park Street, Coventry

L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
1878 Gane, Charles, late Mayor of Wisbech
1876 Gardner, J. E., 453 West Strand; Park House, St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, Ingram Street, Glasgow
1872 Glover, F. K., The Chestnuts, Beckenham
1847 Godwin G., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 6 Cromwell Place, South Kensington
1865 Gow, Mrs. George, Shropham Vicarage, Thetford
L. 1860 Greenhalgh, Thomas, Thorneydike, Sharples, near Bolton
1863 Greenshields, J. B., Kerse, Lesmahago, Lanarkshire
1875 Griffiths, Rev. Edward, Bury St. Edmund's
1866 Grover, J. W., F.S.A., 9 Victoria Chambers, Victoria St., S.W.
1876 Grueber, Herbert Appold, British Museum, W.C.
L. 1856 Gurney, Daniel, F.S.A., North Runcton, Norfolk
L. 1857 Gurney, John Henry, Northrepps Hall, Norwich

1878 Hardwicke, The Right Hon. the Earl of, *Vice-President*, Wimpole Hall, Royston
1877 Hertford, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, *Vice-President*,* 13 Connaught Place, W.
1847 Houghton, Lord, M.A., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Fryston Hall, Ferrybridge, Yorkshire
1858 Hammond, Charles E., Newmarket
1874 Hancock, Henry, F.R.C.S., Standen, Chute Standen, Andover
1852 Hannah Robert, Craven House, Queen's Elm, Brompton
1864 Harker, John, M.D., King Street, Lancaster
L. 1861 Harrison, William, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., etc., Samlesbury Hall, near Preston, Lancashire; Carlton Club, S.W.
L. 1861 Harpley, Matthew, Royal Horse Guards Blue, Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly
1844 Hawkins, George, 28 City Road, E.C.
1872 Hellier, Major T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care of A. Laurie, Esq., 70 Jermyn Street, S.W.
1877 Henderson, William, Ashford Court, Ludlow, Salop
1870 Henfrey, Henry W., Widmore Cottage, Bromley, Kent
L. 1844 Heywood, James, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,* 26 Palace Gardens, Kensington
1862 Heywood, Samuel, 171 Stanhope Street, Hampstead Road
1858 Hibbert, Frederick D., Buckwell Manor House, Bicester, Oxon
1872 Hicklin, B., Holly House, Dorking, Surrey
1878 Hill, J. Neame, 22 Albert Road, Regent's Park
1866 Hills, Capt. Graham H., R.N., 4 Bentley Road, Prince's Park, Liverpool
1858 Hills, Gordon M., 17 Redcliffe Gardens, Brompton

1870 Hodgson, Rev. J. F., Staindrop, Durham
1876 Hodgson, Kirkman Daniel, *Vice-President*,* 67 Brook Street, W.
1869 Holford, R. J., M.P., Westonbirt, Tetbury, Gloucestershire
1872 Horman-Fisher, R., F.S.A., 13 Durham Terrace, Westbourne Park, W.
1870 Horner, W. S., 7 Aldgate
L. 1863 Horsfall Richard, Waterhouse Street, Halifax
1856 Hovendon, Thomas Henry, 181 Bishopsgate Street Without
L. 1867 Howard, John M., Q.C., 6 Pump Court, Temple, E.C.
1876 Howlett, Richard, 2 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., 96 Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol
1878 Hughes, A. R., Kinnel Park, Abergele, North Wales
L. 1860 Hughes, James, 328 Camden Road, N.
L. 1859 Hughes, Thomas, F.S.A., 1 Grove Terrace, Chester
1874 Humphrey, Miss
1866 Hunter, Edward, The Glebe, Lee, Blackheath
1874 Hunter, Michael, Greystones, near Sheffield
1876 Huyshe, Wentworth, *Auditor*, 11 Alfred Place, South Kensington

1863 Irvine, J. T., The Close, Lichfield

L. 1858 Jarvis, Sir Lewis Wincopp, Middleton Tower, near King's Lynn
1879 Jackson, E. H., Wisbech
L. 1856 Jackson, Rev. J. E., M.A., F.S.A., Leigh Delamere, Chippenham
L. 1859 Jackson, Rev. Wm., M.A., F.S.A., Pen-Wartha, Weston-super-Mare, and 7 Park Villas, St. Giles' Road East, Oxford
1875 James, J. H., 3 Grenville Street, W.C.
L. 1865 James, Rev. Thomas, F.S.A., Netherthong Vicarage, Huddersfield
1877 Jehu, Richard, 21 Cloudesley Street, Islington, N.
1877 Jeayes, I. H., British Museum, W.C.
1876 Jenner, Henry, British Museum, W.C.
1861 Jennings, Mrs., East Park Terrace, Southampton
L. 1874 Jessop, Thomas, Endcliffe Grange, Sheffield
1869 Jewitt, Llewellyn, F.S.A., The Hall, Winster, Matlock
1876 Jones, R. W., Maindee, Newport, South Wales
1865 Jones, Morris Chas., F.S.A., 20 Abercromby Square, Liverpool
1847 Jones, John, 95 Piccadilly, W.
L. 1875 Josephs, Capt. H., 16 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.

1853 Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington, Lancashire
1870 Kerslake, Thomas, 14 West Park, Bristol
L. 1857 Kerr, Mrs. Alexander
1867 Kettel, H., 6 Champion Place, Cold Harbour Lane, Camberwell
L. 18 5 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor, 12 Kronprinz Strasse, Stuttgart
1875 King, William Poole, Avonside, Clifton Down, Bristol
1874 Knight, C. J., 14 Argyll Street, W.
1869 Knight, W. H., 4 St. James's Square, Cheltenham

1877 Lampson, Lady, 80 Eaton Square, S.W.
1875 Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., M.A., St. Peter's, Newlyn, Penzance
1872 Lacey, John Turk, Quintin House, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.
1874 Lacy, C. J., Jun., 28 Belsize Park, N.W.
L. 1870 Lambert, George, 10 Coventry Street, W.
1874 Laverton, F., Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol
1867 Leach, John, High Street, Wisbech
L. 1873 Leader, J. Daniel, F.S.A., Oakburn, Broomhall Park, Sheffield
1874 Leader, R., Moor End, Sheffield
1862 Le Keux, J. H., 64 Sadler Street, Durham
1877 Lewis, Rev. G. B., M.A., Rectory, Kemsing, Sevenoaks
1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
1878 Lithgow, Dr. Douglas, F.R.S.L., Wisbech
1877 Lloyd, Miss
L. 1877 Long, Mrs. Plater, Westhope Lodge, Southwell
L. 1862 Long, Jeremiah, 50 Marine Parade, Brighton
1856 Long, William, M.A., F.S.A., West Hay, Wrington, Bristol
1877 Lord, J. Courtenay, 45 Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham
L. 1868 Louttit, S. H., Trematon House, Grove Road, Clapham
1858 Lukis, Rev. W. Collings, M.A., F.S.A., Wath Rectory, near Ripon
1847 Luxmore, Coryndon H., F.S.A., 18 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
1865 Lynam, C., Stoke-upon-Trent

1877 Mostyn, Lord, Mostyn Hall, Flintshire
L. 1876 Mount Edgcumbe, Earl of, *Vice-President*,* Mount Edgcumbe, Devonport
L. 1872 Medlicott, Sir William Coles, Bart., D.C.L., *Vice-President*,* Ven House, Sherborne, Dorset
L. 1875 Mackeson, Edward, 13 Hyde Park Square
1860 McCaul, Rev. John, LL.D., President of the University, Toronto (care of Mr. Allen, 12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
1864 Macnaghten, Steuart, Bittern Manor House, near Southampton
1877 Mainwaring, Townshend, Galtfaenan, Rhyl
1877 Mallet, General Baron de, 19 Carlton Terrace, Southampton
1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
L. 1874 Mappin, F. J., Thornbury, Ranmoor, Sheffield
1877 Margoliouth, Rev. M., D.D., Vicarage, Little Linford, Bucks
L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Headingley, Leeds
1862 Marshall, W. G., Colney Hatch
L. 1844 Marshall, William Calder, R.A., 115 Ebury Street, S.W.
1875 Martin, Critchley, Narborough Hall, Swaffham, Norfolk
1877 Martin, Theodore, C.B., 31 Onslow Square, S.W.
L. 1871 Matthew, James, 27 York Terrace, Regent's Park
1877 Maulevercr, Miss Anne, The Hall, Armagh, Ireland
1867 Mayer, J., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Pennant House, Bebington, Cheshire
1865 Mayhew, Rev. Samuel Martin, M.A., *Vice-President*, St. Paul's Vicarage, Bermondsey ; 83 New Kent Road, S.E.
L. 1870 Merriman, Mrs., Tottenham
1872 Merriman, Robert William, Marlborough

1863 Milligan, James, jun., 9 High Street, Ilfracombe, Devon
L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, Beech Hurst, Hayward's Heath
1874 Mitchell, R. W. (for Army and Navy Club, St. James' Square)
L. 1875 Money, Walter, F.S.A., Herborough House, Newbury
1878 Moore, the Rev. Edwin, M.A., Canon of Lincoln, Spalding
1870 Moore, George, M.D., Hartlepool
1873 Moore, James F., West Coker, Yeovil
L. 1847 Moore, J. Bramley, Langley Lodge, Gerard's Cross
L. 1874 Moore, Thomas, Ashdell Grove, Sheffield
1876 Morgan, Rev. Ernest K. B., St. John's, Sevenoaks
1876 Morgan, Albert C. F., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill
1845 Morgan, Thomas, F.S.A., *Vice-President, Hon. Treasurer*, Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill
1866 Mould, J. T., 1 Onslow Crescent, South Kensington
L. 1877 Mullings, John, Cirencester
1872 Mullins, J. D., Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
L. 1861 Murton, James, Silverdale, near Carnforth
1877 Myers, Walter, 21 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park

L. 1875 Norfolk, His Grace the Duke of, E.M., *Vice-President*,* Arundel Castle and St. James's Square
1875 Northwick, Lord, Northwick Park, Moreton-in-the-Marsh
L. 1875 New, Herbert, *Hon. Secretary of the Association at the Evesham Congress*, Green Hill, Evesham
1874 Newbold, John, Sharrow Bank, Sheffield
1877 Nicholls, J. F., Chief Librarian, Free Library, Bristol
1844 Norman, George Ward, Bromley, Kent

1871 Ouseley, Rev. Sir F. Gore, Bart., St. Michael's, Tenbury
1874 Ogle, Bertram, Albion Chambers, 15 Kirk Gate, Newark
1852 Oliver, Lionel, Heacham, King's Lynn
1874 Osborne, Samuel, Clyde Steel Works, Sheffield

L. 1860 Powis, The Earl of, 45 Berkeley Square
L. 1866 Peek, Sir Henry W., Bart., M.P., Wimbledon House
1859 Patrick, George, Dalham Villa, Southfields, Wandsworth
1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen, 12 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden)
1862 Pearce, Charles, 49 Wimpole Street, Cavendish Square
1878 Peckover, Algernon, Wisbech
1878 Peckover, Jonathan, F.S.A., Wisbech
L. 1851 Peile, Rev. Thomas W., D.D., 37 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.
L. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., The Barnes, Sunderland
1874 Peter, Richard, *Town Clerk*, Launceston
1852 Pettigrew, Rev. Samuel T., M.A.
1871 Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 32 Oakley Street, S.W.
I. 1844 Phillipps, James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 11 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
1879 Phillips, the Rev. G. W., Pebworth Vicarage, Stratford-on-Avon
1865 Phipson, R. M., F.S.A., Norwich

L. 1852 Pickersgill, Frederick R., R.A., Burlington House, W.
1853 Pidgeon, Charles, Reading
1851 Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 39 Fitzroy Road, Regent's Park
L. 1844 Planché, James R., *Somerset Herald*, *Vice-President*, Heralds' College, E.C.
1879 Pollard, Harry E., 13 John Street, Adelphi
1876 Poole, C. H., Pailton, Rugby
1875 Prance, Courtenay C., Hatherley Court, Cheltenham
1858 Previté, Joseph W., 13 Church Terrace, Lee
1876 Price, F. C., 86 Leighton Road, Kentish Town
1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
1873 Prigg, Henry, Bury St. Edmund's

L. 1863 Ripon, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, 1 Carlton Gardens
1878 Rochester, The Lord Bishop of, Selstead Park, Maidstone
L. 1866 Rae, John, F.S.A., 9 Mincing Lane, E.C.
1877 Rawlings, W. J., Downes, Hayle, Cornwall
1875 Raymond, W. Thomas
1870 Rayson, S., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly
1875 Reynolds, John, The Manor House, Redland, Bristol
L. 1848 Richards, Thomas, Great Queen Street, W.C.
L. 1860 Ridgway, Rev. James, B.D., F.S.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, 21 Beaumont Street, Oxford
1860 Rocke, John, Clungunford House, Aston-on-Clun, Shropshire
1877 Rodd, William Henry, Leskinnick, Penzance
L. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
1877 Roofe, W., Craven Cottage, Wandsworth, S.W.
1859 Rooke, William Foster, M.D., Belvedere House, Scarborough
1878 Roper, W., jun., Lancaster
1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, F.S.A., 16 Lockyer Street, Plymouth
1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiesteel, Galashiels, N.B.
1873 Rylands, John Paul, Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire
1873 Rylands, W. Harry, Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire

1856 Scarth, Rev. Preb. H. M., M.A., *Vice-President*, Rectory, Wrington, Bath
1878 Scrivener, A., Hanley, Staffordshire
1874 Seebohm, H., Oak Lee, Collegiate Crescent, Sheffield
1878 Sharpe, Frederic N., Wisbech
1869 Sheldon, Thomas George, Congleton, Cheshire
1877 Sheraton, Harry, 1 Highfield North, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
1851 Sherratt, Thomas, 10 Basinghall Street
1862 Shute, Arthur, 23 Drury Buildings, Water Street, Liverpool
1865 Sich, William Thrale, Chiswick
1878 Silver, Mrs., Beechcroft, Weybridge
1876 Simion, L., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford Street, Covent Garden)
1877 Sims, Richard, British Museum
L. 1874 Smith, C. Roach, F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Strood, Rochester
1844 Smith, J. R., 36 Soho Square
1878 Smith, Worthington G., 15 Mildmay Grove, N.
1876 Smith, Miss, Tudor House, Southfield, Wandsworth

L. 1865 Simpson, Rev. W. Sparrow, D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 119 Kennington Park Road
L. 1866 Spurr, Frederick James, 2 Royal Villas, Scarborough
1844 Stacye, Rev. Thomas
L. 1873 Stacye, Rev. J. Evelyn, M.A., Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield
1861 Stephenson, Geo. Robt., 24 Great George Street, Westminster
1867 Stevens, Joseph, St. Mary Bourne, Hants
1865 Stocker, Dr., Peckham House, Peckham
1878 Strickland, Edward, M.A., F.S.A., Bristol
1858 Swayne, Henry J. F., The Island, Wilton, near Salisbury

1872 Tabberer, Benjamin, 10 Coleman Street, E C.
L. 1877 Talbot, C. H., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham
1876 Taylor, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Chaplain of Gray's Inn, W.C.
1874 Taylor, John, the Museum and Library, Bristol
1876 Taylor, R. Mascie, Tynllwyn, Corwen, North Wales
L. 1871 Templer, James G., Lindridge, near Teignmouth
1877 Teniswood, Charles, B.A., Caton Lodge, Putney
1866 Teniswood, George F., F.S.A., *Draughtsman*, Caton Lodge, Upper Richmond Road, Putney
1876 Thairlwall, F. J., 169 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park
1875 Thomas, H., Bristol
1875 Thompson, E. M., *Keeper of Manuscripts*, British Museum, W.C.
1877 Thorpe, George, 21 Eastcheap, E.C.
1878 Tilden, Miss (care of S. B. Merriman, 25 Austin Friars)
1874 Tomline, George, F.S.A., *Vice-President*,* 1 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.
1877 Todd, Miss, Hough Green, Chester
1877 Tovey, Charles, 2 Royal Crescent, Bristol
1875 Trappes, T. Byrnand, Stanley House, Clitheroe
1860 Tuck, George, Post Office, Bloomsbury
1873 Tucker, S. I., *Rouge Croix Pursuivant*, Heralds' College, E.C.
1874 Tuke, William Murray, Saffron Walden, Essex
1852 Turner, John, 15A Wilton Street, S.W.

1867 Vaughan, John Lingard, Heaton Norris, Stockport
1874 Vickers, T. E., Bolsover, Pitsmoor, Sheffield
1872 Viles, Edward, Pendyre Hall, Codsall Wood, Wolverhampton
1872 Villiers, Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., F.R.S., Richmond, Surrey
1872 Vincent, Samuel, Cressy Cottage, Sutton, Surrey

1878 Westminster, The Duke of, K.G., Grosvenor House, W.
1853 Warwick, Right Hon. the Earl of, Warwick Castle
L. 1875 Winchester, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Farnham Castle, Surrey
1845 Woods, Sir Albert, F.S.A., *Garter King of Arms*, Heralds' College, E.C.
1879 Wynn, Sir W. W., Bart., M.P., Wynnstay, Ruabon
1860 Wace, Henry T., F.S.A., Shrewsbury
L. 1873 Wake, Bernard, Abbey Field, Sheffield
1874 Walker, E. L., 131 Piccadilly, W.

1872 Walker, Mrs. Severn, Severn Lodge, Malvern Wells
1878 Walker, Rev. James, 10 King's Square, E.C.
1872 Walker, Robert Percy, Ventnor Place, Tettenhall Road, Wolverhampton
1868 Wallis, Alfred, 17 Cornmarket, Derby
1859 Walter, John, M.P., *Vice-President*, 40 Upper Grosvenor Street, and Bearwood, Wokingham
1872 Ward, H., Rodbarton, Penkridge, Staffordshire
1844 Warne, Charles, F.S.A., 45 Brunswick Road, Brighton
1875 Wasborough, H. S., 7 Gloster Row, Clifton, Bristol
1877 Way, R. E., Sidney Villa, Mervyn Road, Brixton
1873 Webster, John D., 21 Church Street, Sheffield
1868 Westlake, Nathaniel Herbert J., The Goodyears, Hendon
1875 Weston, J. D., Dorset House, Clifton Down, Bristol
1866 Whitmore, John, 124 Sloane Street, S.W.
1870 Wilding, William, Montgomery
1875 Wilson, Edward, Brunswick House, Sheffield
1875 Wilson, Charles M., More Hall, Bolsterstone, near Sheffield
1874 Wilson, George, Banner Cross, Sheffield
1876 Wilson, Rev. John Edward, 39 Royal Avenue, Chelsea
1877 Winn, Rowland, M.P., Nostel Priory, near Wakefield
1877 Wise, Thomas, M.D., Thornton, Beulah Hill, Upper Norwood
L. 1863 Wood, Richard, Plumpton Hall, Bamford, near Rochdale
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1879.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF HARDWICKE,

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

DELIVERED AT WISBECH, MONDAY, AUGUST 19, 1878.

The President, on taking the chair, was most cordially greeted. He said he could but return his best thanks on behalf of the Association over which he had the honour to preside, as well as on behalf of himself personally, for the honour which the people of Wisbech had done them, and for the reception which had been so cordially shown. He could frankly state that he was filled with some feelings of trepidation when he assumed to become their President, for which office he felt entirely unfitted; but from the kind and pressing invitation which he received from friends of his own in that locality, he felt that he should not be doing that which every English gentleman by ties of friendship was bound to do, if he refused to assist the people of Wisbech in giving to the Association a most hearty reception. His position was a most difficult one, because he had never turned his mind to those researches of antiquity which it was the object of that Society to investigate. He felt, however, that the members would treat him liberally and with kindness, because it was by their own personal will and pleasure that he had assumed the office of President. In looking over the annals of their Association he found that it had been customary, in years gone by, to appoint gentlemen of local interest—he would not say of local influence—to occupy the chair at their annual meetings, and this had somewhat induced himself to become their President on the

present occasion. Having prefaced his remarks with these explanations he would endeavour to deal, as best he could, with the object for which the Association was paying its visit to Wisbech, and for which they were likely to pass some days in the district.

When he first heard that the Association was going to visit this part of England, it struck him that they had not well considered the locality. For his own part, acquainted as he was with the fens of Cambridgeshire, he had never looked upon the district as one which was likely to supply much archæological research, or one which would give to the followers of antiquity much exercise for furthering their pursuits. When, however, he thoroughly looked into the subject, he thought that after all the Association was right in choosing this part of the country; and notwithstanding that its history had already been ransacked, yet there was much which would repay the members for their investigations and studies. The fens of Cambridgeshire to-day, as must be apparent to those who had passed through, and were resident in them, were one of the most important parts of our country. That bounteous supply which was now being given to man as the production of the soil of the fens, had been brought about by science and civilisation and industry of those who had lived in ages gone by. When they considered what that country was, and that the four hundred thousand acres of land upon which they gazed had all been reclaimed from a mere bog which was one of the wildest districts that it was possible to conceive, they would understand that the industries of men must have been developed to an extraordinary degree, and that there must have been something in the minds of those who had done so much in cultivating the fens of Cambridgeshire. Those men evidently thought that if they could rake up small patches of ground, it might be the means of providing nourishment for themselves and their families. They found that the soil was capable of bringing forth fruit; and as time went on, this district, which had been described by historians as being prolific in birds and fishes, and as abounding with nothing that was likely to sustain and assist the wants of man, had become converted into one of the most valuable agricultural districts of England.

It was difficult, in tracing over the annals of history, to

find any record as to the period when this country was in the first instance converted into dry land; but they knew perfectly well that the fens of Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire, had been covered with water for thousands of years, and having been reclaimed, they had now been placed under excellent cultivation. In looking over books respecting the fens, he had found in one that was always prominent in men's minds, Sir William Dugdale's, a description of the country as it lay drowned, and which gave to the reader some idea of the condition of the district as described by the early writers. It was easier to get from place to place by water than by land; and that state of things continued, doubtless, for thousands of years. He said thousands of years advisedly; and while he trusted the reverend gentlemen would not think that he was saying anything in antagonism to their teaching, he would remind them that the chronological dates of the Bible had been fixed for the understanding of man; and in considering how small that understanding was, they would see that those dates were not to be taken as actual facts, so much as dates given within the narrow compass of one's understanding. There was not the slightest doubt that the fens of Cambridgeshire existed millions of years before the time of which they could have any conception. Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses*, says:

> "I saw where once was solid earth made sea,
> And dry land there where waters used to be."

This they could say in looking at that country; and it was a fact which must strike them very forcibly, that industry had worked such a marvellous change as that which had given them the charming country which the British Archæological Association had chosen to visit.

So much for the prehistoric period of the fens. The next period that they had to deal with was those times when history came to their aid. In the times of the early Britons the fenmen lived, for the most part, on the patches of land, raised above the water, which they could cultivate, and thereby provide food for themselves and their families. Until the time of the Romans little or nothing was known of the history of the fens. When the Romans came to England they spread a network of civilisation over the face of the country. Among the counties in which they settled, the

records left showed that Cambridgeshire must be one of the number; and there was no testimony more striking, with regard to the industry and civilisation of the Romans, than the construction of the roads which they made throughout England. In Cambridgeshire there certainly were formed roads which pertained to the Roman period. There was the Roman road known as Ikeneld or Icknield Street, which crossed the county from Newmarket to Royston; then there was Ermine Street, which entered the county at Royston, through a part of his estate, and went on to Huntingdon; the Via Devana, which connected the colonies of Camulodunum (Colchester) and Deva (Chester), entering the county at Withersfield, near Haverhill, in Suffolk, and so to Cambridge and Godmanchester. Another road crossed the Fens from Downham (Norfolk) to Whittlesey and Peterborough, a branch of which came by Elm and Wisbech into Lincolnshire. That road would be examined by members of the Society; and there were also other Roman remains near Wisbech, which were in the programme for the day.

In addition to the roads there were several Roman camps, comprising Vandalbury, or Gogmagog Hill; Wellingham, on the edge of the Fen; and the earthworks round Bourn and Camps Castle are probably of British origin. Vandalbury, which seems to have derived its name from some Roman remains found there, appears to have been occupied by the Romans, and Wellingham was occupied and strengthened by William the Conqueror when he besieged the Isle of Ely. They knew perfectly well that antiquities, ascertained to be Roman, had been dug from the earth certainly more than two hundred and fifty years ago; and he believed Mr. Wright had intended to examine, by excavation, one of the barrows or tumuli, which were supposed to have been the remains of the Roman period. He was, however, disappointed, the excavation having taken place before this; but he understood that the results were of a very limited character.

The Roman knowledge of draining was quite equal to the other works they took in hand, and the manner in which they proceeded was probably based on sounder principles than were followed subsequently. They accepted the natural rivers as arterial drains, and led subsidiary ones into them. This was what the great drainers did not do; but

the natural was made subservient to the artificial, and hence those disasters which every one who held property in those districts had experienced, because it touched their pockets, and showed unmistakably that if the example of the Romans had been followed, much of that expenditure need not have taken place. Mr. Rennie, the greatest engineer of his day, who took in hand the drainage of the fens, reverted to the system laid down by the Romans.

This great level of the fens continued, more or less, in a state of waste until in 1588 Needham Fen was drained by the landowners. In 1600 an Act of Parliament was passed for the general drainage of the fens, though but little was effected. In the reign of James I, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice, and others, undertook to drain the fens, and were to have for their share 130,000 acres of waste lands. Seven years were allowed for the work, which was commenced in 1605 by making a drain still called Popham's Eau. No great progress was made, and in 1618 Sir William Ayloffe and coadjutors entered into an agreement, by sanction of the Privy Council, to drain all the lands in the Great Level on the terms of having a beneficial lease of the King's and Prince's lands, two-thirds of such of the other lands as were drowned the whole year, and one half of those which were drowned half the year. This was much opposed in the country, and carried on with little effect. In 1621 the King declared himself the principal undertaker; but from pressure of other affairs no progress was made. In 1630 Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, a Dutchman, agreed to undertake this work on condition of having 95,000 acres of the recovered land. Prejudice against him as a foreigner existed, and the landowners rejected his offer. The Earl of Bedford was requested to undertake it on the same terms. He acceded to the request, and the agreement was ratified and confirmed at the Session of Sewers at Lynn in 1631, receiving the name of "Lynn Law." This instrument is the foundation of the law by which the Bedford Level Corporation was formed. Associated with the Earl of Bedford were the Earl of Bolingbroke, Mr. Anthony Hamond (a predecessor of the family of that name residing in the neighbourhood), and others. In 1635 the charter was granted by the King, and three years afterwards the work was done; but in 1639, at a Session of Sewers held at Huntingdon, the

whole proceedings were annulled, the drainage being judged to be defective and incomplete. The cost was supposed to have been £100,000. Quarrels occurred, and the result was that the works went to decay. Things remained so till 1649, when an Act was passed declaring all proceedings at Huntingdon null and void, and the whole management of draining the Level on the plan of the Lynn Law was committed to the care of William Earl of Bedford, son and heir of Francis, who died in 1641. In 1666 an Act was passed confirming the aforesaid Act, called the Pretended Act. Taxes were laid on 95,000 acres, for maintaining the works of the Level, 12,000 were allotted to the crown, and the remaining 83,000 acres were vested in the Bedford Level Corporation. So that 200,000 acres of the Great Level were drained by the talent and energy of that body of gentlemen.

This was, as briefly as he could give it, the history of the soil on which they were ; and after having given this topographical sketch of the country, the question naturally arose in one's mind, how it was that, scattered over the face of it, they had those beautiful sacred edifices which were the chief attraction of the Fens. Certainly, if the Fens could not boast of those beauties which nature lavishes upon many parts of the country, they could boast of having such churches as were rarely found—if, indeed, they were to be found—in any part of the kingdom. The fact was, that in that waste and dreary land holy men came to lay down their lives, and sacrifice their energies, to perform deeds which they believed to be of advantage in the future life, and they lived here in the Fens of Cambridgeshire furnishing the inhabitants with the religious knowledge, the moral support, and the social intercourse, which were the only communication they had with the outer world.

At the time that the Roman Empire was in its decadence and a new religion was spreading in the Eastern part of the world, there came to this county, connected with the tribe of the Girvii, Etheldreda, who married first Tonbert, and received the Isle of Ely as her dower. After his death she married Egfred, King of Northumberland, but subsequently took the veil at Coldingham Abbey, and afterwards retired to this desolate waste, to end her days in a monastery she founded upon the same ground on which that sacred edifice the cathedral at Ely at present stands. He could conceive

of no more touching thought to rest upon the minds of fenmen than the devotion of this lady to the poor residents around her, who laid the foundation, if not actually in concrete and stone, yet by the holiness of her life, of that stately edifice, which would be an enduring and lasting monument that would ever be a testimony to the glory and honour of God. That spirit of righteous work and self-sacrifice bore its impress on all parts of the district. The Abbey of Croyland, the Abbey of Thorney, and the Abbey of Ramsey were raised about the same time. The Abbey of Croyland, for instance, if legendary lore holds good, was the work of St. Guthlac, who turned from a soldier to a priest. After having distinguished himself in war, he devoted himself to his God. That celebrated Abbey was founded as a monastery in about 705, in the time of Cerdic, King of Mercia. St. Guthlac first came to Croyland on St. Bartholomew's Day, and built himself a hut. He soon gained fame for his sanctity, and drew around him a number of disciples. Ethelbald, who was for some time kept out of his inheritance, when he came to the throne in 736, founded a monastery as an offering of thanksgiving for the counsel that had been given him by the saintly Guthlac. In the Danish ravages that swept over the face of this country from about 800 to the time of the Norman Conquest, this Abbey was destroyed. It had been built in 1061 by Abbot Wulfketul, and again more beautifully by Abbot Toffrid in 1114. There are few remnants of the departed grandeur, for it was all destroyed, except the north aisle of the nave, with a western tower and some portion of the nave walls. William of Malmesbury, one of the few historians in early times, describes Thorney as a place of great natural beauty, and speaks with rapture of its trees, apple orchards, and vineyards, the place being called Thorn-ey, because of the thickness of the hedges.

Ely Cathedral was in itself a history, but he was not going to venture on a dissertation upon its architecture or varied beauty. They would visit the cathedral during the week, and it would afford them, he had not any doubt, the pleasantest hours of recreation during their visit. It was built probably just previously to the Conquest, and he did not doubt that those who were most conversant with the cathedral would tell them that there actually remained a

small portion of the ancient monastery founded by Etheldreda. The magnificent pile was finished about 1400, the first bishop being Hervey, Bishop of Bangor, in 1109.

At the time of the Norman Conquest they all knew that this isle was one of those places which strongly resisted the power of the Norman invasion. One indigenous to the soil of the fen, Hereward the Wake, son of Leofric, defended the isle for seven years against the forces that were brought by William the Conqueror to invade it; and of all the undertakings of William in founding his dynasty in England, probably the hardest task to perform was that of taking the Isle of Ely. The courage of its inhabitants was undoubted, and the solidity of its people had even up to the present generation been worthy of remark. It was with some feelings of pride they remembered that the fenmen of old were dauntless and brave. Wisbech itself was probably the scene of constant fighting. William the Conqueror built a fort at Wisbech, and, from the easy communication with the sea, it was probably held as a kingly fortress for a considerable time. He believed there was no remnant of that fort existing at Wisbech. The isle suffered much during the civil wars of Stephen, and, from its topographical position, it was very much like the famous cave of Adullam, which was the receptacle of those men who could not be very comfortable elsewhere. Whenever rebellion occurred in England in early times the isle was the refuge of such men, as well as the shelter of many dauntless fen heroes. Nigel was Bishop of Ely when war broke out, and he had to fly from the isle, which was taken by Stephen. Nigel afterwards returned to his bishopric. In the civil war between John and the barons the isle was twice ravaged by the king's troops, and in the troublous times that closed the reign of Henry III it was once more the scene of warfare and rapine. It was taken by the barons, who committed great destruction in the county, and afterwards retaken by Edward I in 1266. From that time until the civil war between the parliament and the king, the isle passed the time in tranquillity; and it was then that the inhabitants became more numerous, and devoted their powers to the more profitable employment of agriculture, and the isle became by degrees, as population continued to increase, what they might call the garden of the agricultural provinces of England.

Among the churches the Archæological Association would visit there were three, in looking over that charming work published by Mr. Leach of Wisbech, named the *Fen and Marshland Churches*, upon which considerable stress were laid—those of Walsoken, West Walton, and Walpole. These three churches represented various styles of architecture, which had prevailed since the Norman Conquest. The Norman was represented in the nave and chancel of Walsoken, the Early English in the nave, chancel, tower, porch, doorways, etc., of West Walton; the Decorated in the aisles of Walton and Walsoken and the tower of Walpole; the Perpendicular in the church of Walpole St Peter, and in various later alterations of other churches. The church at Wisbech, which they would visit that afternoon, and which the worthy Canon the Rector would, he doubted not have great pleasure in showing to them, was a church of considerable beauty, and was said to be one of the oddest built churches that were to be met with. So that in looking over those interesting churches they would find they were in the midst of the most beautiful sacred edifices that England could produce.

Of manorial buildings this part of Cambridgeshire could not boast, but they would pay visits to country seats outside the borders of the Isle of Ely. Among them would be Sandringham, the country residence of the Prince of Wales; and it might be gratifying to the members of the Archæological Association to know that it was with the greatest cordiality that His Royal Highness complied with the request made by himself that the members of the Association should visit Sandringham. They would also visit Castle Rising, Castleacre, and other places of interest in the neighbourhood of Lynn and Swaffham. They were to visit Stamford, and probably, if they had time, that which he always regarded as one of the most beautiful of our English country houses—Burghley House. It would be a pity to miss seeing a building possessing so great archæological interest, probably greater than any other country place in England. It had produced some of the greatest statesmen who had been connected with the government of the country. They would remember it was founded by William Cecil, first Lord Burghley, the great minister of Queen Elizabeth, who flourished for forty years, and was succeeded—

an unexampled instance—by his son, who guided the counsels of State with so much discretion that they could understand how the present holder of the title of Salisbury had been able to assist in guiding this country through a most difficult crisis.

Before he concluded he would like to say a few words on what seemed to be natural thoughts with regard to the Archæological Association. Not every one in that room was an archæologist, but those who were and those who were not, if they would consider the meaning of the word archæology, would all appreciate the endeavour of any body of people to make such investigation into the history of buildings or monuments of this country as would elicit information and accumulate knowledge. Archæology was so connected with history that it might be said, although a cant phrase perhaps, used by almost every president who had taken the chair, to be the handmaid of history. He would go so far as to say that it was the twin sister of history. Schlegel, in his *History of Philosophy*, says that history must be supported by facts and depends entirely on reality; and if they took those words and their meaning they would at once perceive the immense advantage to historical knowledge of the researches made by the antiquarian. They had come to this part of England to enjoy, as it were, each other's society, and to give pleasure to those who were indigenous to the soil. In their visit they would pick up stray leaves and stray bits of learning, that they might mould them in their minds hereafter, and fit them, as it were, each piece into a complete pavement of research and knowledge. That, he believed, was the employment of the true archæologist. Ignorant as he felt himself as to that branch of science pertaining to antiquity, he had always felt that there was no more admirable principle to inculcate in the mind than that of respect for old age, and he could conceive of no period of this civilised age when it would be more advantageous to themselves and that community with whom they lived to be able to read, learn, and inwardly digest, to strive to put before the minds of earnest inquirers, and to raise their minds to, those studies which would give happiness and instruction during their life, and make them respected by their fellow creatures hereafter.

FEN TUMULI.

BY JONATHAN PECKOVER, ESQ.

Amongst the relics of antiquity remaining in the Fens, few have caused more discussion or been more fruitful in differences of opinion than the mounds generally called tumuli. Some have considered them to be beacon hills, others have classed them as sacrificial mounds, as sepulchral monuments, or as places of refuge from the floods, while another idea has been that they are more recent erections for windmills or pleasure mounds. As, however, their existence has been certified by Dugdale two hundred years since, when their origin was as much a mystery as now, the two latter suggestions do not appear probable, although the use of ancient embankments as the site of windmills is not unfrequent. Two good examples are to be seen on the Lynn road, erected on the remains of the old sea bank. One of them is the fine mill called the Eight Sail Mill. The earliest mention I have discovered of a tumulus in the Fens is in the life of Guthlac, about 700 A.D, who, we are told, found, on arriving at Crowland, a green mound that had been opened by treasure seekers.

Another mound, close to the Smeeth Road Station, between Lynn and Wisbech, has also a traditional interest. It is called the giant's grave, and the inhabitants relate that there lie the remains of the giant slain by Hickathrift, with the cart wheel and axletree. The mound has not been examined. It lies in the corner of the field, with a slight depression round it, and has now only an elevation of a few feet. A cross was erected upon it, and is to be seen in the neighbouring churchyard of Terrington St. John's, bearing the singular name of "Hickathrift's candlestick". The majority, however, of the Fen tumuli are in the neighbourhood of the Roman bank. Messrs. Miller and Skertchley, in their recent work on the Fenland, give a list of twenty-five in the district, twenty of which are within two miles of the ancient sea bank. They infer accordingly with some probability that those who made the sea walls made the tumuli. Only one mound is mentioned by them in Walsoken, but

there is a second not far from the chapel of ease in New Walsoken, standing in the midst of the now deserted channel of the Ouse. This has never been examined carefully, and may have stood there in early times, as a guard to the entrance of the river, or be of more recent construction. Speaking of Marshland, Stukeley says that "their churches are very beautiful, and here are, too, many such of the tumuli." Stukeley also mentions a mound at Elm, near which some Roman coins were found in 1713 of the later empire. The people had strange notions about it, affirming they frequently saw a light upon it in dark winter nights. It was probably situated in the field at the back of the girls' school, where there are still the remains of earthworks.

In 1757 several human skeletons were found, with the arms of a British warrior, an iron sword, spear, and umbo of a shield, etc., in a kind of tumulus, between Chatteris Ferry and Somersham. Between Chatteris and Ely also are three in a triangular form, as stated by Watson in his *History of Wisbech*. Sir William Dugdale, the author of the *History of Embanking*, in writing to Sir Wm. Brown, relates that while journeying through Marshland (about the middle of the seventeenth century), "he had come across several mounds, which he hoped would be explored, to ascertain what historic evidences they contain." Two hundred years elapsed, and it was not till 1865 that any antiquarian exploration was made, when the Rev. John Davies, the then rector of Walsoken, superintended the opening of a mound situated to the north of the parish church, and by the road side. He informs us that, 2 ft. from the summit, sheep bones were found, and several pieces of wood imperfectly charred; 4 ft. lower other bones, and a piece of metal, described by Mr. Davies as the iron handle of a sword, were exhumed. No human remains were discovered. I believe Mr. Davies was inclined to consider the mound to have been used for sacrificial purposes, as the western side was much more sloped than the eastern. The relics found in the operations are deposited in the Wisbech Museum.

No further search was made into the interior of the tumuli, until it was suggested by the Rev. Frederick Jackson of Parson Drove, that the coming of the Congress to Wisbech

offered a specially favourable opportunity for further exploration, and a committee was formed to examine the Leverington mounds. Their report gives the more minute details of the work; and although they failed to discover anything which would certainly explain the original purpose of the tumuli, some light has been thrown on the subject. In neither mound have human remains been identified, nor any very ancient pottery, although fragments of vessels, glazed and unglazed, were not unfrequent. Mr. Sharpe's mound, called "the rabbit hill", is 101 ft. in diameter and 20 ft. high, that in Mr. Webster's field is 110 ft. in diameter and 10 ft. high. The older inhabitants have a belief that the former is sepulchral, and that ghosts haunt it, and the more superstitious dread to pass it at night. It has been constructed carefully, with alternate layers of silt and clay, stiffened with water, and the foundation was found 4 ft. below the present surface of the land, standing on a bed of sandy silt 1 ft. deep. This rested on a thin bed of blue clay 1 ft. 4 in. in thickness. At the edge of the mound the same stratum was reached without the superincumbent silt, at a depth of 4 ft. from the land level. In both cases the foundation stood on the bare surface, without trace of herbage. In the centre the "made earth" was distinctly visible, resting on the water-formed beach.

The same was found to be the case in Mr. Webster's mound, but there the foundation in the centre was reached 1 ft. below the present land level, resting on sandy silt of uneven surface, 4 or 5 ins. deep, beneath which was the layer of blue clay, 1 ft. 4 ins. thick. This layer was found on the south-west side in the field, at the depth of 2 ft. 7 ins., and on the east side, at the edge, at the depth of 5 ft. 6 ins. From this we may gather that a natural rise was chosen for the site of the mound, and that it was erected on unenclosed land, washed by the tides. The pottery and bones found in both these tumuli are deposited in the Wisbech Museum, but the difficulties of coming to a conclusion as to the date of erection are much increased by the numerous rabbit burrows running deep into their interior, many fragments of quite modern china having been found introduced by this means.

An elevation in Tyd St. Giles parish, in Carrow Field, not far from the site of Dunton Hall, was levelled by the tenant

this spring, and a curious specimen of pottery in good preservation exhumed. It is in the shape of a jug; round the neck are rude frog-like ornaments, and the body of the vessel has a pattern like fishes' scales. This singular relic has been lent to the museum during the sittings of the Congress for their inspection. These mounds are not unfrequently in pairs. There are two at Walpole and Fishtoft, and there were two at Fleet in a like position. One of the latter has been demolished, but it bore a considerable resemblance in shape to Mr. Sharpe's mound, while the remaining one, now overgrown with trees, has a similar form to Mr. Webster's. It is very probable that there was a tumulus in Wisbech itself, as an open space on the North Brink is still called the "Low".

These few notes of our present knowledge of the mysterious Fen tumuli are offered with the hope that they will aid towards the elucidation of the interesting problem of when, why, and by whom they were erected. It will be seen that all these tumuli are not of one class, and I would venture, in concluding, to arrange them as follows:—Firstly, burial mounds, such as that described near Chatteris and possibly the Crowland Hill. Secondly, mounds with crosses, as the giant's grave in the Smeeth, and possibly the Low at Wisbech; the white cross, the shaft of which is still preserved in Bank House garden, having been erected on its site. And lastly, the mounds connected with the Roman banks, whose use is at present undetermined, but whose date cannot be later than that work, as the excavations have proved that they were built on an unenclosed beach.

THE PREHISTORIC ROCK-SCULPTURES OF ILKLEY.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, A.I.C.E.

THE following paper is devoted to the description of a most interesting and comparatively unknown series of prehistoric rock-sculptures existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Ilkley in Yorkshire. These rude carvings belong to a class which has long puzzled the brains of archæologists, and are commonly known as "cup and ring markings". Their general appearance will be rendered clear by reference to the accompanying drawings, from which it will be seen that the patterns consist of cup-shaped hollows, either arranged in constellation-like groups by themselves, or surrounded by concentric rings, and connected by grooves running in various directions. The chief types are as follow, viz.,—1, cup-shaped depressions alone; 2, cups surrounded by a single ring, sometimes incomplete; 3, cups surrounded by several complete concentric rings varying in number from two to eight; 4, cups surrounded by several concentric rings, but intersected by one or more radial grooves; 5, spirals; 6, concentric rings without central cup.

Before proceeding to a detailed description of the Ilkley stones, it may be well to take a brief survey of the labours of previous investigators in this branch of research. Mr. Langlands, of Old Bewick in Northumberland, discovered cup and ring-markings on the rocks in his own neighbourhood as far back as the year 1825.[1] Shortly after, in 1830, Mr. Archibald Currie noticed analogous rock ring-cuttings at Carnban in Scotland.[2] Sir Gardner Wilkinson in 1835 detected ring-marks on the monolith known as "Long Meg", one of the outliers of the Salkeld circle in Cumberland.[3] Little more notice was taken of the matter until 1851, when Canon Greenwell found cup and ring-marks on the rocks at Rowtin Lynn, near Ford, in Northumberland. Since then, owing to the increasing interest taken in prehistoric re-

[1] See Professor J. Y. Simpson on Cup-Marking, p. 49, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. vi, Appendix.

[2] Ditto, ditto, p. 54.

[3] See *Journal* of this Association, xvi, p. 118.

search of late years, these remarkable sculptures have received considerable attention, without, however, by any means exhausting the field of inquiry, in which new discoveries are being made continually. The late Professor J. Y. Simpson has written an able and well illustrated treatise on the cup and ring-markings of Scotland, which appeared as the Appendix to the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1867. The Very Rev. Charles Graves and the Rev. James Graves have been most indefatigable in their investigations of the Irish stones. The former published an important communication on the subject in vol. xxiv of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* ("Antiquities", p. 421), in which he says: "My attention was first directed to them by the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock in the year 1848. It was not, however, until the year 1851 that I saw any of these monuments myself." This paper was thought of sufficient interest to be reproduced last year in the *Journal* of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, in which publication several other notices of cup and ring-markings have lately appeared, notably the papers by Mr. W. F. Wakeman.[1] The sculptured rocks of Northumberland are well described and illustrated by Mr. Tate in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club for* 1865. Dr. Collingwood Bruce has collected a magnificent series of drawings of these rocks for the Duke of Northumberland. Examples of cup-marking have also been found in the Isle of Man and in Guernsey.

It appears, therefore, that cup and ring-carving is to be found all over Great Britain, the following being the chief localities :—

England.—Northumberland: Rowtin Lynn, Chatton Law, Old Berwick, etc.

Yorkshire : Robin Hood's Bay, Ilkley.

Cumberland : Salkeld.

Lancashire : Calder Stone near Liverpool.

Wales.—Caernarvonshire : Clynnog Fawr.

Ireland.—Co. Fermanagh : Tempo, Killibeg, Aughaglack, etc.

Co. Dublin : Rathmichael, Tullagh Croag.

Co. Kerry : Staigue Bridge, Ballynasave, Aghacarrible, Gowlane, etc.

[1] See vol. iii, 4th Series, p. 445 ; also vol. iv, 4th Series, pp. 95 and 283.

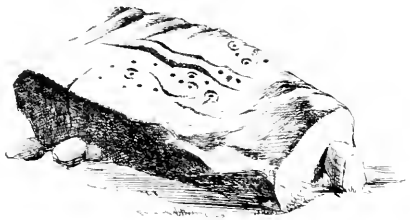
ROCK CARVINGS ILKLEY.

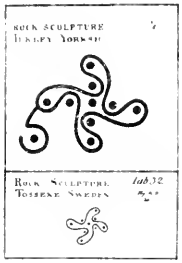
Stones
discovered by Mr
June 1st 1849

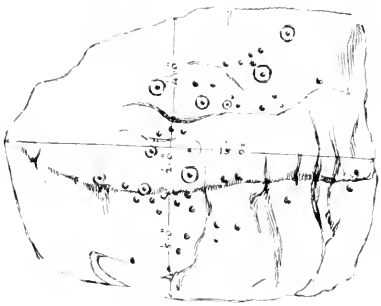
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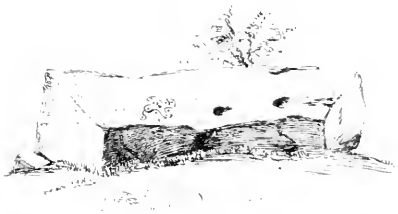


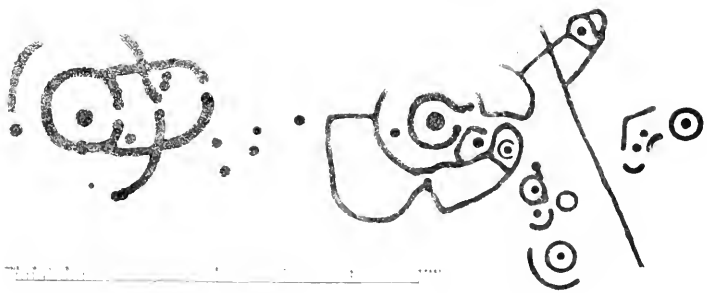
Sculptured Stone near the Cow and Calf Rocks Ilkley













Scotland.—Argyleshire : Auchnabreach, Ballymenach.
Banffshire : Rothiemay.
Perthshire : Cargill.
Isle of Man.—Oatland Circle.

Sculptures analogous to those found in Great Britain occur in other countries, but whether they are all attributable to a common origin is in many cases very doubtful. Cup and ring marks have been discovered on the rocks and boulders of Sweden, associated with representations of men, animals, boats, sledges, etc., and one most unusual device hereafter described (see page 21) is identical with a rock carving near Ilkley, Yorkshire. For further information consult *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*, by Axel. Ern. Holmberg, Stockholm, 1848, where these sculptures are well illustrated. To India, a country rich in cromlechs, megalithic circles, and menhirs, it seems natural to look for examples of cup and ring sculpture, and investigation in this direction has not been unrewarded. Mr. Rivett-Carnac of the Indian Civil Service, has written a short but able description of his discoveries of cup and ring marks on rocks in the Kamáon Hills.[1] These marks are believed by Mr. Rivett-Carnac to be symbols of "Linga" worship, and he says that their meaning is familiar to the inhabitants, who chalk the signs on stones when marching in wedding processions. Anyone wishing to examine further into the probability of the truth of the "Linga" theory is advised to study carefully the objects connected with the worship of Siva, in the Indian Museum. Cup and ring marks have been found in the United States of America.[2]

Having now concluded the review of the subject generally, the rest of the paper is devoted to a detailed description of the examples of prehistoric sculpture on rocks near Ilkley, in Yorkshire, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Dr. Call, who was, I believe, the first discoverer of these remains, and without whose kind assistance I should not have been able to prosecute the inquiries, the result of which I have now the pleasure of bringing to your notice. My best thanks are also due to Mr. F. W. Fison.

The town of Ilkley occupies the site of the Roman station

[1] See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlvi, Part I. 1877.
[2] See *Journal Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. xi, p. 266.

of Olicana, on the banks of the river Wharfe. Behind the town to the southward the land rises abruptly towards Rumbold's Moor, a wild waste of rock and heather, the highest point of which is 1,322 ft. above the sea. At the foot of the moor, and overhanging the valley of the Wharfe, a rugged line of cliffs protrudes, extending four or five miles in a direction which lies almost due east and west. It is along this edge of the moor that most of the sculptured rocks are situated, at heights varying from 800 to 1,000 ft. above sea level. The views obtained from all points over Wharfedale are exceedingly grand, and this fact should not be lost sight of in studying remains that may have been connected with religious observances, of which Nature worship formed a part. Few, if any, sculptured stones have been discovered on the higher parts of the moor, and this may either be due to the greater inaccessibility of the more elevated points, or to the fact that the strata lie horizontally, and that the top beds are both softer and more exposed to weather, in consequence of which the marks may have disappeared. The best specimens of cup and ring carving have been found on stones previously covered with turf, and thus preserved from the disintegrating effects of climate. The geological formation of the district is millstone grit, cropping up from the surrounding heath in huge rocks, blackened by age, and assuming all kinds of strange weird shapes, which, when seen from a distance through the mist so common on these wild moors, are well calculated to inspire the superstitious with awe, even in the prosaic nineteenth century. Some of the names of the rocks are remarkable, and deserve notice; for instance, the Noon Stone, the Sepulchre Stone, the Doublers, etc.

It would be impossible within the limited time at my disposal to give a full description of all the cup and ring sculptures of the district. A few of the most important are therefore selected as typical of the rest.

Sculptured Stones near Cow and Calf Rocks.—The Cow and Calf Rocks are situated one mile south-east of Ilkley Railway Station, and consist of two huge boulders of grit stone, which have fallen from the cliffs above. The crags from which these masses have been detached are known by the name of hanging stones, and at their eastern extremity is a large quarry. Between this quarry and the overhang-

ing edge of the cliff a portion of the horizontal surface of the rock was some years ago bared of turf, thereby disclosing the group of cup and ring sculptures shown on the accompanying drawing. It will be seen that the design consists of twenty-five cups of various sizes, from 1 to 3 inches in diameter. Seven of the cups are surrounded by incomplete rings, many of them being connected by an irregular arrangement of grooves. The pattern and execution are of such a rude nature as almost to suggest the idea of the whole having been left in an unfinished state. The sides of the grooves are not by any means smooth, and would seem to have been produced by a process of vertical punching, rather than by means of a tool held sideways. The hardness of the rock is attested to by the remains of glacial striations, which are still visible, running in a direction almost due east and west. The rock is at an elevation of 800 ft. above the sea level, commanding an extensive prospect of hill and dale. A cast of the sculptures has been taken, and is now deposited in the museum at Leeds. A quarter of a mile higher up the moor, in a south direction from the Cow and Calf Rocks, near the Pancake ridge, is a large detached mass of grit stone, covered with cup and ring marks. The block measures 15 ft. long by 11 ft. 6 ins. broad, by 5 ft. 6 ins. high, and has a central ridge running the whole length of the stone, with sloping surfaces on each side, on which are cut between forty and fifty cups. Nine at least of the cups are surrounded by single concentric rings, but there are no connecting grooves. To the south of this stone, at the foot of Green Crag, is an ancient enclosure (marked on the Ordnance Map). The walls are of loose stones, and are only just visible above the heather. There are no traces of hut circles within.

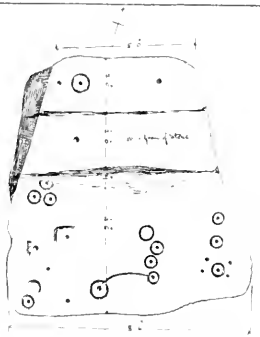
Sculptured Stone near Ilkley Baths.—On a ridge of ground lying between two streams, about a furlong to the south-west of Ilkley baths, is an isolated block of grit stone, with cup and ring sculpture. The stone measures 7 ft. 6 ins. long by 6 ft. broad, by 2 ft. high. The upper surface is flat, and is slightly inclined to the horizon. On it are carved thirteen cups, six of which are surrounded by rings. In the centre are two grooves crossing at right angles. This stone is 700 ft. above sea level.

Sculptured Stone near Grainings Head.—This stone

lies one and a quarter miles south of Ilkley, above Barmishaw Hole, at a level of 1,100 ft. above the sea, and is not far from Graining's Head. It is a block of gritstone 12 ft. long by 7 ft. 6 ins. broad, by 4 ft. high. The largest face slopes at an angle of about 40° to the horizon, and on it are carved nearly fifty cups, sixteen of which are surrounded with single concentric rings. At the west end of the stone are a group, three cups with double rings and radial grooves. At the other end, near the top, is a curious pattern formed of double grooves, and somewhat resembling the "swastika" emblem subsequently referred to. At the highest part of the stone is a rock basin 8 ins. deep and 9 ins. wide. On the vertical end of the stone are cut five cups, three of which have single rings. This is one of the few instances of cup and ring marks occurring on a vertical surface of rock.

Sculptured Stones near the Panorama Rock.— The Panorama Rock lies one mile south-west of Ilkley, and from a height of 800 ft. above the sea commands a magnificent view over Wharfedale and the surrounding country. About 100 yards to the west of this spot appears to be a kind of rough inclosure, formed of low walls of loose stones, and within it are three of the finest sculptured stones near Ilkley. They lie almost in a straight line east and west, the first stone being 5 ft. from the second, and the second 100 ft. from the third. The turf was stripped from the first a few years ago, and its having been covered up so long probably accounts for the sculpture being in such good preservation. It measures 10 ft. by 7 ft., and is imbedded so deeply in the ground that its upper horizontal surface scarcely rises above the level of the surrounding heath. The sculpture consists of twenty-five cups, eighteen of which are surrounded with concentric rings, varying from one to five in number. The most remarkable feature in the design is the very curious ladder-shaped arrangement of grooves by which the rings are intersected and joined together. I do not think that this peculiar type of carving occurs anywhere else besides near Ilkley. The second stone is of irregular shape, measuring 15 ft. by 12 ft., and supporting a smaller stone of triangular shape 6 ft. long by 4 ft. broad. Both upper and under stone are covered with cups and rings, but the sculptures have suffered much

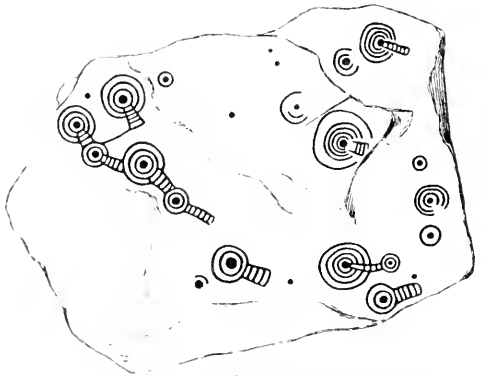
ROCK CARVINGS
ILKLEY.



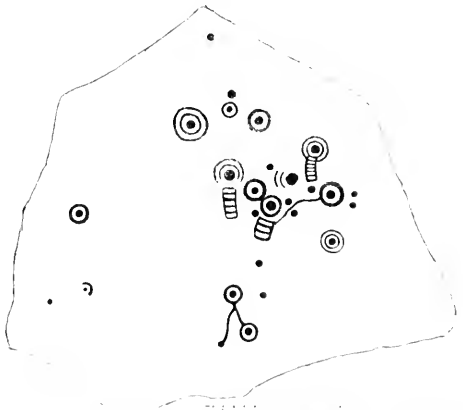
Stone with cup & ring marks at foot of Hebden Gate - Ilkley Moor
sketched and measured by J. Romilly Allen July 4/77



Stone with Cup & Ring Marks near Spring Head Ilkley



Sculptured Stone near the Panorama Rock Ilkley



Sculptured Stone near the Panorama Rocks Ilkley

J. Romilly Allen del. F. Sel.



from exposure. The superimposed block has eleven cups, two of which are surrounded by single rings. The under stone has forty-two cups, nine of which have rings. Amongst these are two unusually fine examples, one has an oval cup 5 ins. by 4 ins., surrounded by two rings, the diameter of the outer ring being 1 ft. 3 ins. Another has a circular cup 3 ins. diameter, and five concentric rings, the outer ring being 1 ft. 5 ins. across. The third and most westerly stone of the group measures 10 ft. by 9 ft., and lies almost horizontally, having its face slightly inclined. On it are carved twenty-seven cups, fourteen of which have concentric rings round them. Some of the cups have connecting grooves, and three have the ladder-shaped pattern before referred to. Several stones near have cup marks without rings.

Addingham Crag Stone, No. 1.—About a mile to the west of the Panorama Rock, on the extreme edge of the cliff forming the north boundary of Addingham high moor, and overhanging the valley of the Wharfe, is a large block of gritstone 19 ft. long by 7 ft. broad, by 4 ft. 6 ins. thick. At the east end of the stone are two rock basins 1 ft. 3 ins. across, and at the other is carved the very unusual device shown on the accompanying drawing. I consider this to be by far the most interesting of all the Ilkley sculptures, since it is identical with a carving found at Tossene, on the coast of Sweden, north of Gottenburg, and also bears great resemblance to the "swastica" emblem of the Buddhists. The example from Sweden is given in Holmberg's *Skandinaviens Hällristningar*, plate 32, fig. 102, and the device is so peculiar that there can be little doubt as to the common origin of both this and the one from Ilkley. The "swastica" occurs on the foot of Buddha, two specimens of which may be seen at the Indian Museum; and the Ilkley device appears to be a modification made by doubling the lines and curving the arms. The "swastica" was engraved on a very large number of the spindle whorls found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy.[1] The "swastica" or "fyllot" is said to be a symbol of Baal or Woden.[2] It is also used by the Chinese for the numeral 10,000, called in Chinese "Wân", and on account of its highly ornamental character the "swastica" forms the element from which many of their

[1] See his book on Troy, p. 103. [2] See Professor Simpson's work, p. 73.

most elaborate decorative patterns are derived.[1] The same designs are to be found in connection with the interlaced ornaments of manuscripts and sculptured crosses in Great Britain. The special curved form of the "swastica" from Ilkley is well known to schoolboys as the solution of the following puzzle: "Four rich men and four poor men had their houses symmetrically situated at the corners of two squares, one inside the other, with a pond in the centre. The rich men determined to build a wall which should exclude the poor men, who had their houses close to the water, from the use of it, and at the same time allow the rich men free access, as before. How was it done?" The above problem may possibly owe its origin to the device in question.[2]

Addingham Crag Stone, No. 2.—This stone is situated near the west end of Addingham Crag, at the foot of the cliff. It measures 9 ft. 6 ins. long by 8 ft. 6 ins. broad. On its upper horizontal surface are cut twenty-three cups, twelve of which are surrounded by single concentric rings, and in two cases have connecting grooves. On the west side of the stone is a hole, forming a sort of pocket, which may be natural, or, if artificial, perhaps for the deposit of votive offerings. There are two long troughs running across the upper surface of the stone, in the direction of the grain, which appear to have been excavated by the joint agency of the wind, water, and disintegrated pieces of grit.

Having now completed the description of the most important sculptured stones near Ilkley, it may be as well in conclusion to say a few words about the various theories which have been brought forward to explain their meaning and origin.

1. *Natural Origin.*—It has been suggested that a great number of the so called rock basins and cup markings are due to natural causes, such as weathering, and the mechanical action of water. Doubtless this is true in many cases, but the obviously artificial grouping and symmetrical shape, not referable to the lithological composition of the stone, present evidences of design which it is impossible to overlook. As an example of a rock basin of clearly human pro-

[1] See Williams' *Syllabic Chinese Dict*, p. 1040.

[2] This device occurs on some of the metal objects found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ.

duction that at Rath Michael (co. Dublin) may be mentioned. It is of exceedingly regular shape, and cut deep into hard quartzose rock, which has no tendency to weather in this manner. The coexistence of rock basins and cups with concentric rings and grooves makes their artificial character tolerably certain. Nothing, however, but careful examination, combined with an unbiassed judgment, will settle this point in particular instances.[1]

2. *Cup and Ring Marks cut to beguile time.*—It has afforded some pleasure to pessimist archæologists to believe that cup and ring marks were carved by the prehistoric savage in hours of wanton idleness, without a notion on his part as to what he was doing. This theory is wholly inadequate to account for the incessant recurrence of the same forms and groups of marks throughout the whole of Great Britain. Also the production of such sculptures on the hardest rocks, and in the most exposed situations, would, with rude tools, involve more labour than a mere idler would be willing to bestow, and a greater amount of inconvenience than he would be disposed to incur.

3. *Cup and Ring Marks ornamental.*—Some cup and ring marks may be merely ornaments, but the majority of these sculptures are too carelessly grouped, and the same monotonous forms occur too frequently without being combined into any distinct pattern to give much weight to the theory.

4. *Religious Symbols.*—Amongst the most probable suggestions is the idea that cup and ring marks were used as religious symbols, since they are continually found associated with burial rites, being carved on the stones of sepulchral circles and chambers, and on the cover stones of cinerary urns. "In all cases, I believe, in which these sculptured cist or urn covers have been found in Northumberland, the accompanying bones indicate cremation."[2] Professor Nilsson believes that cup and ring marks are connected with Baal and sun worship. In support of this a few facts may be mentioned. Cup marks exist on a granite block, known as Balder's Stone, near Falkoping, in Sweden.[3] The name Baal occurs continually in the north of England

[1] See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. vi, Appendix, p. 4.

[2] See Professor Simpson's work, p. 31.

[3] Ibid., p. 71. Also *Journal* of this Association, vol. xxxiii. p. 349, paper on Baalism, by Canon Ridgway; also James Napier's *Folklore of Scotland.*

and in Scotland; for instance, in Yorkshire, Balderston, Baal's Hills; in Scotland, east coast, Bells Hill, festival of Beltane, etc. The symbol for the sun, used by the Chinese, and also by other nations, is a circle with a dot in the centre, in later times a square with a dash through it. The Greek letter Θ is the nearest approach to this amongst the alphabets of the Western world, and it may be mentioned that it means a serpent.[1] Mr. Rivett-Carnac, as has been previously mentioned, has found cup and ring marks used in India as symbols of "Linga" worship.

5. *Planetarium Theory.*—Some think that the groups of cup and ring marks are maps of the stars, others that they are plans of ancient settlements or camps; but, as far as I am aware, no arrangement of cups has ever been identified with either any well known constellation or with any ancient remains of villages.

6. *Miscellaneous Theories.*—Cup and ring marks have been said to be intended for rude representations of objects of everyday use, such as circular shields, annular brooches, etc. Some think that they were burial tablets for the common people, who could not afford to have a megalithic circle erected to their memory. Others think they were used as gambling tables; but it must be remembered that the marks occur on the vertical and sloping faces of rocks, and also in exposed situations, and again on the cover stones of burial urns.

Mode of execution of Cup and Ring Marks.—Cup and ring sculptures are universally carved on unprepared surfaces of rough stones and rocks, and in many cases no attempt seems to have been made to select the smoothest portions, the carvings following all the inequalities of the stone. They are cut on every description of rock, and those which remain in exposed situations are generally on the hardest gritstone, trap, slate, or granite. The possibility of executing sculptures of this kind on the hardest rocks with a flint implement has been fully established.[2] The process by which the grooves were cut was in some cases one of punching, and in others of chipping.[3] The grooves are unpolished.

Age of the Sculptures.—Cup and ring marks have never

[1] See *Moab's Patriarchal Stone*, by the Rev. James King, p. 125.
[2] See Professor Simpson's work, p. 122. [3] Ibid., p. 11.

been as yet found in connection with inscriptions of any kind, and may therefore be considered as prehistoric. Beyond this, and the fact of their being found on cromlechs, menhirs, megalithic circles, and other remains of the same period, nothing is at present known which finally determines their age; but, that it is very considerable, may be gathered from the large area over which these sculptures are found to be distributed. Professor Nilsson refers these sculptures to the bronze age.

Future Research.—If the enigma of the import of these mysterious cup and ring marks is ever to be solved it must be by careful research into the relics of Pagan superstition, still lingering in out of the way districts, and even found mixed up with Christian ceremonies by philological examination of the names of places, and lastly by making careful drawings of the sculptures, topographical notes of the sites, and then instituting a comparative inquiry into similar remains found in other countries.

VESTIGES OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY WITHOUT THE WALLS OF CANTERBURY.

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An acute writer draws attention to the fact of "the double system" pursued by St. Augustine, and the subsequent relegation of the monks to St. Augustine's, and the retention of the secular clergy at Christchurch about the year 833. "Very early the opposition between episcopal rights and monastic claims resulted in the foundation of another monastery. As at Canterbury St. Augustine's rose without the walls, to rival Christchurch, as the rival minsters stood side by side at Winchester, as in later times Westminster was to St. Paul's, St. Ouen at Rouen to the Cathedral, St. Martin's at Tours to St. Gatian's, so at Worcester the monastery of St. Mary was founded in close proximity to the Cathedral."[1] I may add that at Dublin there were two Cathedrals, one of secular, the other of regular canons; at Saragossa there are two Cathedrals; at Chester the Bishops of Coventry selected St. John's as their see in preference to St. Werburgh's Abbey; and at Milan stand two rival churches.

The arms of the Abbey, *sable*, a cross *argent*, commemorate the holy cross which was carried before St. Augustine, "a silver cross for his banner",[2] as he entered the presence of King Ethelbert, singing his solemn litany and joyful Alleluia. "He built[3] a monastery not far from the city eastward, in which, by his advice, King Ethelbert built from the foundation the *church of* the blessed apostles, *SS. Peter and Paul*, and enriched it with many gifts, that therein the bodies of Augustine and of all the bishops of Canterbury, and of the kings of Kent might be buried.[4] St. Augustine, however, did not consecrate the church, but Lawrence, his successor, did.[5] The beloved of God, Augustine, died, and his body was buried on the outside, close to

[1] Professor Stubbs in *Archæological Journal*, xix, p. 244.
[2] Bede, *H. E.*, b. i, ch. xxv. [3] C. xxxiii. [4] Thorne, 1760.
[5] Bede, b. ii, c. iii.

the church of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul, for the church was not yet completed or consecrated; but as soon as it was dedicated, his body was brought and reverently buried in the *north porch*. In it also were buried the bodies of all the successive archbishops, except two only, Theodore and Berthwald, whose bodies lay inside the church, as the porch could contain no more. Almost in the midst of the church is an altar, dedicated in honour of the blessed Pope Gregory,[1] at which on every Sabbath the priest of the place solemnly did celebrate."

In 613 "Archbishop Lawrence consecrated the church of this monastery, and in the presence of the king and crowds from every quarter, transferred the holy body of St. Augustine into the church when dedicated, and buried him in the north porch, where is now the church of St. Mary,[2] from the place where he lay outside the doors during some years, for the church then was not yet completed." He also buried in the *porch of St. Martin*, probably on the south side, the bodies of Q. Bertha and S. Luidhard of Seulis.[3]

This ancient church no doubt was built on the plan of the original basilica of St. Peter at Rome, with its two porches of St. Augustine and St. Martin, whilst the central altar of St. Gregory commemorated the good bishop who loved England. Weever pathetically said, "Not one stone almost of the whole fabric stands upon another."[4] The few relics are therefore doubly precious. *The tower of St. Ethelbert*, so named after the royal founder, formed the north-west tower of the minster. It had an internal space, about 16 ft. square, with walls at least 4 ft. 4 ins. in thickness. Part of the east wall, south wall, and a corner of the south-west wall, with remains of angle shafts, with cushion capitals and portions of the springers of the great arches 25 ft. high, still survive, with a round-headed south door into the nave. The south-west angle of the front was de-

[1] "Augustini positum corpus foras, juxta ecclesiam B. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.....quia ea necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox vero ut dedicata est, intro illatum, et in Porticu illius Aquilonari decenter sepultum." Thorn adds, "hæc Porticus erat in Veteri Ecclesiâ ubi nunc est Capella B. Virginis" (col. 1765). "Habet hæc in medio pene sui Altare in honore B. Papæ Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum, a presbytero loci illius Ageudæ eorum solemniter celebrantur." (Bede, *H. E.*, lib. ii, c. iii.)

[2] Thorne, 1767, and *Monast.*, 24.

[3] Thorne, 1767.

[4] *Fun. Mon.*, 249.

stroyed[1] at the close of the last century, in June 1793, by the barbarous employment of two hundred workmen after it had been undermined. The tower of St. Ethelbert was of five storeys, with partial arcading and massive square turrets, terminating in octagonal angle tops on the west side. Thorne says that Archbishop Eadsi (1038-50) gave one hundred marks "to the building of the tower, which was then in process of construction."

The south-west tower was the *campanile*. In 1120[2] the Pope excused the monks from a pension of two rams, bread, and drink, which the monks of the cathedral claimed for permitting the bells of St. Augustine to be rung.[3] In 1308 John Peecham gave £40 to furnish a bell. Thomas Ickham, the sacristan, gave the "two great bells in the campanile, two bells[4] in the tower, in the end or front of the church, and the bell Gabriel", which was rung as the angelus; and in 1358[5] the "bell called Austin Mary and Gabriel, and four in the tower". He also gave one hundred and eighty-six marks "for the great" (west) "window in the church".[6] Fyndon had certainly rebuilt it in the first instance. In 1461[7] William Bernes bequeathed £9 to the rebuilding of the bell tower, as soon as the work should be begun in 1463. John Varedge gave 53*s.* 4*d.* to the repairs of the new bell tower, and in 1516 there was a bequest towards the building of a new steeple in the churchyard, a detached campanile, like those formerly at Worcester, and adjoining the cathedral. One still remains at Chichester. In the last year of Edward VI portions of the old steeple,[8] the pillars of the arcade, and south nave aisle, with the walls of the undercroft were destroyed to rebuild his palace, and the rest of the church was a quarry "selling by the load to all neighbouring places."

What value should we set upon the recovery of the lost pages of Leland;[9] how eagerly should we have read if Erasmus[10] had given us a glimpse of the minster in his

[1] *Gent. Mag.*, lxviii, p. 1027.
[2] Thorne, 1797.
[3] Thorne, c. xxxi, § 17.
[4] C. xlii.
[5] C. xl, § 5.
[6] C. xxxii, § 1.
[7] Hasted, iv, 660.
[8] Hasted gives no authority, and I cannot find the survey either at Lambeth, in the Land Revenue or Public Record Offices, or in the British Museum, where his manuscript list of authorities is preserved.
[9] All that we have amounts to little more than a bare notice in the *Itinerary*, and a meagre catalogue of the library in the *Collectanea*, iv, 7, 8, 9.
[10] *Peregr.*, Op. i, 361.

time. The *north aisle of the nave* is the only fragment that has been preserved to our time. It measured about 19 feet in breadth, and was 160 feet long. It was vaulted, and in the six bays which remain, the responds show a cluster of three large shafts with cushion capitals. In the second bay from St. Ethelbert's tower is a doorway under a segmental arch, with a round-headed comprising arch above it; the spandril or intervening space is filled with an indented ornament. The third bay has an angle-headed doorway with moulded jambs. In the second storey there is a single round-headed window with jamb shafts and capitals in each bay, which lighted the triforium of the nave. Above these was a clerestory, with smaller windows, of the same character. Two remain visible in the third and fourth bays on the outside wall. The only parallel to this peculiar arrangement may be seen at Norwich. Old views show the weather mouldings, both of the triforium and clerestory roofs, upon the eastern face of St. Ethelbert's tower.

Several of the triforium windows have been blocked up with masonry, as in the Decorated period a chapel was erected on the north side, over the forensic parlour, with a large eastern window towards the cloister garth, the jambs of which are still visible. Its gable and cross are delineated in King's View and other engravings. Hasted shows a door and window in the north wall. It was probably the *abbot's chapel*.[1] At Battle Abbey this structure is in the same position, so it was at Gloucester, Chester, and St. Alban's, over the *forensic parlour*,—the place for the reception of visitors, which may be seen in a precisely similar position in the cathedral, and at Chester, and correspondingly at Worcester and Westminster. Gostling says that "the fine chapel adjoining to the north side of the church"[2] was "turned into a five's court". The east window, according to Buck's view, was of six lights. The rest of the site has been found to be covered beneath the turf with the foundations of the palace in which Elizabeth kept her court in 1573; where Charles I and Henrietta held their marriage on June 13, 1625; where Lady Wootton had an evil time,

[1] "Capella Abbatis cum novâ camerâ et magnâ jannâ. stallâ in choro et fenestra in fronte, facta sunt."

[2] P. 41.

owing to her persecution by the rebels; and Charles II lodged on his way to London at his restoration.

Gostling says,[1] "On viewing carefully the east side of Ethelbert's tower, two grooves or chasings are to be seen, one 30 ft., the other 42 ft. from the ground, cut in the stone work, to receive the skirts or flashings of the lead when the roof was covered. The height and breadth of the north side-aisle and some of the old wall is standing above that of the old arches. The angle of the other chasing shows exactly what was the pitch of the main roof; and from these circumstances an artist may nearly determine both the breadth and height of the main building."

We need not have recourse to the magic wand of imagination to reconstruct the actual dimensions of the minster. The huge mounds on the east side, with little fragments of stone[2] here and there, have not lost all form. The description of the apses and high altar, as preserved by Somner, and the discovery of the bases of the nave arcade, made by Mr. Butterfield, with one of the four pillars of the crossing, enable us to determine the ground plot with approximate accuracy. Braun's map shows the three eastern apses still standing. The internal length appears to have been 320 ft., the central alley being 34 ft. clear, and the entire breadth 76 ft. The nave was 175 ft. in length. It was of nine bays, with an internal Galilee between the two western towers. From the western arch of the crossing to the inner wall of the central apse the eastern portion of the church measured 145 ft. Each of the three apses was 30 ft. in depth. The arrangement resembled the plan of the crypt of Gloucester, and the contemporaneous east end of St. Mary le Grand at Dover.[3] The minster exceeded in length Rochester, Whitby, Romsey, Shrewsbury, and Battle. In 978, when St. Dunstan dedicated the Abbey to SS. Peter and Paul and St. Augustine, the Abbey became commonly known by the name of the latter, as St. Augustine's.[4]

The first architectural notice is of the highest interest, as it shows that two separate buildings were united by the

[1] P. 40.

[2] Probably these mutilations of the site were made by the skilled hunters for treasure trove, under licence of James I, who issued in 1618 letters patent authorising them to "dig and break up the earth" in various abbeys.

[3] *Arch. Cant.*, iv, Pl. iv.

[4] Somner, 46.

erection of an intermediate structure. "Wulfric[1] in 1055[2] pulled down his church at the east end. He translated St. Mildred, who was buried before the high altar, into the porch (or apse) of St. Augustine, and placed her on the north side. The *porch of St. Augustine* occupied then the site of the present *St. Mary's chapel in the nave.* There had been on the eastward of the minster *St. Mary's oratory,* which King Edbald in the old time had built, and in it slept many bodies of saints. He demolished the western end of this oratory for the purpose of enlarging his minster, along with the porches which surrounded it, and occupied the whole site between this oratory and the *old church* for his building, having cleared out the adjoining *cemetery of the monks.*"

According to the History,[3] "Edbald[4] built the church of St. Mary, mother of God, which Bishop Mellitus afterwards consecrated. It stood eastward of the church founded by his father Ethelbert, and the cemetery of the brethren lay between the two churches. But at a later time, when after the Conquest the church was enlarged in the days of Abbots Scotland and Wido, that church of St. Mary, which is now called *the church in the crypts,* was added to the elder church."

This lady chapel was popularly known as *St. Mary's sacristy,*[5] for its walls sounded to the harps of the virgins and angelic songs. There St. Dunstan once heard the chant of blessed Adrian among the choirs of heaven praising God, and the voices of the Virgin Mother and her maidens

[1] "Wulfricus templum suum a fronte diruit; B. V. Mildredam ante principale altare conditam in Porticum S. Augustini transtulit, et juxta aquilonalem partem collocavit. Erat enim tunc *Porticus Augustini* ubi nunc est *Capella S. Mariæ in navi ecclesiæ.* Fuerat namque ad orientem prædicti monasterii Oratorium B. Mariæ quod rex Edbaldus quondam construxerat, in quo multa sanctorum corpora requiescebant. Hujus oratorii partem occidentalem pro dilatando suo monasterio, cum porticibus quibus cingebatur in circuitu, dejecit et inter ecclesiam antiquam et oratorium prædictum, fratrum cemiterio quod adjacebat purgato, totum spacium ad fabricam occupavit."

[2] Thorne.

[3] "In præsenti Monasterio Ecclesiam S. Dei Genetricis fecit quam posteà Mellitus episcopus consecravit. Posita fuit ad orientem ecclesiæ ab Ethelberto patre ejusdem fundatæ, et erat cæmiterium fratrum inter primam ecclesiam et secundam. Posteà verò dilatatâ ecclesiâ post Conquestum, tempore Scotlandi et Widonis abbatum, *ecclesia* illa *S. Mariæ* pristinæ fuit annexa, quæ modo *Ecclesia in Cryptis* notatur."

[4] Tho. de Elmham, *Hist. Mon.*, p. 144, edited by C. Hardwicke.

[5] Thorne, 1767.

singing in alternate strains the psalm "Cantemus Domino". It is therefore no wonder that the tale went abroad that the bold abbot who dared to touch this place of miracles was smitten down for his impiety, and died. Wulfric was buried in the crypts before *St. Richard's altar*.[1] In 1064 Archbishop Stigand gave "the cross in the nave over the rood loft" (pulpitum),[2] the church having been completed thus far. In 1070 "Abbot Scotland,[3] demolishing the new work of Wulfric, began to enlarge the church. He died in 1087, and was buried in the church of the crypts,[4] under the bason with the burning taper before the altar". Wido,[5] his successor, "enlarged the church, and translated the bodies of the saints, and completed the whole work." This was in the year 1091. "The new church,[6] which was commenced by Abbot Scotland, being completed by Wido, the body of St. Augustine, with the bodies of other saints, was translated by Bishop Gundulph of Rochester from the place wherein he hitherto was laid in the first church to the place in which he now lies."[7] Among these bodies was that of St. Mildred, and in another account of the translation fresh light is thrown on the arrangement of the church about this time. "The *shrine*[8] *of St. Mildred*[9] was placed before the *high altar* of the church. At the head of her tomb an altar was built, at which the daily matin mass was said."[10] (In the cathedral it was sung at the head of St. Dunstan's tomb.) "St. Mildred lay in the same place, namely, a little above

[1] Chronol., 23, prefixed to the *Hist. Mon. of Elmham*.

[2] "Cùm Evangelium legitur in pulpito.....juxta hostium australe." MS. Vitell., D. x, p. 18b, there is also a notice of the Gospel being read at the Analogium. See also my "Statutes of Chichester", *Archæologia*, 1877, p. 70.

[3] Chron., 28. [4] Ibid., 29. [5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 31, *Hist. Mon.*, 346.

[7] "A.D. 1091. *Nova ecclesia* per Scotlandum Abbatem incepta, et per Widonem perfecta, translatum est corpus S. Augustini cum corporibus aliorum Sanctorum à loco quo priùs in prima ecclesia jacuit usque ad locum ubi modò jacet, per Gundulfum episcopum Rofensem. Wido ecclesiam dilatavit, et totum opus perfecit, et corpora Sanctorum transtulit."

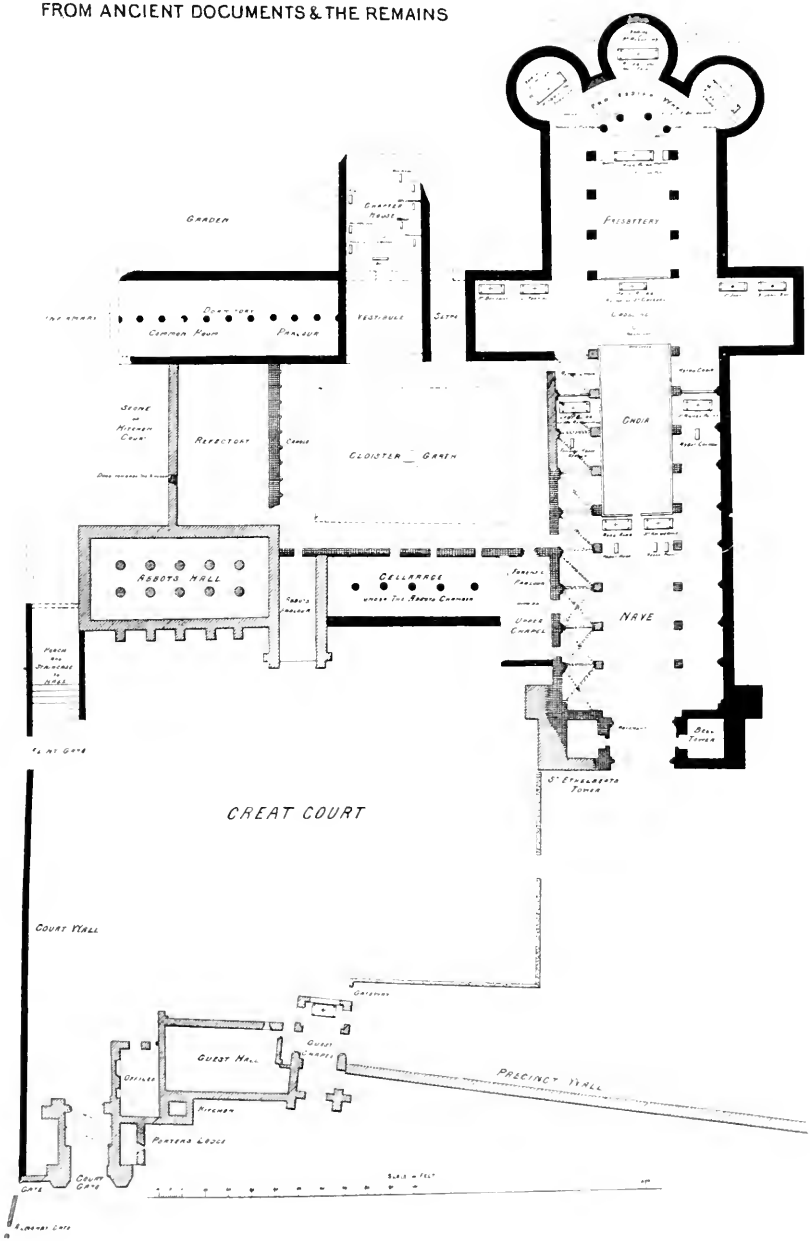
[8] Thorne, c. xxiv, § 1.

[9] "*Mildredæ* scrinium positum est ante magnum altare ecclesiæ ; in tumba ad ejus caput *altare* constructum erat, in quo Missa matutinalis celebrata fuit omni die. Jacuit B. V. Mildreda in eodem loco viz., paululum superiùs quam *magnum candelabrum* vocatum *Jesse*" (given by Hugh de Flori), "stat in choro, usque ad tempora Wlfrici junioris qui dilatans ecclesiam suam transtulit tandem Virginem in *Porticum Augustini* ubi tunc jacebat Augustinus." (Thorne, c. xxiv, § 1.) "Interea portabunt Seniores Sanctam Crucem ..... super gradus juxta magnum candelabrum ex parte australi." (MS. Vitell., D. x, fo. 176.)

[10] Gervase, 1292.

St Augustine's Canterbury

From Ancient Documents & the Remains



The Revd Preventor Mackenzie del. E. Waugh sculp.



where the great candlestick called Jesse stands in the choir, until the time of Wulfric II, who enlarged his church, and translated the virgin into *St. Augustine's porch*, where Augustine then lay."

We have now seen the great Norman minster completed. "On the day of the decollation of St. John the Baptist, 1168,[1] a great part of the church was burned, and St. Augustine's shrine was injured.[2] In 1272[3] a great deluge of rain had well nigh drowned Canterbury, and the flood poured into the court and minster, so they were nearly in the same condition.[4] The Pope Alexander had, however, after the fire given Faversham Church for the restoration, and those of Minster and Middleton to the sacristy, to provide a permanent fabric fund.

We may pause here to reproduce the *nave*. As in all Norman churches, the eastern portion was occupied as the ritual choir, probably through four bays, as it accommodated more than sixty monks. The crossing, as is evident from the elevation of the soil, was higher than at Worcester and Gloucester, though not containing flights of stairs from the nave, as in the cathedral and at Rochester, but resembling the arrangement of the eastern arm at Winchester, rising up to the presbytery over the crypt. On the west I define the extent by the proximity of the western *cloister door*. At this point was a *rood loft*, built by Hugh de Flori, which I have already mentioned, and over it a *beam*,[5] which Adam de Kyngesnoth, the chamberlain, added in 1267. On the north side was the customary *altar of the Holy Cross*.[6]

In the north aisle was the *Lady Chapel*, the principal altar bearing the name of the blessed Virgin was here in the crypts, as it also was at Evesham. In the cathedral the Lady altar[7] was at one time in the north aisle, westward of the upper cloister door. The Lady Chapel most frequently

[1] Thorne, c. xii, § 2.

[2] "Combusta fuit ista Ecclesia pro maximâ parte, in qua combustione multæ codicillæ antiquæ perierunt, atque ipsum feretrum S. Augustini et multorum Sanctorum hujus loci flebiliter sunt deformata; nec mirum cùm ipsa penè tota Ecclesia igne fuerat consumpta."

[3] C. xxv, § 10.

[4] "Occupaverat verò aqua totam istam curiam pariter et Ecclesiam ut propè submersæ essent nisi virtus Sanctorum ibi quiescentium obsisteret."

[5] Thorne, c. xxv, § 4.

[6] C. xxi, § 1. "1224. In navi ecclesiæ juxta altare S. Crucis in parte boreali."

[7] Somner, 167, 168.

was at the east end of the church,[1] but there was no invariable rule. The Cistercians had none. The Austin canons did not place it there at Lanercost, Cartmel, Dorchester, Hexham, Worksop, Brinkburne, Bolton, Guisborough, or Kirkham; at Carlisle, Bristol, or Oxford. Great secular churches had no distinct eastern chapel, such as York, Lincoln, Hull, Wimborne, Howden, Windsor, Old St. Paul's, Southwell, or Ripon. The builders of the noble Benedictine minsters of Durham and Glastonbury placed it at the west end. At Bury, and Ely, and Peterborough it was detached, upon the north side. At Rochester on the south of the nave. Selby, Battle, Worcester, and Evesham had no such eastern adjunct. In the south aisle was St. Anne's or the Countess Chapel.[2]

The Choir.—In 1292 the stalls were erected in the *choir*.[3] I am inclined from other precedents to place the *matin altar*,[4] for the first mass in the day, at the east end of it, next the crossing. In 1240 we have it mentioned as being sung near the *lectern* before *St. Gregory's altar*.[5] This stood at the end of the stalls, close to the brass candlestick called the Jesse, which Flori brought over seas.

The Presbytery.—We may gather that the brotherhood were not remiss in adorning their noble church, from a notice that on October 26, 1240,[6] the *high altar*[7] and the *altar of SS. Augustine and Adrian* were dedicated. Again, in 1320 Richard of Canterbury bestowed a sculptured frontal or reredos of silver on the high altar,[8] probably to correspond with a lower "table" of the same material, given by Abbot Flori; and in consequence it was still further enriched by the erection of the images of the patron

[1] *Sacred Archæol.*, s. v.

[2] Juliana Countess of Huntingdon, who died in 1367 (Thorne, col. 2138; Dugdale's *Baron.*, i, 531), endowed a chantry in St. Anne's Chapel, her burial-place, on the south side of the church,—"sub muro boreali, ex opposito Capellæ Comitissæ." (Thorne, 2067.) Welde. "Corpus in aquilonari muro Capellæ Comitissæ sepultum est." (Ibid., 2150.) Welde. "Jacet in Capellâ S. Annæ ex opposito Annunciationis." (Chron. August., 67.) "Distributio certis pauperibus in anniversario Comitissæ Huntyngdon in festo Sancti Laurencii euilibet *jd.*, xvj*s.* viij*d.*; e pauperibus in anniversario ejusdem in festo S. Anne cuilibet ij*d.*, xvj*s.* viij*d.*" (*Cartæ Antiquæ*, Lamb. MS., tom. xiii, p. 1.)

[3] Chronol., 2274.

[4] *Sacred Archæol.*, s. v. "Altar".

[5] Thorne, 1765, c. xxi, § x; c. ix, § 1. 1240. "Ante altare S. Gregorii ad analogium missa matutinalis."

[6] Chron. August., 45.

[7] "Dedicatum est *magnum altare* et *Altare SS. Augustini et Adriani.*"

[8] Thorne, c. ix, § 1.

saints SS. Peter and Paul, and others above it. On March 1, 1325, the altar was consecrated by Peter, Bishop of Zengg, in Hungary, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, St. Augustine, and King Ethelbert.[1] A drawing of the fourteenth century represents its ornaments. Above it stood within an aureole a figure of our blessed Lord, carrying His resurrection cross, and standing between a little shrine of St. Letard on the north, and a church-shaped reliquary to the south. These were supported upon a rich beam, which rested upon twisted pillars, such as those of Westminster and St. Alban's. At the back of a battlemented reredos were two processional crosses, which had been blessed by the Archbishop of Armagh,[2] several reliquaries, the little shrine of St. Ethelbert, two arms of saints, and books sent by St. Gregory to St. Augustine. On each side were doors to the stairs of access to these treasures, resembling those in Westminster Abbey, which lead to the chapel of reliques, behind the shrine of the confessor. On the extreme north and south were doors which opened on the spot, known as *corpora sanctorum*, a "holy hole", as at Winchester, or like the "secret crypt" of Ripon. Thomas Ickham, who died in 1391, gave three[3] basins of silver, with chains of the same precious metal, to the *corpora sanctorum* to contain lights, and also four bells in the choir, probably the sanctus and sacring bells.

The Apse.—At the back of the high altar was a procession path or circular aisle, opening into three apsidal chapels,[4] as originally in the cathedral, and also at Battle and other places, especially St. Martin's le Grand at Dover and Bury St. Edmund's. The curve of the central apse is shown on a map in the King's Collection. The central altar[5] was dedicated in 1325 by Bishop Peter of Zengg (Corbavia) as the *altar of the Holy Trinity, St. Augustine and his companions.*[6] He was acting by general commission as the vicar of Archbishop Walter. It had formerly been the altar of SS. Augustine and Adrian[7] from

[1] Chron., 62. [2] Ibid.

[3] "Fieri fecit ad corpora Sanctorum iij bassinos argenteos cum cathenis argenteis ..... iv campanas in choro."

[4] Dunkin's plan, 194, *Sacred Archæol.*, s. v. [5] Chron., 62.

[6] The body of St. Augustine was buried "juxta altare S. Augustini in orientali parte sub mediâ fenestrâ". His head was encased in a reliquary. (Thorne, 1876.) 1326. "Reparatum caput Augustini." (Chron., 62.)

[7] 1324. "Habitâ sic tabulâ argenteâ fiebat reparatio *magni altaris* cum ima-

September 22, 1240.[1] At the east end was his shrine, and on either side those of SS. Laurence and Mellitus. They were probably erected upon screens, as at Winchester. There were two of SS. Justus and Deusdedit between this and the adjoining chapel of the Holy Innocents, and two more of SS. Nothelm and Lambert between it and the reredos. Corresponding to these, on the south, were the shrines of SS. Honorius and Theodore, SS. Brithwald and Tatwin.

The northern chapel contained the *altar of Holy Innocents*, consecrated on March 23, 1270, when St. Mildred was laid in a new tomb, and it became that of her shrine, as *St. Mildred's altar*.[2] On the south was the *chapel or shrine of St. Adrian*, which had been consecrated as the *altar of SS. Stephen, Laurence, and Vincent* on October 1, 1248.[3] At this altar in 1312 the mass of the Holy Ghost was said for the souls of King Edward and Queen Eleanor. Besides these altars I find notice of others, probably arranged in the transept. The altar of St. John the Baptist, consecrated by Bishop Peter, who also dedicated it.[4] The altar of SS. Katharine, Stephen, Laurence,[5] where mass was said for Abbot Roger and Hamon Doge, rector of St. Paul's, a benefactor in 1276. I am inclined to place this altar on the south side of the rood loft, as at least two abbots were buried before it.[6] The altar of St. Benedict, the altar of St. John, the altar of St. Bride, and the altar of SS. Thomas,

ginibus Petri viz. et Pauli et aliorum desuper constructis. 1325. 1° die mensis Marcii dedicatum fuit *magnum altare* hujus loci a dom. episcopo Hungariæ Petro in honore apostolorum Petri et Pauli Sanctique Augustini, Anglorum apostolo, et S. Æthelberti regis." (Chron., 62.) "Postea idem Petrus Corbaviensis episcopus dedicavit illud in honore *S. Trinitatis* et S. Augustini sociorumque ejus." The Bishop died in 1331, and was buried in the Grey Friars' Church, London. He was one of the many foreign Irish and Scottish Bishops who acted as suffragans to our mediæval prelates. I gave a list of them in *Notes and Queries*. "In archu australi jacet ven. pater Petrus Bononiensis quondam Episcopus Corboviensis in Hungariâ suffraganeus episcopi Londoniensis, qui obiit .. ... die mensis Januarii A.D. 1331." (*Collect. Topogr.*, v, 277.)

[1] *Monast.*, 24.

[2] "Ista fecit per commissionem generalem tanquam Vicarius Archiepiscopi Walteri. Altaria SS. Adriani et Mildredæ non dedicavit quia *altare S. Adriani* in honore *SS. MM. Stephani, Laurencii, et Vincentii*, et *altare S. Mildredæ* in honore *SS. Innocentium* per priùs extiterant dedicata."

[3] Thorne, c. xxxi, § 5.

[4] "Item dedicavit *altare S. Johannis Baptistæ*. Item *altare S. Katarinæ* in honore ejusdem Virginis Sanctorumque Martyrum *Stephani et Laurentii*." (Thorne, c. xxxiv.)

[5] Thorne, c. xxvi, § 4.

[6] Ib., c. xxxi, § 16.

Blaise, Cosmas, and Damian were consecrated by Bishop[1] Peter. There was an altar of St. Thomas the Apostle in the crypt.[2] The transept may have had eastern apsidal chapels.

The Crypt also contained the altar of St. Richard, mentioned already; the principal altar, St. Maria in Cryptis and SS. Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, was dedicated in 1325. Several abbots were buried in this lower church. The central chapel had a parclose or cancellus.

I may add that Jocelyn,[3] monk successively of St. Bertin's, Ramsey, and this abbey, wrote the lives of SS. Lethard, Adrian, and Mildred. William of Malmesbury mentions him as an historian and adept in music.

The Precinct enclosed within stone walls about sixteen acres. The west front was about 250 ft. in length. At each end was a noble gateway. To the south is the *new gate of the cemetery*,[4] built by Ickham at a cost of six hundred and ten marks. The position of the cemetery on the south resembled those of the cathedral, Bury, and Gloucester. It contained the "charner chapel", or "chapel in the cemetery,[5] which was dedicated on St. Cuthbert's day, 1299, by the Bishop of Hereford".[6] It was a usual adjunct, as at Worcester, Evesham, Winchester, and at Norwich, still remaining, and was used as a receptacle for bones, cast out from the ground in making new graves, and also as a place for saying masses for the dead, being both an ossuary crypt and chantry chapel. This graveyard was used for the interment of the parishioners of the dependent city churches.

At the north end of the cemetery was the *chapel of St. Pancras*,[7] measuring 30 ft. by 21 ft., built on the site of a chapel in which St. Augustine[8] is said to have sung mass, whilst the foul fiend tried to interrupt him, and in despair

[1] C. xxxiv.

[2] "Item *altare S. Mariæ in Cryptis* in honore ejusdem Virginis et SS. Michaelis, Gabrielis, et Raphaelis. Item *altare S. Thomæ* in honore ejusdem et SS. Martyrum Blasii Cosmæ et Damiani."

[3] *Hist. Litt. de France*, viii, 660-677; *Acta Sanctor.*, May 26; Hardy's *Descr. Cat.*; Malm., *Gesta Reg.*, iv, § 342; *Gesta Pont.*, i, § 1, 2.

[4] Thorne, c. xlii.

[5] "1175. Archiepiscopus ad ecclesiam S. Augustini veniens duo cimiteria dedicavit." (Gervase. ed. 1475.) These formed the cemeteries of the monks and lay-folk. Out of compliment to the Primate, the Abbot doffed his mitre until he was courteously requested to replace it.

[6] C. xxxi, § 3. [7] Gostling, 41. [8] Thorne, 1760.

left the marks of his talons on the east wall of the south porch, where the altar stood.[1] It was probably, however, first built in the twelfth century, partly with Roman brick and again by Ickham, at a cost of one hundred marks.[2] The east wall and portions of the north and south walls remain. In 1812 Hastings' view shows the whole eastern gable still entire. In 1492 Hamon Beale gave liberally (£3 : 6 : 8) to its repairs, and in 1475 Joan Marston founded a chantry at its altar. Fragments of Norman carving are embedded in the walls. In 1361 Ralph, the chaplain,[3] whilst praying on his knees during a great storm, was killed by the fall of a huge beam which stood over the image of the Virgin. The roof had been recently repaired.

The *Great Gate*, with its superb flanking octagonal turrets, the rival of those of Christchurch, Thornton, and Battle, is still what Somner[4] called it, a "great and fair gate, with a battlement and warlike invention of machicolation", 66 ft. high and 35 ft. 9 ins. broad. It was included in the fortifications[5] raised by virtue of the king's licence to the abbot, "to crenellate a chamber beyond his abbey gate, which they are making afresh". In 1308 John Peecham gave[6] twenty marks to the "commencement of the new gate". Abbot Fyndon built it. In 1267 mention is made of a "chapel over the gate", usually called a "hanging chapel".

On the north-west is the large *barton gate* of brick, leading to the base court and grange, and within a few feet are the pillared stone jambs of the *almonry gate*.[7] The almonry, which was in being before 1237, was served by a society of brethren and sisters.[8] Somner says that in his time the "chapel was desolate and rotting in its own ruins". Besides serving as a place of dole to the poor and aged there was usually a school held within it.

The Great Court had on its north side a wall, with a panelling of diamonded pavement bounding one side of the Barton Road, which was pierced by a gateway of flint work in square chequered patterns. On the west side were the

[1] Sacristy, p. 284. [2] Thorne, c. xlii. [3] Ibid., col. 2122. [4] P. 63.
[5] Pat. Rot., 2 Edward II. [6] Thorne, c. xxxi, § 17.
[7] "Panis fragmenta juvenes colligere debent ad usum pauperum scolarium in eleemosynaria et sororum." (MS. Vitellius, D. x, fo. 19.) I can remember a curious relic of similar care in the name of certain boys who were relieved from ordinary fagging in Old Commoners, Winchester, as "bread-pickers".
[8] Somner, 60.

laymen's *guest house, guest house chapel,* raised on a crypt, bedrooms, and guesten kitchen, which still remain; and on the south side a wall connected the end of this range with St. Ethelbert's tower. Stranger monks were entertained in the refectory. On the east side were, next the church, as I have mentioned, the forensic parlour, with an upper chapel of the abbot. To this succeeded the *cellarer's store-rooms,* with the *abbot's chamber* above. Then came a range of building resembling the plan of Battle, the *abbot's parlour* and *abbot's great hall,* with formerly a porch containing a staircase to it on the north. The hall stood over a cellarage of six bays, in three alleys. Abbot Fyndon built the *abbot's chapel,*[1] the *new chamber,* and the great gate. In 1321 the *abbot's kitchen*[2] and cistern in Stone Court were built. Thirty poor folk were fed in the abbot's hall on the anniversary of Hugh de Flori. In 1286 a Papal bull authorised the monks to eat flesh meat in the abbot's hall and *privy chamber.* In 1293, on St. Augustine's day, the abbot entertained the justices itinerant and sixty-six knights, whilst four thousand five hundred[3] people were the humbler guests of the monastery. In the last year of Edward VI a survey was made of the *great hall,* the *cloister* at the end southwards, the great *kitchen,* and the "king's housing", called the *almonry.*[4] I have been unable to discover it. That of the time of the Great Rebellion is silent about buildings.

The pious munificence of Mr. Beresford Hope has once more re-created a college of missionaries, not coming to evangelise one corner of Kent, but to go forth into all lands preaching the everlasting Gospel, with the zeal, we may hope, of St. Augustine. I now turn to "a few mouldering ruins, which are only imperfect evidences to lost volumes of glory".[5] The guide, a complete costumal, which would have led us surely, has been charred in the fatal Cottonian fire, and I can read only tantalising notices of processions through the stone pillars[6] to the parlour and chapter house, refectory and church; or of the aumbry from which the student monks took their books to the bench.[7]

[1] Thorne, c. xxxii, § 1.
[2] "1321. Et coquina Abbatis et cisterna in curiâ lapideâ factæ fuerunt."
[3] Chron., 56. [4] Hasted, iv, 660; Parl. Surv., No. xi, Kent.
[5] MS. Vitell., D. xvi. [6] Fols. 8b, 9.
[7] "In Epiphania fiet stacio in capis ante Corpora Sanctorum ..... in Cryptis

The Cloisters.—The north and western walls and a small portion of the south wall remain. Apparently there was only a shed roof and outer stone arcade, as I find no traces of vaulting shafts. On the south-east angle are the bases of Early English arcades in two planes, forming once a noble entrance from the forensic parlour. To these doorways, indicated in an etching by Grose,[1] succeed a *turn*—a transomed opening into the cellarage, like one in the cathedral cloister, used for furnishing cups of wine or ale; a round-headed doorway, walled up, a pointed archway, and near the north angle a doorway and part of the window sill, which opened upon a staircase, by which the abbot could descend into the cloister. A view by Hastings shows that there was a vaulted substructure and large round-headed windows lighting the upper chamber.[2] The northern alley was filled with canopied and recessed canels, twenty in number, in which the student monks pursued their learned toil. The aperture for the door of the vestibule or screens which led into the hall of the *refectory* remains, and also the base of the jamb shaft, which opened into the kitchen from its north wall. On the south-west it was in direct communication with the cellarage. The east side was as usual flanked by the slype, chapter house, and dormitory; the latter being built over a series of chambers, the regular parlour, the common room with windows opening eastward on a garden, the song school, and various chequers.

The Refectory[3] was begun in 1260, and completed within

etiam facienda processio priùs tam in vigiliâ quàm in die" (fo. 10). "Diebus Dominicis novicii missam suam audituri sunt ad altare S. Gregorii" (fo. 7b). "Precedentibus senioribus ac infra stalla per socios transeuntibus ad S. Brigidam sunt vocandi" (fo. 7). St. Mary's and St. Bride's altars were specially appointed for their services. "Processio facta per claustrum ..... lotis manibus ad magnum Lavatorium ..... interim sua calciamenta retro hostium Dormitorii dimittendo" (fo. 11b). "Novicii ad percussionem cymbe" [*cymbali*, the bell] "portabunt in Refectorium libros suos" (fo. 11). At the reception of novices, "inclinatio fiet ad capud Duorum Lapidum à senioribus" (fo. 6). They were professed within a space "xvi pedum infra Analogium". (Ibid.) "In processione suâ per lapideas columpnas" (fo. 8). After their first mass, the novices went "ad S. Brigidam vel cameram interiorem" (fo. 6). "In capitulum [et] Locutorium semper preire debent novicii seniores. In claustro versus Locutorium vel Capitulum seniores precedent socios suos juniores. Juniores autem versus Refectorium et Ecclesiam semper preibunt seniores. Ituri à Dormitorio in Claustrum sine libris precedent ii° seniores ad petendum libros suos in almariolo, priùs super scamnum cum sociis suis."

[1] In the *Coll. Soc. Ant. Lond.*

[2] Compare the Archbishop's door with the cellarage in the Cathedral cloisters. (Willis, p. 115.)

[3] "Hugh de Flori Capitulum et Dormitorium à fundamentis construxit ex thesauris quos in ingressu suo huic monasterio contulit. Pulpitum etiam in

six years. Its ruins are shown on a map in the British Museum.[1] Gostling suggests that it was destroyed to furnish materials for the Red Lion Inn, in which the great parlour was wainscoted with painted panels of sacred subjects brought from this hall.

The chapter house and *dormitory*[2] were built from their foundations by Hugh de Flori,[3] with the large sums of money which he bestowed on his admission into the abbey. The *dormitory* had a *chapel of St. Mary*, with her image, consecrated by the primate of Ireland on May 7, 1321,[4] at the same time with "five processional crosses, two at the high altar and one which was adored on Good Friday". The gong I should place at right angles to the dormitory and parallel with the Frater. "In 1324 a collection was granted by the whole convent to build a new *chapter house*[5] out of the accompt fund, the wine for the misericord,[6] wax, and spices from the wardens of the order, the sacristy, almonry, and anniversaries. It lasted during eight years and more, and the amount gathered by the brethren Ralph Gatewich and J. Masonn was £277 : 4 : 8." Ickham subsequently gave one thousand three hundred and twenty marks[7] to the "new chapter house". It had probably, like one at Battle, a large vestibule, over which the dormitory was carried. The Benedictine and Austin canon's chapter houses were never, like the Cistercian, divided into arcades.

Abbot Fyndon (1284-1309) renewed the roof of the

ecclesiâ fecit. Candelabrum etiam magnum in Choro æneum quod Jesse vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis. Tabulam etiam argenteam inferiorem magni altaris", besides a cope, chasuble, and stole, enriched with gold and gems, which were called in his honour "Florie". "1260. Constructum est novum *Refectorium* et vi° anno sequente est completum."

[1] Add. MS. 1154, art. 29.

[2] "Quinque cruces processionales, et una que adoratur in Parasceve et duæ de magno altari et imago B. Mariæ in *Capellâ Dormitorii* ab archiepiscopo Armachano de Hiberniâ iij. nonas Maii fuerunt inunctæ et sacratæ."

[3] Thorne, c. ix, § 1. The name is also spelt Fleury.

[4] Chron., 62.

[5] These were extra allowances which were issued in the Disport or Misericord Chamber, where flesh meat was eaten,—"domus ad hoc deputata in quâ camibus vescuntur, in refectorio paucis relictis." (Lyndov., *Const. Othol.*, tit. xlix, p. 150.) There were such houses at Tewkesbury, Westminster, etc. (See my *Annotated Inventory of Westminster Abbey*, and Willis' *Monastery of Canterbury*, 59.) "Fuit quædam collecta à toto Conventu concessa ad novum *Capitulum* construendum de compoto et de vino misericordiarum de cerâ et speciebus de custodibus de sacristiâ elecmosynâ et anniversariis. Et duravit hæc collecta ad opus supradictum per viii annos et ampliùs, et ea summa collecta pro expensis per fratres Radulphum Gatewich et J. Masonn factæ cclxxvii*li.* ivs. viii*d.* Pro novo Capitulo faciendo mccexx marc."

[6] Thorne, c. xxxiv.

[7] C. xlii.

dormitory[1] in 1294 at a cost of £596 : 7 : 10, under the supervision of Sellinge and Bemevyle ; built the *conventual kitchen* from the foundations, and erected a stone torale,[2] which John Peccham gave twenty marks to rebuild. It was probably a turret staircase. In 1267 Adam de Kyngenoth, chamberlain, gave wood for the gable of the *refectory*. He gave 70*s*. for the *prior's chamber*, £100 for leading the *dormitory*, £30 for changes in the *brewery* and *bakehouse*,[3] twenty marks towards building *the chapel over the gate*, and twenty marks for the improvements in the *infirmary*, sixty marks for making a comely *lavatory*. He built the bathhouse anew and the baths in it. "Up to the time of Abbot Roger[4] the brethren shaved each other in the cloister, but, owing to hurts and mishaps, caused by their clumsiness and ignorance of the craft, he ordered shaving to be done by lay persons as it was wanted, in the *chamber next the bath house*."[5]

The *Infirmary*, judging from King's drawing, appears to have been a hall of three alleys, with a chapel and *St. Mary's altar*, dedicated by Bishop Peter in 1324. He died in 1332. A modern cottage is built on it. Peter Denne, canon of London, York, and Wells, built the houses on the north, next the front of the infirmary chapel. He died in 1322. About 50 ft. from the kitchen court wall, and close to its site, which formed part of the infirmary, a large unsightly end of some conventual buildings remains.

[1] C. xxix, § ii.

[2] "Coquina Conventus à fundamentis constructa est tectum Dormitorii innovatum. Torale lapideum ædificatum." Tower is spelt "tore" in a survey of the sixteenth century.

[3] "1267. Adam de Kyngesnoth, camerarius" (afterwards Abbot of Chertsey), comparavit puturam *pulpiti in Ecclesiâ* et gabuli in *Refectorio*, lxx*s*.; ad *Cameram Prioris* faciendam, c*li*.; ad *Dormitorium* plumbo cooperiendum, xxx*li*.; in adjutorium ad *Pistrinum* et *Bracinium* transmutandum et xx marcas ad *Capellam super Portam* construendum et xx marcas pro *Infirmariâ* emendanda, lx marcas ad *lavatorium* decens faciendum. *Balneatorium* ex novo construxit et Balnea in eo fecit." (Thorne, c. xxv, § 4.)

[4] Thorne, c. xxxii. "Usque ad tempus hujus Rogeri Abbatis radebant se mutuò fratres in *Claustro*, sed iste propter læsuras et diversa pericula quæ frequenter contingerent inter eos quia rudes et nescii erant in officio radendi ordinavit cum consensu Conventus quòd rasura fieret in *Camerâ juxta Balneatorium* per sæculares, quociens opus esset. Domos juxta frontem Capellæ Infirmatorii à parte boreali fecit construi suis sumptibus."

[5] The bath-house at Westminster adjoined the hall of the master of the infirmary, and I have had the site of the steps to it pointed out to me. It lay southward of the infirmarer's hall. See my *Annotated Inventory of Westminster Abbey*.

I imagine, from its position, that it may have been the bath house.[1] An old drawing shows it with five eastern and two southern windows, with a battlemented archway to the north. The intermediate space between this ruin and the almonry was known in modern times as the bowling green. It was the site of grange buildings and servants' rooms, and a barton gate. The following[2] were the

ABBOTS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S.

598. Peter, drowned on his voyage as envoy to France 607, at Amfleet, where a miraculous light burned over his grave. Buried in St. Mary's, Boulogne. (Bede, *H.E.B.*, i, ch. 33.)

607. John, one of St. Augustine's companions. Buried in the Lady Chapel.

618. Ruffinian, another of St. Augustine's companions.

638. Graciosus, another of St. Augustine's companions.

639. Petronius, a Roman, d. 654.

655. Nathanael d. 667; consecrated by Deusdedit at St. Peter's altar in St. Augustine's. At his death Benedict Biscop was nearly elected to the vacant abbacy.

669. Adrian, abbot of Niridia, near Naples, musician and astronomer. St. Aldhelm was his pupil here. On his journey to England he was detained as a prisoner in France till 673; d. 708; buried in the lady chapel. His life was written by Joscelyn.

708. Albinus, Adrian's pupil, from whom Bede derived much information; d. 732.

Notbald d. 748. Aldhune d. 760.

Jambert, Archbishop of Canterbury 766-790; buried in the chapter house. (W. Malm., lib. i, § 8.) From this time the archbishops were buried in their cathedral.

762. Ethelnod d. 787, Gutterd d. 802, Cunred d. 822, Wernod d. 844, Diernod d. 863, Wynher d. 866, Beadmund d. 874, Kynebert d. 879, Etaus d. 683, Degmund d. 886, Alfred d. 894, Ceolbert d. 902, Beecan d. 907, Athelwald d. 909, Gilbert d. 917, Edred d. 928, Alkmund d.

[1] *Sacred Archæol.*, v.

[2] This list is drawn up from Thorne, *Chronologia Augustinensis*, Elmham's *History*, and the Patent Rolls. Preceding writers have simply borrowed from one another without independent research. For the last nine Abbots the accounts hitherto given are all in confusion.

928, Guttulph d. 935, Eadred d. 937, Lulling d. 939, Beornelm d. 942, Sigeric d. 956.

955. Alfric d. 971.

971. Elfnoth. The church was dedicated in 978 by St. Dunstan, in honour of SS. Peter and Paul and St. Augustine, from whom the abbey was called henceforth the monastery of St. Augustine. He died 980.

980. Siricius, monk of Glastonbury, Bishop of Wilts., 985, Archbishop of Canterbury 990-994 ; buried here.

989. Wulfric I, buried in the crypt before St. Richard's altar.

1006. Elmer. In 1011, when the Danes slew St. Alphege they let the abbot go free. (*Matt. Par.*, iii, 151.) Bishop of Sherborne ; buried in a tomb outside the parclose of St. John's altar. King Ethelred (985-1016) divided the chancellorship in the king's court between the abbots of Ely, St. Augustine's, and Glastonbury, each serving for four months. The arrangement lasted until the coming of the Normans. (Bentham's *Ely*, 88.) "Statuit atque concessit quatenus ecclesia de Ely extunc et semper in regis curia cancellarii ageret dignitatem quod et aliis, viz., S. Augustini et Glasconiæ ecclesiis constituit, ut abbates istorum cænobiorum vicissim assignatis succedendo temporibus, annum trifariè dividerint cum sanctuariis et cæteris ornatibus altaris ministrando." (See Campbell's *Chancellors*, ch. i, p. 35.) Thorne says one of the Danes stole the pall from St. Augustine's tomb, and, like the shirt of Nessus, it so racked his limbs that he went and confessed his theft, and terror fell upon his countrymen, so that they became stout friends of the abbey ever after.

1022. Elstan, buried in the crypt before St. Thomas' altar.

1047. Wulfric II, sent by the king to the Council of Rheims. (*Ann. Mon.*, ii, 182, 187.) In 1087 the abbot's place in a council was assigned next to the abbot of Monte Casino.

1059. Egelsine. Near Swanscamp, Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Egelsine, abbot of St. Augustine's, assembled the Kentish men into an army, pretending it was better to die like men in asserting and vindicating their liberties with swords in their hands. (Philipot's *Villare*, p. 307.) The mitre, sandals, and ring were granted to the

abbot by Pope Alexander in 1063, but were laid aside in 1067, out of fear of the king, until Roger's accession. (Thorne, 1785...824.)

1070. Scotland. The abbot was a baron of the realm and parliament, and bound to furnish a contingent of troops in time of war. He died September 3, 1087. Buried in the crypt, under the bason with the burning taper, in the chapel before the chancel door, where King Edbald built St. Mary's Church. (*Historia*, tit. xliv, Reyner, *App.* 150.)

1087. Wydo was consecrated by Lanfranc in the cathedral with the Bishops of Chichester and Wells. The archbishop and the martial Odo of Bayeux sent their mandate for his admission to the monks, who stoutly refused to obey it. He installed the abbot, and ordered the refractory brethren to leave their home, sending the prior and ringleaders to the castle. As soon as he had reached the palace news arrived that his prisoners were seated quietly under St. Mildred's Church. There they remained obdurate until Nones struck, and the thought of the refectory proved too strong, so they made peace and ate their dinner. Some were, however, for a while sent to different monasteries, and some loaded with chains, until they came to a compliant mind. (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, i, 387.) He died in 1091, and was buried in the crypt before St. Richard's altar; but his place remained vacant, for Rufus said, "I will have all the staves in England in my hand, and bestow them as I list." At length he yielded in favour of his cousin, bidding them be quick or he would burn their minster to ashes. (Harris' *Kent*, p. 300.)

1091. Hugh de Flori, a Norman knight, who was so struck with the charms of the monastic life when he visited the abbey with the king that he besought permission on the spot to adopt the cowl. He was consecrated in the king's chapel at Westminster on the Sunday after the Ascension by Maurice, Bishop of London. He was buried before the steps in the chapter house on the south side. He sold all his lands in Normandy, and gave them to the abbey. He gave a suit of cope, chasuble, and stole, enriched with gold and gems.

1124. Hugh II, de Trottescliffe, monk of Rochester, chaplain to the king, consecrated by Seffrid, Bishop of Chichester. The monks of the cathedral in vain claimed to have

the ceremony performed in their church. He died in 1151, and was buried on the north side of the chapter house, opposite to his predecessor. There were sixty monks in the convent. He founded a leper hospital of St. Laurence.

1151. Sylvester, prior. Died 1161, buried in the chapter house at a distance of 12 ft. from the lectern. (*Chronol.*, 34.) The profession of canonical obedience to the primate was made by this abbot, as it was by his predecessors. (Batteley, 61.)

1175. Clarembald, a secular intruded by the Crown; deposed 1176. Foxe falls into his usual blunders and grotesque romance (*Actes*, i, 251) about the consecration of the next abbot, "Albert," as he calls him. (Wendover, ii, 296.)

1176. Roger de Lurdington, monk, of Christchurch, keeper of St. Thomas' altar (*Chron.* 36), consecrated January 26 by the Pope and forty-six cardinals and prelates at Frascati. In 1179 the mitre, ring, and sandals (Diceto, 602, Thorne, 1824) were restored. Died October 18, 1212, buried on the north side of the chapter house.

1212. Alexander, D.D., consecrated at Rome by the Pope. Matthew Westminster says that he suffered great trouble, owing to his loyalty to King John. He died October 4, 1220. Buried on the south side of the chapter house. (*Ann. Mon.*, iii, 41, 60.)

1221. Hugh III, chamberlain, consecrated by the Pope on April 1. Died November 3, 1224; buried by the altar of the Holy Cross on the north side of the nave. (*Ann. Mon.*, iii, 41, 100.)

1224. Robert of Battle;[1] consecrated on Ascension Day at Rome, as he refused benediction from the Primate. He signed Magna Charta. He was a long time under suspension. He died January 14, 1252; buried in St. Mary's Chapel, at the entrance of the chancel. The king, on his death, wasted the revenues. (*Ann. Monast.*, i, 89, 232, iii, 126.)

1253. Roger of Chichester, precentor, consecrated Aug. 8,

[1] No less than five monks of St. Augustine's became Abbots of Battle. (See my *Battle Abbey*, pp. 33, 35; Reyner, *App.*, 94, 182; Hearne's *Scotichronicon*, vol. v, pp. 1420, 1422.) Robert of Battle was President of the General Chapter at St. Alban's in 1225. The Constitutions of the order describe him as "bonæ memoriæ". Later Abbots seem to have been content with appearing by proxy. Pope Innocent IV granted an indulgence of forty days to all who visited the Abbey with offerings, which probably marks an era of building, and also issued statutes in 1253.

in the minster by the Bishop of London. He went to St. Omer to meet Richard of Cornwall. Died on St. Lucy's Day, 1272; buried before St. Katharine's altar. (*Matt. Par.*, iii, 324; *Ann. Mon.*, iv, 121.)

1273. Nicholas Thorne, consecrated on Easter Day at Rome; became a Carthusian at Paris, and afterwards at Selby, resigning on May 12, 1283. In 1274 he attended the Council of Lyons at a cost of £200, most of which he levied on the tenants in the name of his palfrey. He and the abbot of Gloucester ordered a general subscription among the abbeys to found exhibitions for Benedictine students at Oxford. (Reyner, *App.*, 58.)

1284. Thomas Fyndon, third prior, consecrated April 4, at London by the Archbishop of Dublin. Died February 14, 1309; buried "in Capellâ ubi cotidiè celebratur pro ecclesiâ ex opposite antiquæ requiescionis B. Augustini sub lapide marmoreo ad solum oppresso in formâ præsulis (Thorne, 2,009) jacet ante altare St. Mariæ." (*Chron.*, 2,278; *Hist. Mon.*, 54; Wilkins, ii, 272.)

1309. Ralph de Bourne (Robert Bowene, 1310; Cleop., iii, fo. 93b), consecrated at Avignon, on the vigil of St. Alban, by Nicholas Alberti, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. His bill of fare at the installation feast is preserved. It included for 6,000 men 3,000 dishes:—53 seams of wheat, 19*l.*; 58 seams of malt, 17*l.* 10*s.*; 11 tonnels of wine, 24*l.*; 20 seams of oats for guests, 4*l.*; within the gates and in the town, 8*l.*; spices, 28*l.*; 300 lbs. of wax, 8*l.*; almonds, 8*l.*; 30 beeves, 27*l.*; 100 porkers, 16*l.*; 200 sheep, 30*l.*; 500 capons and hens, 6*l.* 5*s.*; 100 geese, 16*l.*; 463 pullets, 74*l.*; 200 little pigs, 5*l.*; 1,000 ducks, 16*l.*; 34 swans, 7*l.*; 600 coneys, 15*l.*; 17 shields of brawn, 3*l.* 5*s.*; partridges, mallards, bitterns, larks, 18*l.*; 1,000 earthen pots, 15*s.*; 9 seams of salt, 10*s.*; 1,400 cups; 3,300 dishes and platters; brooms and sticks, 8*l.* 4*s.*; fish, cheese, milk, garlic, 2*l.* 10*s.*; saffron and pepper, 1*l.* 14*s.*; coals, casks, and furnaces hired, 2*l.*; 300 ells of canvas, 4*l.*; tables, dressers, trestles, making, 1*l.* 14*s.*; cooks and their helpers, 6*l.*; minstrels, 3*l.* 10*s.* In all, 287*l.* 5*s.* Bourne planted the vineyard[1] at Nodholme, which had been a nest of thieves.

[1] Vineyards are also mentioned at Gloucester, Peterborough, Bury St. Edmund's, Rochester, Derby, and Beaulieu. See Bentham's *Ely*, notes, 63.

1334. Thomas Poncyn, D.D., consecrated at Avignon June 12. His journey from Dover cost £21 : 18 : 11, and occupied three weeks and as many days. His residence from the vigil of St. Gregory to the vigil of St. Laurence cost £98 : 4 : 5, and his return journey £28 : 0 : 8. He was elected president of the general chapter of Benedictines in 1340. He died September 13, 1343, and was buried near his predecessor, by St. Katharine's altar, under an effigy. (Reyner, *App.*, 102.)

1343. William I, Drulegh, chamberlain, "little of stature, like Zacchæus, but a stalwart giant in defence of the church," consecrated in October at Avignon by Peter Gomez de Barrosso, Bishop of Sabina. Died September 11, 1346 ; buried on the prior's side in the chapter house.

1346. John Devenish or Devenech, monk of Winchester. He proceeded to the Papal court to have his election confirmed, became broken-hearted at his failure, and died at Avignon, June 23, 1348. He was buried there in the Franciscan Church, at the entrance of the church. (*Var. Lect.*, cap. xl, ap. x, script.)

1348. Thomas Colwell, sacrist, provided by the Pope, consecrated October 4 at Avignon. Died on Ascension Day, 1375, buried in St. Anne's Chapel, opposite the Chapel of the Annunciation of B.V.M. The expenses of the next vacancies and election were £1,008 : 12 : 8. (Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii, 15.)

1375. Michael Peckham, consecrated at Esher by the Bishop of Winchester. He kept his consecration feast privately in the refectory. He died February 11, 1386 ; buried between the lectern and the bench on the south side of the chapter house.

1389. William (II) Welde, consecrated at Rome on St. Lucy's Day, April 11. Philpot says that Sir Simon de Burley, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and constable of Dover Castle, demanded that all the jewels of St. Augustine's should be removed thither for security against the attempts of the French. On the refusal of the convent to comply, he grew slack and remiss in securing the sea coast of Thanet. When the abbot raised a considerable strength out of his tenants about Norbourn, with the design of holding the isle, Sir Simon compelled him to go round about with his troops by Fordwich and Sturry ; however, he

arrived and made such a vigorous resistance that the French, who came with eighteen galleys, were beaten back to their ships. After this Sir John obtained the king's mandate to enforce the abbot to leave Thanet and come to the defence of Sandwich, but he would not stir, but abode still to defend his own tenants and lands against the insults of the invaders, who burned down Stonar in the year 1395. (Harris' *Kent*, p. 299, 300.) He died on the vigil of St. Mildred, 1405, and was buried in the chapter house, between the lectern and Abbot Silvester. Richard II reduced the fine payable on a vacancy to fifty marks, paid annually, which in one instance were granted as a pension to the king's physician. (Rymer, tom., v, p. ii, p. 82 ; Pa. Ro., 1 Richard III, p. 4 ; 1 Edward IV, p. 1, m. ii.)

1405. Thomas Hundenn, consecrated on St. John's Day, ad Portam Latinam, in St. Paul's, London, by Archbishop Arundel. "Licentia eligendi Abb. S. Aug. Cant. per mortem Willelmi 3 Aug." (Pa. Ro. 7 ; Henry IV., p. 1 ; MS. Harl., 6,962, fo. 35.) "Consentit electioni 26 Aug., temporalia restituta May 6."

1420. Marcellus Daundelyon. The Daundelyons were an ancient family living in the neighbourhood of Margate. "Rex consentit electioni 14 Oct. temporalia restituta 3 May." (Pa. Ro., 8 Henry V ; MS. Harl., 6,962.)

1427. John Hawkhurst. "Licentia eligendi per mortem Marcelli 4 Dec." (Pa. Ro. 5 Henry VI, p. 1 ; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 7b.) "Rex assentit electioni 25 Jan. (*Ibid.*, fo. 8.)

1430. George Penhurst, prior. The royal assent was given June 22. "Licentia eligendi per mortem Johannis." (Pa. Ro. Henry VI, p. 2 ; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 116 ; Rymer, iv, p. iv, p. 173.) "Temporalia restituta 22 Jan." (Pa. Ro. 9 Henry VI, p. 2 ; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 13 ; Reyner, *App.*, 114, 187. He was presented at the General Chapter in 1446, because he sent only two instead of four scholars to the conventual college at Oxford. (See his *Compotus* below.) Nicholas Gomerstan, B.D., precentor, was one of the commission for revising the statutes of the order in 1444.

1457. James Sevenoke, monk. "Licentia eligendi per mortem Georgii Penshurst 30 Julii." (Pa. Ro. 36 Henry VI, p. 2. "Rex assentit electioni Sept. 25." (*Ibid.*, p. 2 ; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 53 ; see also Rymer, tom. v, p. ii, p. 78.)

1464. William Sellyng. "Licentia eligendi per mortem Jacobi 5 Jan. Rex assentit electioni Feb. 22." (Pa. Ro. 3 Edward IV, p. 2; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 55.)

1482. John Dunster, prior of Bath. "Licentia eligendi per resignationem Will. Sellyng 6 Jul." (Pa. Ro. 22 Edward IV, p. 1; MS. Harl., 6,963, fo. 92.) "Rex assentit electioni de John Dunster nuper priore Bathon, 29 Jul." *(Ibid.)*

1496-7. John Dygon, temporalities restored February 17. He died in 1509. "Licentia eligendi vice Johannis ult. abb. Jan. 13." (Pa. Ro. 12 Henry VII, p. 1.)

1510-11. Thomas Hampton, D.D., Oxon., 1511, by incorporation. (*Ath. Oxon. Fasti.*, 1, 34.) The temporalities were restored on July 21. Arms, *sable*, a chevron lozengy, *gules* and *ermine* between three mullets *argent*, on a chief *or*, a greyhound courant between two cinquefoils *sable*. (Cole MS., xxx, fo. 13.) [Cleop. E. iii, 137, contains an order for restitution of temporalities to Thomas Dunster. In 1511 John Hawkins is said to have succeeded; both are fictions.] "Licentia eligendi vice Johannis May 18, restitutio temporalium July 21." (Pa. Ro. 2 Henry VIII, p. 1, 2.)

1521-2. John Sturvey or Essex, monk, B.D., Oxon., May 9, 1515. *(Ath. Oxon. Fasti.*, 1, 43.) Arms, *argent*, a chevron lozengy, *gules* and *ermine* between three chess rooks *sable*, on a chief *azure*, three goats' heads coupée. (Cole, u. s.) "Restitutio temporalium *Edmundo* (*sic*) Essex Feb. 6, vice Thomæ ult. abb." (Pa. Ro. 13 Henry VIII, p. 1.)

1536. The 21st day of July King Henry came to Canterbury with Lady Jane, the queen, who in the monastery of St. Augustine was very honourably received. (St. Augustine's *Chronicle* in the *Narr. of the Reform.*, p. 283.) On September 21 and 22 Cromwell's emissary Peter visited the abbey. On October 20, 1535, the worthless Dr. Layton had performed the same office. The two Benedictine houses were in fraternity, and the monks of Christchurch said the same service for those of St. Augustine's as for themselves, except in the omission of the "voce meâ" and a dole at the almonry gate. (Dart, *App.*, xxvi.) One was to survive, the other was made a desolation and ruin. The dry record of the last community is in the following paper:—"Monasterium extra et juxta muros civitatis Cantuar. 30 July, 30

Henry VIII. John Essex, abbat; John Dygun, prior; Thos. Barham, infirmarer; John Langport, treasurer; John Langdon, præcentor; Wm. Wynchelsea, cellarer; Edw. Bennet, sacrist; Rob. Tenett, vestiarer; John Sandwych, sub-prior; John Story, hostiar *(ostiarius)*; Rich. Compton, third prior; Rob. Garynton, sub-cellarer; Rich. Canterbury, refectorar; Rob. Saltwood, keeper of St. Mary's Chapel; Wm. Mylton; Thos. Strykynern, chamberlain; Dan. Franckelyn, fourth prior; Wm. Hawkherst, sub-sacrist; Wm. Holyngborne, abbot's chaplain; John Haylsam, John Ryvers, Laurence Goleston, John Shrewsbury, John Antoni, Ralph Adrian, Thos. Haplys, Wm. Horsmunden, Geo. Amyce, Edw. Hales, Rob. Glastonbury, Wm. Burges." (Surrender, in Public Record Office.)

Essex retired on a pension of two hundred marks, with a manor house for his residence at Sturry, and the rest of the brethren received stipends, varying to the lowest payment of 100*s.* In 1556 there was one annuitant at 53*s.* 4*d.*, and of pensioners six received 100*s.*, one £13 : 6 : 8, five £6 : 13 : 4, one £8, and three £6. (*Arch. Cant.*, ii, 58, 59.) The abbot's town house was in Southwark. St. Augustine's, it should be added, furnished many heads of Benedictine houses in England. A very valuable document, the *Compotus* of the Abbey, preserved at Lambeth, gives us a complete insight into the condition of the abbey in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI and the sixteenth of Abbot George. A.D. 1446, 1447, the names of the great cardinal, Henry Beaufort, the Queen, Lord Saye, and Marquess of Dorset occur, with notices of the royal visit. (*Cartæ Antiquæ*, tom. xiii, p. 1.) The salaries of the various officers were as follows :—

"Garcio Prioris, xs.; cerefactor, xxs.; cocus Refectuarii, xxvjs. viijd.; clericus Feretri S. Augustini, xxs.; capellanus Comitissæ, liijs. viijd.; valectus infirmarii, xiijs. iiijd.; valectus" [valet] "refectuarii, xiijs. ivd.; janitor, xxvjs. viijd.; garciones coquinæ, cuilibet, xiijs. iiijd.; ortolanus" (kitchen gardener), "cellerarius, xvijs. ijd.; garciones" (grooms) "coquinæ, cuilibet, xvjs.; valectus celerarii, xxvjs. viijd.; vinator" (keeper of the vineyard), "xxvjs. viijd.; plumbator, lxs.; garcio thesaurarii, xvjs.; janitor ecclesiæ, xxs.; garcio cellariæ, xvjs.; valectus revestiarii, xxvjs. viijd.; garcio disportûs" (the misericord), "xiijs. iiijd.; pistor, xxvjs. viijd.; ij servientes in eodem officio, xvjs.; brac' [-iator], xls.; iiij servientes cuilibet, xvjs.; valectus celerarii, xvjs. viijd.; garcio celerarii, xvjs.; carterus, xxxvjs. viijd.; plumbator, xxxvjs. viijd.; garcio thesaurarii, xvjs.; garcio stabuli domini, xvjs.;

valectus domini, xxvj*s.* viij*d.*; carteri socius, xxvj*s.* viij*d.*; custos ffurni (kiln) calcis, vij*li.* xij*s.* vj*d.*; lotrix" (laundress), "xxvj*s.* viij*d.*; elemosynarius, xvj*li.* xj*s.* iiij*d.*; custos flurni tegularium, viij*li.* iij*s.* x*d.*; capellanus eleemosynariæ, liij*s.*; custos Capellæ S. Mariæ in navi ecclesiæ; custos Capellæ B. M. in Cryptis." The altar of St. John occurs also.

"Dona.

"Dat' ministrallis domini Cardinalis, iij*s.* iiij*d.*

In v^DD viij capon' dat' domino Cardinali marchioni Dors'[1] et expendit' tempore Parliamenti, xxx*s.* x*d.*

Dat' lus'[oribus]" (players) "in festo Nat. Domini, xx*s.*

In viij bursis emptis et datis diversis servientibus dom. Cardinalis, xx*s.*

Dat' Johanni Pette de Menstre pro captione de signetis" (cygnets) "ibidem, vj*d.*

Dat' Mag. Willo. Curteys predicanti hic in Pascha, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Dat' ministrallis dom' Regis, vj*s* viij*d.*

Dat' ministrallis dom' Dorset,[2] vj*s.* viij*d.*

"Negocia.

"In diversis expensis dom. equitantis versus Wynton' et redeuntis una cum cariagio jocalium" (jewels) "et aliis expensis apud London' circa solucione ffr', vij*li.* xviij*s.* xj*d.*" Probably some offending monk.

"Pro expensis John Amssell versus London' pro medicinis domini, iij*s.* ij*d.*

"Expens' Thesaurarii.

"Pro brondyng et lynyng unius barehide" (cart-tilt) "per le Som', ij*s.* x*d.*

Pro mundacione gardini Petri de Dens erga adventum Cardinalis, xvj*d.*

Pro factura vj parium lyntheaminum" (sheets), x*d.*

In legacione unius pipe olei apud Fordwych; unius bugæ" (budget); "ij stoppis" (stoops), "ij*s.* vij*d.*

j cero" (a lock) "et clau'" (bar) "pro gardino et le storehouse, et pro mundacione volte" (the vaulted prison) "pro prisonario[3]

Pro j modio" (carbonum) "empto apud Le Gyldhalle, London, xiiij*d.*

Pro mundacione napparum" (napery) "de refectorio, xx*d.*

Pro ciiij^xx xiiij novis ferris pro equis carect' precium ferri, ij*d.*, xxij*s.* viij*d.*

Pro ccxxxij remos" (small straps), "ix*s.* viij*d.*

Pro clerostis" (clout-nails), "brodis" (brads) "et lynoes" (lining nails), "et aliis, xvj*s.* xj*d.*

In j reme papiri empto, xij*s.*

In j rotulo pergameni" (parchment) "empto, xj*s.* viij*d.*

Pro j ladell et j scomour" (skimmer), ij*s.* x*d.*

In clxxv crossfagotts" (brushwood-topped), "iiij groundfagotts" (brushwood cut near the root or stump), "xvj*s.* viij*d.*

[1] See Willis, *Conventual Buildings of Christchurch.* 7. Deportum, p. 59.

[2] Edmund Beaufort created Marquess of Dorset, June 24, 1442, and Duke of Somerset, 31 March 1447, K.G. Slain at the battle of St. Alban's, 1455.

[3] The Lyenge House of the Rites of Durham.

"*Stabulum Domini (the Abbot).*

"In uno equo, l*s*.
In j sella" (saddle) "cum freno, iij*s*.
Pro xj carectis straminis, xj*s*.

"*Camera Abbatis.*

"In ij bundell cirporum" (rushes), "xii*d*.
Pro emendatione diversorum in garderoba, ij*s*.
In uno pare de bottages" (water-bougets), "empto, ij*d*.

"*Hostelagium (Guesthouse) Abbatis.*

"In j kylderkyn de sturgeon, xiij*s*. iiij*d*.
In diversis fructibus emptis pro regina, ij*s*. xj*d*.
In j quarterio salis albi pro sallario" (drysalter), vj*s*.
In anguilles" (eels) "emptis London', frictis" (fried) "et salsis, xviij*s*. ix*d*.
j ladell de laten et j libra de saundrez" (sandal-wood) "empto, ij*s*. ij*d*.
In expensis domini apud Salmeston tempore Carniprivii" (Lent. See *Sacred Archæol.*, s. v.)
j libra de saundrez xij lib' dim' de sugure, xxiij*s*. iiij*d*.
In j bale de datis ponderante iij quarteria Cne et xiiij libris, xiij*s*.
In vj quarteriis ffr'i" (frit-grain at the top of an ear of corn) "emptis granatoro" (granaries), xl*s*.
In ccc cusards" (sticks or poles) "empt' de custode bosci ce Plumstede, v*s*. ix*d*.

"*Pro Abbate.*

Dat' dom' de Say[1] ad excusandum dominum (abbatem) ad dominum regem de non veniendo ad Parliamentum de Bury[2] ut in precis unius equi empti, iiij*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*.
In xl quart'carbonum empt' de capellano pr. quarterii viij*d*., xxv j*s*. viij*d*.
Pro j pipe vini albi, xl*s*.
Pro iij doliis vini rubei empti Sandwyco prec' dolii, iiij*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*.
Pro mandato" (Maundy, see Reyner, *App.*, P. iii, p. 92) "dom. Abbatis in aula, iij*s*. iiij*d*., xiiij to xx*d*.

"*Variæ Expensæ.*

"Distrib' pauperibus in festo S. Augustini, xx*s*."

Pope Innocent VI gave an indulgence to all persons visiting the shrine, "7 id. Feb. 3° an. Pontiff." (*Reg. Islip.*, fo. 114a.) Bread was also freely given.

[1] Sir James Fienes summoned to Parliament, at Bury, as "lord of Saye and of Sele", by writ, March 3, 1447, which he read there aloud before all the Lords. Lord High Treasurer. Murdered by Jack Cade's mob, 1450.

[2] Held in the refectory of St. Edmund's Bury, Feb. 10, 1447. (*Parl. Hist.*, i, 381.) The Abbot discreetly kept at home, for the Parliament was called to impeach the Duke of Gloucester, who had been long engaged in a quarrel with "his half-bred brother, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester", the "Cardinal" of this Compotus, who certainly had no reason to complain of conventual backwardness in the matter of gifts.

"Clerico Pipe[1] pro les besauntez, ij*s*."

Besaunts were gold coins. Probably this officer took this fee when the King gave a royal largess.

"Dat' presbyteris diaconis et innocentibus[2] in festo Nat. Dom. xx*s*.
ij fratribus celebrantibus apud Incarnarium et S. Pancrass, xiij*s*. iiij*d*.
lvij*li*. ij*s*. iij*d*. de oblationibus ad Corpora Sanctorum per Sacristam et revestiarium et subsacristas cum ..... in pixide S. Jamberti et in navi ecclesiæ.
"Pro cereo paschali" (Paschal taper) "ut in ij lb. et di. cere, prec' libre vj*d*., xv*d*.
Pro xxx^{DD} candelis ceposis pr. duodenæ xv*d*., xxxvij*s*. vj*d*.
Pro ij ceris et clausis emptis pro domo infra monasterium" (on the north of the Infirmary) "vocato Peris a Dene, vij*d*.
In stramine empto pro ecclesia sternenda, iiij*s*.
In funibus pro ecclesia, x*s*. ij*d*."

Probably ropes ran through rings in the nave-arcade, to keep the crowd within the aisles during the passage of processions, as at Norwich. See my *Trad. and Cust. of English Cathedrals.*

"Pro factura ij salsar'" (salt-cellars) "argent' cum argento empto pro eisdem et pro de auratione unius bugilhorne et pro ij ewers, xxxix*s*.
Pro le bleanbatt, ij*d*.
Precium acre in foresta de Blean, x*s*.
Precium libræ veteris electri" (latten), "ij*d*.
Pro facturâ de mcccxxv fagottes pr. c^{ne} xij*d*., xvij*s*. iij*d*.
De viij quarteriis avene emptis precium quarteriæ ij*s*., xx*s*.
In furfure" (bran) "empto et sigistlo" (rye) "empto de subcellero" (subcellario), "cx*s*. x*d*.
Precium dolii vini rubei, cvj*s*. viij*d*.
Pro portacione iiij elmes, vj*d*.
Dom. Abbati et creditoribus suis cccciiij^{xx}ix*li*. xiij*s*.
Debita indè remittuntur per dom. Cardinalem Angliæ jam defunctum, ccclxvj*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*.
Solut' dom' Regi pro pensione suâ pro vacatione monasterii, xxxiij*li*. vj*s*. viij*d*.
Pensiones perpetuæ" (to vicars, religious houses, and others), "iiij^{xx}v*li*. xj*s*. xj*d*.
Dom' Henrico Cardinali Angliæ, ccclxvj*li*. xiij*s*. vj*d*."

[He was created Cardinal, Dec. 28, and received his hat at Calais, Feb. 2, 1427. He had no title. *Ang. Sac.*, i, 800.]

"In diversis expensis domini et familiæ suæ equitantis ad Wynton' ad obitum Cardinalis, eundi et redeundi, vij*li*. xiij*s*. j*d*."

[He died April 11, 1447, and was buried in his cathedral church.]

[1] The Clerk of the Pipe was an officer in the Exchequer, who charged in a great roll, like a pipe, all accounts and debts to the King, drawn out of the Remembrancer's offices. (Cowel's *Law Dict.*)

[2] The children of the choir who attended the boy-bishops.

"Pro literis faciende fraternitatis tàm pro dom' Cardinalis quàm pro archiepiscopo Cantuar' scribendis, vs.

Cuidam speciali amico conventûs benè noto per obligationem, cvj*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Expensæ Abbatis et familiæ. In canibus, piscibus, et aliis ad coquinam pertinentibus, in expensis abbatis conventus et familiæ factis per Ric. Sandhurst cellero, ccij^{xx}xv*li.* xj*s.* ij*d.*

In officio subcellere cxix*li.* xix*s.* vij*d.* in ccclix quart' vij b[usselli]s brasii, clxj*li.* xj*s.* viij*d.*

In eodem officio ix^{c}lxix quart' iiij l*s.* prec' quart' iij*s.* iiij*d.*

In eodem officio ciij*s.* vj*d.*

Summa omnium expensarum m^{l}m^{l}viij^{c}xxxvij*li.* x*s.* iij*d.*

Et sic excedet, m^{c}xxj*li.* ix*s.* q^{a}.

Quæ debent diversis personis [et dom' Abbati et credit' suis, cclxxv*li.* xij*s.* ij*d.*]

Summa, m^{c}xxj*li.* ix*s.* q.

Summa omnium debitorum jam cognitorum, m^{l}ccccclxxiiij*li.* xiij*s.* vj*d.*

Summa remissa, ciiii^{xx}vj*li.* x*s.* iij*d.*

Et sic restat summa clara debitorum jam cognitorum, mccciiiiviij*li.* iij*s.* iij*d.*"

The kings gave the abbey exemption from various tolls and the right of a mint, with fairs on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and on the translation of St. Augustine within their close, which brought into the convent trade and wealth. The abbot sat after those of St. Mary's, York, and St. Alban's in 1343. In a General Chapter, in another list, he follows Glastonbury, and precedes Westminster and St. Alban's. (Reyner, *App.* 108, 150.) The Pope called this abbey the chapel of Rome, the first-born, the chief mother of monks in England. (Gervase, 1333, 1329.) He seated the abbot next the superior of Monte Casino and the whole order. (Thorne, 1784; *Chron.*, 22, 48; Reyner, sc. xlv, *App.* 53.) He allowed no primate to enter the gates with his cross borne before him.[1] He exempted the house from archiepiscopal visitation, and required primates to salute the abbot (*Ib.* sc. xliv, *App.* 52) as their brother, and bishops only to enter when required by the convent. Until the Norman invasion the abbots were nominated by the primate. The abbot (Thorn, 1784, 1785, 1824; *Chron.*, 250-2; Dicето, 602) wore mitre, ring, sandals, and gloves. He gave the solemn benediction at mass, and was empowered to have

[1] In 1389, the Archbishop, when he came for the purpose "divina audiendi et sanctum in ecclesiâ quiescentis visitandi", with his cross borne before him, promised that he did so with no design of derogating from the Abbot's rights. (*Reg. Courtenay*, fo. 337.)

a mint until 1161, to celebrate the Divine office in a general interdict, to excommunicate malefactors, and to reconcile or consecrate the churches appendant on the convent. (Wilkins, ii, 446.) The right to visit them was vindicated by the primate in 1314. For nearly five hundred (Diceto, 602) some (Gervase, 1326, 1331) say five hundred and seventy-five years the abbot gave promise of obedience to the primate, and then this recognition of their authority was taken away by Pope Alexander III in 1158. For a while the archbishops were content, by way of compromise, to give the benediction in their minster, but at last the abbots claimed, in favour of Pope Clement, 1342, to be consecrated by any bishop at will. The dubious privilege was purchased at a dear rate. The following was abbot Peckham's bill in 1375 :—

	£	s.	d.
To the poor on the day of burial and month's mind, and for the effigy and hearse	6	2	2
Expenses of the brethren going to the King for the election of an abbot	4	3	4
The King's charter for licence of election and fees at Petepagge (petty bag)	1	8	6
To divers clerks and notaries	6	13	4
Expenses of the elect on presentation to the King	8	10	4
Expenses of the elect with the Bishop of Winchester	9	3	4
Gifts to clerks, squires, and other attendants of the Bishop after benediction	6	13	4
To the King's chamber for his fee touching the oath	5	0	0
The King for half a year	400	0	0
The Pope and College of Cardinals for common service	215	2	0
To the Pope and Cardinals for licence of benediction in England	186	2	6
For the exchange of florins	6	15	0
To the escheter for simple seisin in the vacancies	2	3	4
To the proctors going to Avignon, and gifts there	124	3	2
For envoys of Rome and other expenses	30	13	4
	£1008	13	8

The abbey possessed 11,862 acres of land, and a revenue of £1,412 : 7 : 2. The precinct wall comprised an enclosure of sixteen acres. One of the granges remains almost entire at Selmeston, near Margate. The churches of St. Andrew, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Paul's by Canterbury, Minster, Feversham, Tenterden, Stodmarsh, Sturrey, Northburn, Sellinge, Lenham, St. Peter's, Sandwich ; Preston, Chistelet, Littlebourne, Kennington, Middleton, Willesburgh, Brook-

land, and Plumstead were appropriated to it. The appropriation of the churches of "Stone in Oxene, Brokeland, in Mariseo de Romenal and Wymesburgh" was made in 1357. (*Reg. Islip.*, fo. 140 b.) There is a most interesting account of the property in Canterbury in the Public Record Office. (*Ch. Ho. Books*, 307, ff. 1-3.)

Our last notice of the site occurs in a Patent Roll. "2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, P. iii. Grant to Cardinal Pole of all that house and scite of the late monastery of St. Augustine, near the walls of the city of Canterbury, and all houses, stables, etc., to the same belonging, and all that parke voc' Canterbury Parke to the saide house adjoyning, and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments inclosed within the said parke." (*Calendar* 26; Publ. Rec. Off., fo. 349.) King's view shows its gateway on the north side. Not a thought was given to the fact that within these walls were buried the early primates of England, including "the Apostle of the Angles", and royal personages, Ethelbert and Bertha, Eadbald and Emma, Ereombert, Lothair, and Withred. The jealousy of the archbishops induced Cuthbert to obtain licence of burial within the cathedral church, both from the Crown and the Pope, and he himself by an ingenious prohibition of mourning at his decease prevented the monks of St. Augustine's coming by force (Malm., i. § 7) to carry his body to the common cemetery of Canterbury. (Gerv., 1333.) The privileges of the abbey were numerous and important, given by royal charters, signed by the hands of those who preferred to be guests of St. Augustine rather than entertained within the precincts of the cathedral, and also by grant of Papal bulls.

Notwithstanding the popularity of the shrine of St. Thomas and the splendour of the archiepiscopal palace, St. Augustine's maintained its rank and honour, ranking next to St. Alban's and Westminster. Henry VIII converted the buildings which he wanted into a palace. If his passions had been interested he would as soon have built mosques as have pulled down abbeys. The church was left to be sacked of its lead, stones, and timber, after the royal treasury had been filled with sacrilegious spoil. "Allso S. Austen's Abbey at Canterbury was suppressed in September 1538, and the shryne and goodes taken to the Kinges treasurye." (Wriothesley's *Chron.*, i, 84.) "1539-40, Lady Anne

of Cleeve was lodged at the Kinges pallace at S. Awsten's, and their highlie feasted." (*Ib.*, p. 105.) Edward VI completed the havoc. Not a fragment of an inventory has reached us, like the "codicillæ" which Thorne deplored, and were destroyed in the fire; all have perished. In 1763 (*Gent. Mag.*, lxviii, P. i, p. 1,027) a remonstrance from abroad alone saved the few relics which we possess, except St. Ethelbert's tower, and that was reserved for the ignorance at the close of the last century to reduce it to a fragment. "It is said that when Henry VIII seized the religious houses, the gates of St. Augustine's monastery were shut against him, till two pieces of cannon, placed on a hill just by, made the monks hasten to deliver up their keys." (Gostling, ch. vii, p. 38.) "The verdict and sentence of destruction" (Speed's *Hist.*, 294) has so utterly laid waste and defaced the very site, that we now cannot even imagine the "magnificence of the whole when all stood complete in their glory together". But one thing may be done by ourselves, we may purchase the ground which covers the eastern arm of the church, and preserve it decently, for in holy eyes it is holy still.

WISBECH CASTLE.

BY R. B. DAWBARN.

THREE or four different and entirely distinct buildings have claimed the title, "Wisbech Castle",—Norman, Tudor, and Renaissance. Let us notice them in their order.

Probably the Norman Castle was preceded by an entrenched camp of turf and unhewn stones, formed, as the writer of a note in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1774, supposes, to oppose the designs of Hereward and the malcontents of Ely. The absence of all mention of a castle at Wisbech in *Domesday Book* agrees with the tradition that the first permanent and regular fortress was not erected here until the last year of the reign of William the Conqueror.[1] In accordance with Norman usage, Wisbech Castle was placed close to the water. The outfall of the Ouse (called by old writers, Camden and others, the "Well Stream") and of the Nene unitedly formed an estuary which it commanded. Good as was the site for strategical purposes, it was not very safe from an engineer's view, and in 1236 the Castle, as well as the town, was almost entirely destroyed by an inundation of the North Sea. If the tradition be correct, that forty or fifty years before the catastrophe, Henry II (1154-1189) dismantled the building, the mischief done by neglect during several years may have facilitated its destruction. The building was not left long in ruins, for mention is made soon afterwards of its reconstruction, and of the material used—ragstone. It is pretty clear that this Castle, like its successor, was entirely moated, and that it had a drawbridge towards the church. This most likely was "the gate towards Elm", spoken of by Dugdale; but whether a second drawbridge was provided is uncertain. If there were, then it, like the approach to the building of the Tudor period, faced the present river-side.

[1] Watson, in his *History of Wisbech*, referring to William's contest with Hereward, gives the following quotation from Matthew Paris as proof that the former built Wisbech Castle: "Castellum in loco qui Wiseberum dicitur, a fundamentis erexit. Quod cum adversarii ejus cognovissent, omnes præter solum Herewardum, ... ad manum venientes, Willelmo sese presentarunt quodlibet supplicium subituri."

Allusions occur in ancient documents to the chapel, garden, and dovehouse, within the walls. The moat of the "Julik" (whatever this name may signify) was cleaned out in 1404. Early in the present year a portion of a massive wall constructed of large lumps of Northamptonshire ragstone, of a kind similar to that employed in building the church, was discovered on the south side of the Crescent, near Mr. Nicholl's residence, by men cutting a trench for sewerage purposes. This, doubtless, was a fragment of the foundations of the Norman Castle, but hardly another trace of the ancient building has been found.[1]

The seal of one of the Governors, Sir John de Colvile, in 1410, is preserved by his descendants. It shows a conventional representation of the building, a gateway in front, and a round, battlemented tower rising behind. If this delineation is in any degree a record of fact, then Wisbech Castle followed the usual type of the period, but possessing a dungeon or keep of *circular form* (for such I take the seal to represent), akin in shape to the great tower at Windsor, with inner and outer bailey, and the customary towers and gates. Like similar strongholds, it served as a prison, and among those confined here in 1314, the names are recorded of Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and the wife of Robert Bruce.

The event of greatest interest, associated with this structure, is John's visit to it in 1216, on the day before his unhappy attempt to ford the Wash. The inevitable limitations of time and space allotted to readers of papers, forbid detailed statements of all the arguments that may be employed to identify the neighbourhood of Wisbech with the catastrophe. A discovery, made by Dr. Brady, if I mistake not, about half a century since, of King John's *Itinerary* among the documents accumulated in the Tower, virtually sets the question at rest. The dates, as given in the twenty-second volume of the *Archæologia*, are these,—Oct. 7 and 8, A.D. 1216, Spalding; Oct. 9, 10, and 11, King's

[1] Shortly after the reading of this paper a rather important omission on this head was pointed out to the lecturer. In the local Museum may be seen the capital of a Norman respond, dug some years back out of the Castle moat. It is decorated with angle-volutes, and, alike in its proportions and style, is widely different from the work observable in the Norman arcade remaining in the church. Is there any improbability in the belief that this capital was a part of the hall or chapel of the Castle founded by the Conqueror?

Lynn ; Oct. 12, Wisbech. Walker and Craddock, the local historians, fix the point at which the King crossed the estuary, scarcely more than a mile below the present bridge, where the stream in those days (a mile and a half in width) ran between the Leverington and Walsoken banks. Remembering that the Well Stream was the ancient name of the Ouse, it will be seen that this statement is in exact agreement with the narrative of Matthew Paris, a contemporary chronicler. The bitter mortification at the loss of his baggage and valuables was, as is known, instrumental in speedily terminating the King's days. His evil life was inconsistent with much peace of mind at any time, but such peace as he ever enjoyed fled here finally. His life closed in disaster.

Both Lynn and Wisbech supported the cause of the King against the barons ; and it would seem that, in some sort to recompense their loyalty, he confirmed to the inhabitants of this borough a charter granted by Richard I, exempting them from toll in all fairs and markets throughout England. Buildings called "King John's Almshouses" exist, which, according to tradition, he endowed, but they are quite recent in their construction ; and it is remembered that the former almshouses were upon a different site, and were entirely destitute of architectural merit or interest.

Some time in the fourteenth century the custody of the Castle passed into the hands of the Bishops of Ely, who were then among the most influential of English prelates, at least three of them attaining to the dignity of the cardinalate. Wisbech Castle became one of the ten official residences owned by the see ; and here, as the great feudal lord of the Isle of Ely, the Bishop had authority only less than that of the sovereign. At the assizes, held alternately at Ely and Wisbech, under his sanction, criminals were put to death. It would appear that part, if not the whole cost of the maintenance of himself and retinue, during his stay in the town, was defrayed by the Corporation. Something like homage to the Bishop was paid by the town bailiff in a periodical presentation (latterly of a purely formal character) of a purse containing gold coins. John Morton, who was afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry VII, and Cardinal by Pope Alexander VI, was Bishop of Ely in the reign of Edward IV. During his eight years'

episcopacy he undertook many important engineering and architectural works. Morton's Leam, a cut straightening the course of a portion of the Nene, and the entire reconstruction of Wisbech Castle, were some of them.

No drawing or representation of any kind, of this Castle, is known to exist. We know, however, pretty accurately its exterior shape, the limits of its moat and boundary-wall. Its various edifices occupied two acres of ground, and stood in an additional four acres of land. A moat, 40 feet wide, filled from the river, surrounded the Castle, and within this was a strong wall. It had one drawbridge, that on the west front, towards the river. Seventy or eighty years since an old stone foundation, supposed to be the base of this bridge, was discovered near Yorke Row, and brick foundations have been unearthed more than once in the neighbourhood of the ancient moat. These are nearly all the remains of Morton's work that have come to light during this century.

Dark reddish brown bricks, each 11 inches in length, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ or $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and Ketton or Barnack stone dressings, with lead, iron, and wood, were the materials employed in the Castle; and the architectural character of the building, doubtless, was such as is seen in similar structures of the period. In rebuilding, Cardinal Morton naturally followed the alteration in the style of castellated structures which had come in vogue at this time. Instead of rearing a building lighted chiefly by mere slits, resembling the keeps of Rochester or Norwich, he erected an abundantly well lighted edifice, part fort, part palace, and part prison, somewhat after the fashion of Haddon Hall, containing within its moated walls terraced gardens, fishpond, and dovecot. It is, perhaps, worth noting that an old gable-wall overlooking the moat (now filled up) still remains, containing two mullioned windows illustrating the domestic architecture of the day, as well as the materials used in the construction of the Castle. It can be viewed if the examination be thought of any interest.

Three houses in Yorke Row, part of a block originally containing four dwellings, mark the position of an adjunct of the Castle, the Mote Hall, in which various courts, manorial and other, were held. The Mote Hall abutted immediately upon the drawbridge, on the outer side. In

one of the dwellings standing upon this site, and dating probably from the Commonwealth, Thomas Clarkson, the zealous advocate of the abolition of slavery, spent his early years.

Tradition says that the Castle has more than once been besieged, and that the garrison held secret communication with partisans outside the walls by means of lead pipes laid into Deadman's Lane. It is interesting to know that such pipes were actually found at the time the ground adjacent to the Castle premises was dug up. Two iron cannon belonging to the armament of Morton's building were preserved until comparatively recently, and were then broken up for old metal. Each was about 11 feet in length, 5 ins. or thereabouts in bore, and each about a ton in weight. Perhaps they were twenty-four pound wall-pieces. They were roughly finished, and very probably rather unsound as castings. The Castle was used as a prison not only for general criminals, but for political and religious prisoners. Thus in the time of Queen Mary, William Wolsey and Robert Pygott were confined in it prior to their execution at the stake for heresy.

In the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, many Roman Catholic prisoners were shut up here, and several noteworthy ecclesiastics died at Wisbech in captivity, and are buried in the churchyard. Among them are two Bishops of Lincoln, Thomas White and Thomas Watson, the latter said to be the last of the ancient Romish hierarchy in England. John de Feckenham, or Fakenham, Abbot of Westminster, and Queen Mary's private confessor, also died here in 1585. One prisoner, a Jesuit father, William Weston, *alias* Edmunds, the friend of Garnet and Southwell, was confined eleven years in this building, and has left behind him a very interesting autobiography, published within the last year or two under the title, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, and edited by Father Morris. Weston, suspected of participation in the Babbington plot, was shut up in London, in the Clink, and afterwards in the Tower. His confinement at Wisbech Castle came between his imprisonment in the two above named gaols. About a dozen co-religionists were sent into captivity with him; and during his stay from thirty to forty prisoners, on an average, were shut up in Wisbech Castle. He says the building itself

stood upon a high terrace, surrounded by a moat full of water; and he refers to the great hall and other buildings as large; but everything was then in a ruinous state, which he attributed to the rapacity of the heretical prelates, who stripped the lead, iron, and glass, from the building for their own gain. The dilapidation was so serious that a portion of the roof of the prisoners' lodging fell in, but fortunately when they were absent. Compared with the other prisons then in use, Wisbech was not a place of cruel durance to the Catholics, and the discipline became laxer as time wore on. The burden of their maintenance was defrayed by themselves, and twelve shillings per month was the sum paid by each. But from the first they were allowed to take their meals together in the common hall. Opportunity was given for exercise, and friends were allowed to visit them. The Governor and the population of the district were exceedingly Puritanical in opinions, and sternly repressed all attempts at proselytism. Two servant lads in the Castle, whom the prisoners converted, on refusing to abjure their faith in Romanist doctrines, were flogged publicly upon the Market Place by the Governor.

It appears from the narrative that religious meetings were held in the Castle precincts, to which the inhabitants of the district came in great numbers, many on horseback; the Governor and the justices of the neighbourhood also attending. He describes how one of these meetings lasted nearly an entire day, one preacher succeeding another; after which the proceedings became very disorderly, discussion ending in very unseemly squabbles. Father Weston was, it is said, engaged at the time he left Wisbech for the Tower, in an unsuccessful struggle for spiritual supremacy over his fellow prisoners here. He survived his various terms of imprisonment, and died in old age at Valladolid in 1615.

It is not impossible that the notorious Gunpowder Plot owed its origin to the association maintained in Wisbech Castle between two of its promoters. Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, the arch-conspirators, were confined here together in the reign of Elizabeth.

An address congratulating the crown, in the time of Charles I, on the expulsion of the Catholics, and referring to some of them then confined at Wisbech, is probably the

last known mention of Wisbech Castle as a political or religious prison.

Wisbech Castle, prior to the Commonwealth, was held by Parliamentarians, and an out-post was established at the bend of the river below the town, known as the Horseshoe Hole, to resist the raids of the Royalists, who were strong in Lincolnshire. Why Cromwell caused the building to be dismantled and destroyed is not stated. Perhaps it was no longer necessary to him as a fortress, and at the same time a dangerous vantage ground if occupied by an enemy.

More facts respecting the associations connected with this Castle might be given, did time allow. A tolerably complete list of the Governors from 1246 has been preserved. The monumental brass of one of them, Sir Thomas de Braunstone, in the church, has received your attention. It has been engraved in Lyson's *Britannia*.

In 1658 the site of the Castle was purchased by the Lord Secretary Thurlow. How much of the moat he left unfilled is uncertain. Portions of it remained as hollows or pools up to the end of last century. The house built by Thurlow was a favourite design with its architect, Inigo Jones, if we may judge by the fact that he more than once reproduced it. The house at Wisbech is said to be an exact copy of Long Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, the seat of Lord Chief Justice Oliver St. John; and the same model, somewhat elongated in plan, was followed in the erection of Coleshill House, Berkshire. In this last instance there are four windows on each side of the door instead of three in the house at Wisbech. I venture to consider this building interesting as marking an epoch in domestic architecture. It indicates the changed preference which was then occurring in public taste, from our national Gothic to the Renaissance. It is possible that in this design we have the prototype of the compact quadrangular dwelling which for several generations has been esteemed the Englishman's model mansion. Thurlow was elected Member for Wisbech, but did not sit for the borough. His connexion with the town was very shortlived, for in about two years after the erection of his house, the Restoration caused the Castle property to revert to the see of Ely. It was leased in successive terms, extending over more than a century, by the Bishops to the Southwell family. By the advice of Dr. Johnson, a scion of

the Southwells, undertaking the grand tour of the day, was placed under the care of Giuseppe Baretti, the Italian scholar and dictionary maker. Baretti, who enjoys more than a passing notice in Boswell's book, visited this neighbourhood, probably staying at the Castle, and has left in a letter written to a friend at home an exceedingly graphic picture of Wisbech races, and the manners and customs of Englishmen in the provinces in the eighteenth century. This letter is preserved in Watson's *History of Wisbech*.

The erection of the circus known as the Crescent, and the buildings connected with it, Yorke Row, Ely Place, and Union Place, was undertaken by Mr. Joseph Medworth, who purchased the Castle property from the Bishop of Ely about eighty years since. The demolition of Thurlow's old house was no part of his original purpose, but was the result, it is said, of the contemptuous rejection by the Corporation of that day, of his proposal to sell it to them for conversion into a grammar school. Mr. Medworth pulled down the mansion in pique, and with the materials built the houses known as the Castle and Castle Lodge. He left two of the three sets of stone piers forming the ancient gateways, standing, connecting them with the present boundary brick wall.

The vaults under the Terrace (at least so much of them as is visible) present hardly a trace of anything ancient or interesting. The removal of the ancient building left unseemly hollows, and as the best mode of dealing with them, Mr. Medworth built arches, upon which is laid a terraced garden walk. In one portion of the vaults the end of the basement-wall of the garden front of Thurlow's house may be seen cut through; and a well is preserved, the lower part of which is very possibly of some antiquity,—perhaps it is as old as Cardinal Morton's time. A passage leading towards the river, and which is understood to be connected with Mr. Charles Exley's vaults near the bridge, is bricked up. These cellars extend about 200 feet under the roadway, and the arch which covers them is 19 or 20 feet span. Unfortunately the brickwork has been covered with cement; but from a very small portion exposed, the bricks, by their colour and character, appear ancient. It is, perhaps, permissible to suppose that this vault was originally a culvert by which the moat was filled, and it may also have served the purpose of a concealed sallyport.

Although the castles built by William I and Morton have disappeared, they have not left themselves without a memorial of their existence. A glance at the map of the old part of the town shows that its present shape is due to the former existence of these buildings. Medworth, in building the Crescent, did little more, in his plan, than follow lines already traced for him; and the exterior curves discernible in the Market Place and High Street exactly coincide with the boundary of the moat. The open spaces, too, known as Museum Square and Castle Square are virtually the sites of the respective drawbridges. The inhabitants, in days when life and property were less safe than now, planted their dwellings, as far as possible, under the shelter of the local fortress. Hence Wisbech Castle has, while the town shall remain, permanently fixed upon it its sign manual. The monument we seek we may see around us.

British Archaeological Association.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING,

WISBECH, 1878,

MONDAY, AUGUST 19TH, TO TUESDAY THE 27TH INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

To many members of the Association the strangeness of the contrast afforded by the visit to Wisbech with the rendezvous of last year—Llangollen in North Wales—probably occurred, and suggested the lines of Cowper:

> "The world was made so various that the mind
> Of desultory man, studious of change,
> And pleased with novelty, might be indulged."

Instead of mountains and valleys, they find themselves in the largest plain that Britain can boast, stretching from Cambridge to Lynn and Peterborough, and far away into Lincolnshire. Yet the country, flat as it is, has a beauty of its own; and Kingsley acknowledges it when he speaks of it as possessing "a beauty as of the sea, of boundless expanse and freedom". The present Bishop of Carlisle, when delivering his inaugural address at the Wisbech Industrial Exhibition, remarked that a flat country was not without its advantages, even in respect of beautiful objects upon which the eye can rest with pleasure, and by which the artist's eye can be educated. "The effects of sunrise and sunset", he says, and, indeed, all beauties depending upon the atmosphere, are seen nowhere better than in a district like this. Every one must have been struck occasionally with the grand cloud-pictures which may be seen in a country having a wide horizon,—eccentric forms, Alpine snowy ranges, weasels and whales, and every variety of hue." Not only in the cloudscape, but there is much in the landscape, upon which the eye may rest with pleasure, especially when the fields are waving with golden corn, or, as at the present time, harvest is in progress. To some, perhaps, the very name of Fen may have suggested the idea of dismal swamps and marshes, productive of damp airs and racking agues, though in reality the very districts which gave rise to such associations are amongst the most highly cultivated and productive in the kingdom. The air, as a natural consequence, has become pure and healthy; and agues, so far at least as being peculiar to the Fens, are almost unknown. Little more than a hundred years ago Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty

in that day, in company with Lord Orford and a party of friends, had a twenty-one days' cruise on the Whittlesea Mere, the great reservoir for Fen waters, amusing themselves with fishing and holding a regatta on the spot where now abundant crops are gathered in. His Lordship was not complimentary to the Fen inhabitants, for we are told that he reports that "there were many very old women in Upwell, Outwell, and March; the sex in general extremely ugly; the town, population, and crops of all kinds plentiful." However wanting in gallantry this summary report may appear to be towards the fair sex, there is little doubt that his Lordship, if he had been present at this Congress, would have acknowledged that wonderful changes had taken place since his day, and that the race to whom he referred had well nigh become extinct.

The Fens have a history peculiarly their own, and these corn producing lands, sometimes called "the granary of England", are as much the product of art as in the kingdom of Holland, opposite to which it lies. Even Canute in his day had seen the necessity of doing something in the shape of drainage, for sailing across the Fens with his ships from Ramsey to Peterborough, the waves were so boisterous on Whittlesea Mere that he ordered a channel to be cut through the body of the fen, which still goes by the name of "King's Delph". The Isle of Ely was really an island then; and where many a town and village has since been built, existed but morass and water. How it won the designation of the "Camp of Refuge" has been told by Kingsley in *Hereward the Wake*, and also how Richard de Rulos commenced to drain the Fens, deserving, as Kingsley says, the inscription to be written on his tomb, "Here lies the first of the new English, who by the inspiration of God began to drain the Fens." For eight hundred years our forefathers waged war against wind and wave, and "instead of mammoth and urus, stag and goat, the Fens now feed cattle more numerous than all the wild venison of the primæval jungle, and produce crops capable of nourishing a hundred times as many human beings."

We have no intention of repeating what has become an oft told tale of the discouragements and failures which surrounded a task fraught with immense difficulties, and requiring men of energy and determined courage to accomplish it. Some mistakes were made, as when a certain bishop made a cut which let down upon Lynn the pent up waters of higher morasses. On the other hand, honour must be given to Bishop Morton, who cut the great leam from Guyhirn, the last place at which one could see a standing gallows and two Irish reapers hanging in chains, having murdered the old witch of Guyhirn for the sake of hidden treasure, which proved to be some thirty shillings and a few spoons.

Nor is Wisbech without archæological interest, and its existence as a town may be traced back to Saxon times, a little more than twelve hundred years since. In the charter of King Wolfere, connected with the monastery at Peterborough, mention is made of Wisbech and Elm in the year 654, in the following sentence, "the principal river that goethe to Elme and Wisbeche". It is thought that Wisbech as well as Boston and Spalding were made Roman strongholds,—a supposition which the peculiar situation of the town (upon embankments) tends to confirm. The name has its origin in the fens and marshes by which the town was surrounded,—the first syllable, *Wis*, being derived from the Ouse; and the second, *bech*, from *bec*, the Saxon word for water. No one will doubt, who has perused the recently issued *Fenland, Past and Present* (a work which every student of Fen history ought to possess), that the district surrounding Wisbech affords a fertile field for scientific research, and that there is plenty of material for the archæologist, of whom Lord Lytton, in a recent presidential address, observed that it was amongst his labours to guard from oblivion the myths, the traditions, and the legends of former days, and that it was to his care we owe the preservation of many a pure and sacred well-spring of poetry and romance.

This country is intersected by dykes and ditches, around and in which yet linger the tall, rustling reeds and nodding sedges, to remind us that of old here was the home of the teal, the widgeon, the whirring duck, and other prey of the fowler. But beyond these, as far as the eye can reach, are rich leas and fat corn-lands, now crowned with luxurious crops, and ready to be garnered. It might appear to some to be an unattractive spot for the labours of ardent archæologists, yet the Fenland has a history. There are remains here of vast dykes and Roman banks, of old bulwarks and older trackways through the marshes, which in far-off days afforded both food and refuge for hunted patriots and oppressed natives. There are remains of these of all ages, of the fishing Briton who dwelt here in pre-Roman times, as well as of earlier men who probably lived here ere the great inland rivers were dammed up and formed, and formed the marsh and mere, their then sea-outlet being diverted. Here and there, on some rising knoll, some island in the old meres, are churches whose richness of detail is unsurpassed. Near these there are old barrows, mostly of the long variety, and ancient pottery of that rude description which Canon Greenwell has made us so familiar with in his recently published work on the early burials on the Yorkshire wolds. Apart from these remains there are the great religious houses and their dependencies, which were the great colonies of civilisation and literature when all around was so wild, dark, and cheerless. Many of these are truly epics in stone, the very poetry of architecture in its purest age. They

date from the earliest introduction of Christianity; but there are few recognisable traces of the foundations of the edifices of Etheldreda or St. Guthlac either at Ely or Crowland. The very church in which the monks sang at Ely, when Canute and his cruel Danes rowed by in their boats, is no more. There is but little save history and sentiment to connect the forlorn yet noble lady who left her Northumbrian greatness to devote herself to God in this weary waste of wet land, this home of fish and fowl, of stagnant water and oozy mud. There are the memories, in this Fen-land, of the gallant defence made by Hereward and his followers against the Norman conquerors,—a defence which lasted for seven long years. In every struggle against tyranny and oppression these marshes, so fertile now, gave a desolate if secure dwelling-place to those who were amongst the weakest party.

It was these points of interest, and a desire to visit some well known and well worn archæological landmarks, as well as to open up a new and comparatively unworked field, which induced the Council of the British Archæological Association to accept the invitation of the Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech to hold their thirty-fifth Annual Congress in that ancient port of the Cambridgeshire Fens. Wisbech itself is an old-fashioned market town with but little to recommend it to the visitor. It was once a great port for the shipment of corn, and it boasts of having given birth to Clarkson, of negro-emancipation fame.

Monday, August 19, 1878.

The thirty-fifth Annual Congress was commenced on Monday, under auspicious circumstances. There was more than an average attendance of members, and the session seems likely to prove one of the most successful that the society has experienced. The intention of the meeting being that the Fen country might be investigated, and also that visits might be paid to Lynn, Swaffham, Ely, Peterborough, Spalding, Thorney, Crowland, and other ancient places.

At two o'clock on Monday the various members of the Association, the Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech, and a number of ladies and gentlemen, assembled in the Council Chamber for the inaugural proceedings. The chamber contains the portrait of Thomas Clarkson, painted by Strutt, also of Dr. Jobson and Ald. Young, M.P. The Mayor (Charles Gane, Esq.), attired in his robes, occupied the chair, and he was supported by Aldermen Groom, Bates, Mason, Ford, and Stanley, and Councillors Metcalfe, Goward, Harvey, Bray, Hiscox, Maxey, Rust, Carrick, Leach, Philips, Peatling, and Bothamley, and the Town Clerk (Mr. F. Jackson). There were also present the Mayoress, Archdeacon Emery, the Rev. Canon Scott and Miss Scott, Canon Hopkins, Rev.

E. Swann, Rev. F. Carlyon and Mrs. Carlyon, Rev. J. R. Jackson, Rev. F. Jackson, Rev. E. H. Littlewood, Rev. J. Smith and Miss Smith, Mr. Alg. Peckover and the Misses Peckover, Mr. and Mrs. C. Bowley, Mr. Alex. Peckover, Mr. Jonathan Peckover, Mr. R. C. Catling, J.P., Mr. R. Dawbarn, J.P., and the Misses Dawbarn, Mr. H. Sharpe, J.P., and Mrs. Sharpe, Mr. Hampson, J.P., and Mrs. Hampson, Mr. A. W. English, J.P., Mr. E. H. Jackson, Dr. Lithgow, Dr. E. C. Bury, Mr. W. Welchman, Capt. and Mrs. Barker, Mr. and Mrs. Pearse, the Misses Pearse, Dr. and Mrs. Fawssett, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Ward, Mr. and Mrs. G. D. Collins, Mr. and Mrs. J. Leach, Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Dawbarn, Mr. W. Smith and Miss Smith, Mr. Ditcham, Mr. J. Baker, Mr. R. Bennett, Mr. W. C. Little, Horman Fisher, F.S.A., Merriman, C. Brent, F.S.A., Picton, Foster, W. H. Cope, T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A. (Treasurer of the Association), Mould, Burgess, E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., and a large number of members of the Association. The Earl of Hardwicke, accompanied by C. W. Townley, Esq., Lord Lieutenant of the County, Captain Catling, E. Hicks, Esq., and Mr. Wright, the Congress Secretary, was warmly received on entering the chamber, and, having greeted the mayor, took his seat on the right of the chair. His lordship appeared scarcely to have fully recovered from the severe hunting accident which he had the misfortune to meet with some months since.

The Mayor then rose, and on behalf of the town of Wisbech welcomed the British Archæological Society to the borough. Wisbech, he said, was a very old and noted town, and was the birthplace of Clarkson, whose portrait was before them, and who had done so much to procure the abolition of slavery. He was glad that the Association had honoured the inhabitants of Wisbech by accepting that district for their annual meeting. He felt certain that it would prove of absorbing interest to the members of the society, and this they would experience wherever they journeyed into the neighbourhood. Although they might not discover the site of an ancient temple of Solomon or of Venus, yet they would find much which was calculated to repay them for their visit. To Lord Hardwicke, as President of the Association, they offered a most hearty welcome, and they congratulated him upon his recovery to health after his recent accident. He had pleasure in presenting to his Lordship an address from the Corporation of Wisbech, and which was as follows:—

"*To the Right Hon. the Earl of Hardwicke, President of the British Archæological Association for the year* 1878.

"May it please your Lordship,—

"We the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Wisbech beg leave to tender our most sincere thanks that this town has been chosen by the Association for holding their annual Congress, and

we most heartily welcome your lordship and the other members to our ancient borough. Impressed as we are with the belief that the researches and the discussions of the Association over which your lordship presides are not only in the highest degree interesting, but also of the utmost utility in preserving and keeping in remembrance many important facts in connection with the localities selected for such investigations, we feel extremely gratified that this town and neighbourhood are favoured by the attention and presence of the Association. There are doubtless amongst the relics of the past which exist in and around this borough numerous objects well worthy the notice of the Association, and some of them of a character peculiar to this locality; and we most heartily hope that the members may find much pleasure in examining them, and that the result of this Congress may be of lasting interest and advantage.

"Given under our common seal the 13th day of August 1878.

"Chas. Gane, Mayor."

—The address was illuminated on vellum, with an ornamentation of wheat ears starting from a spray of oak, symbolical of the agricultural and shipping interests of the town. The wheat ears form circles, the centre one at the top containing the borough arms, with a view of one side of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the other side a view of the town hall and bridge. The ornamentation is continued down the side, and contains a view of Wisbech from the Nene Parade, showing the river Nene and also a view of the old Roman sea bank, commonly known as Mount Pleasant. It is the handiwork of Mr. Alfred Balding, to whom it does much credit. The mayor, having read the address, which was beautifully illuminated and framed and glazed, handed it to Lord Hardwicke, and concluded by requesting his lordship to take the chair, as President of the Congress.

The Earl of Hardwicke then delivered the inaugural address, the text of which, as reported, has been printed above at pp. 1-10. On the termination of the address,

Mr. Morgan, Hon. Treasurer, proposed a vote of thanks to Lord Hardwicke for presiding, and for his interesting discourse. He had given a good description of the Fen country and of the churches. He was sure that they were all glad to see Lord Hardwicke after his late unfortunate accident.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Hon. Congress Secretary, seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously. He then described the programme for the week, and stated that for want of time they had been reluctantly compelled to abandon their visit to Middleton Towers, to which place they had been kindly invited by Sir Lewis W. Jarvis.

An adjournment was then made to St. Peter's Church, the principal church in the town. This singular edifice presents a number of sug-

gestive problems to be worked out. It is one of the three double-naved churches in the kingdom, but the peculiarity is that the two naves, of which the southern is much the broader, are embraced under one roof, the western juncture of the gables being connected by a buttress, ending in a well corbelled bell-turret. Each nave has an external aisle, and at the east end are two great chancels. Almost detached, at the north-west angle, is a massive pinnacled tower, ornamented with bands and carved stone panels, etc. On entering the church the naves are seen to have distinct and very simple oak ceilings, crossed by numerous beams. The three arcades are dissimilar, the northern one being First Transitional, with circular columns and chamfered caps, the central line light grouped piers and shafts of the pattern usual in the Nene Valley throughout the fourteenth century; and the arcade between the south nave and its aisle is supported by clustered shafts, with deep bell moulds and caps. At the west end of the north nave, which is the narrower and obviously more ancient of the two, are the piers and responds of an incomplete tower. The two chancels are of nearly similar size, and a skew arch has been thrown across the east end of the north nave to connect the nave and its wider chancel. In the church, Canon Scott read portions of the opinion[1]

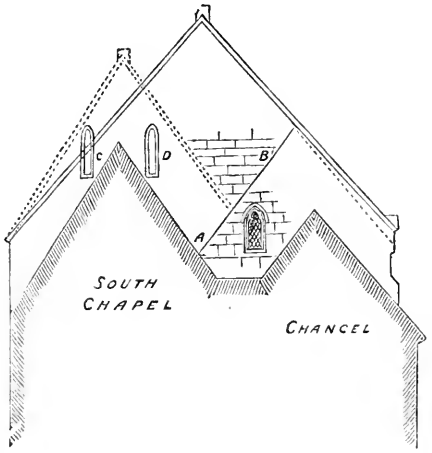
[1] "My first impressions were, that the single roof covering the double span (viz., both north and south *nave*) was erected at the same time as the addition of the south nave (in the fourteenth century) though I was perplexed at finding it supported not only by an arcade of much later date in the centre, but also by a late clerestory on the north side. I could imagine *one* of these supports being inserted by shoring up the already existing roof; but that this should be the case with *two of the three* supporting walls, seemed to be, to say the least, perplexing. The question was, however, at once settled by seeing the eastern gable as viewed from between the roofs of the chancel and the south chapel. We have there clear marks of a gable terminating the north or original nave. This would afford no evidence of itself, as to the question under consideration, as it might be the remains of the gable which existed *before* the erection of the south nave; but on examination it is clearly of the same age with the roofs of the chancel and south chapel in their present form, their weatherings being built into it; and both of these are of the same age as the south nave. Again, the gable in question stands over the chancel-arch, which arch was built at the same time with the south nave, and itself contains a window of the same age as the chancel-arch. On examining, too, the interior of the side of the gable over the *south* nave, I find that the present line of inclination cuts off the head of a small window which once existed between it and the roof of the south chapel. All this evidence tends distinctly to prove that the single gable comprising a double span is the result of an alteration of subsequent date, and that at the time of the erection of the south nave the two naves had their own separate roofs.

"The accompanying diagram, made only from memory, will serve to explain my meaning; A B showing the line of old gable referred to, and C the small window cut off by the present gable line, and D the *possible* position of a corresponding window. The dotted gable-lines show the probable form of the old double roof, that of the *south nave* having probably been somewhat higher than the *north* roof.

"The probable history, then, up to that period would be something of this

written by his late brother, Sir G. Gilbert Scott, in reply to the question whether, in restoration of the church, then pending, the external

kind. The church would have been at first of Norman or partly transitional date, and have consisted of a narrow nave with north and south aisles, an engaged western tower standing on three sides on arches, a chancel with at least one (a south) aisle. The nave would have a low clerestory. The tower may or may not have been completed. During the fourteenth century, however, the original form was greatly altered. A south nave with an aisle of its own was substituted for the original south aisle of the nave, a lofty chapel for the south aisle of the chancel, and a large and wide chancel for the original small and narrow one. The tower (or what existed of it) still remained, as probably did the south arcade (with its clerestory, now become internal), and the old nave-roof and the north clerestory; the eastern gable of the old nave being rebuilt, with the chancel-arch which carried it, and the new nave having its own roof. The north aisle was also widened at this period.



"At some period considerably later, another great alteration was undertaken. The western tower (or the idea of completing it) was done away with; its upper walls and eastern arch were taken down, a great Perpendicular window inserted in its western wall, and its side-arches left as part of the nave-arcades. At the same time the south arcade of the Norman nave, with its now internal clerestory, being found to encumber the interior, were removed, and a much lighter and loftier arcade was substituted. The Norman clerestory on the north side was for some reason rebuilt, and (owing probably to the inequality of the two nave-roofs) the double nave was covered with the single roof which we now see. The stair-turret of the tower was converted into a bell-turret on the western gable, either to receive the Sanctus bell, or as a substitute for a larger belfry during the temporary absence of the tower,—a want amply supplied, early in the sixteenth century, by the erection of the present massive detached tower on the north side.

"There are two points which my examination of the church did not enable me to make up my mind upon. 1st, as to the date of the last named alterations; and 2nd, as to that of the flat timber ceiling by which I find that the roof was concealed in the interior.

"The most natural supposition would be that the old tower was taken down at the time when they intended to build a larger one, which would throw the

roofs should be made separate, and if the internal oak ceilings ought to be removed. The advice given on that occasion, said Canon Scott,

whole of these alterations as late as the time of King Henry VIII. I confess, however, that the construction of the roof looks earlier than that time, and more especially so does the turret on the western gable. Some parts of this turret have the appearance of fourteenth century work. These *may* possibly be made up from older fragments ; and the turret certainly looks, internally, as if made up in this way, or as if it had been at some time rebuilt. It may be that the western tower never was completed ; and this turret may have been carried up during the fourteenth century for the temporary reception of a bell, and partially reconstructed when the wide gable was erected.

"On the other hand, the flat ceiling has moulded joists similar in section to those of the floor which covers the lower story of the present tower, which shows that this ceiling at least is of the same date as the tower. So that if it can be proved that the ceiling and roof must have been constructed together, the entire alteration must clearly be of the sixteenth century. It is, therefore, a matter of some curiosity to discover whether the ceiling is coeval with the roof, or inserted subsequently to it,—a question which I think a careful examination may settle.

"I now come to *practical* questions,—1st, whether the present wide roof should be retained, or the older arrangement of two roofs be reverted to ; and secondly, whether, in case the present roof be retained, the timber ceiling below it should be restored, or the roof thrown open to view. On the first question I thoroughly agree with Mr. F. To destroy the present roof with its wide-spreading gables would be deliberately to deprive the church of its most remarkable feature. The church at its best period could never have been remarkable for its beauty, and if restored to the most perfect typical form of which it is capable would still be inferior in that respect to many churches in the neighbouring villages. It is *interest* rather than *beauty* which it has to trust to ; and the fact of its being one of about *three* instances existing in England, of two naves under one roof, is one of its most striking features, the loss of which would deprive it of nearly all its interest. Besides this there is no conceivable object that I can think of in such an alteration. The fact that the parishioners happen to contemplate the restoration of the church to a state of seemly repair, need not be the signal for reducing the fabric to some one of the many forms through which it may be imagined to have passed. If this were to be the principle acted on, the same reason which would lead to restoring the double roof would demand that the two should be of unequal height, and that the Norman clerestory on the north side, and the Norman arcade in the centre, should be restored. Again, the roof is not by any means in a condition to require removal, but may be repaired at a very moderate cost ; so that its removal would not only be, as before stated, a deliberate injury to the church, viewed as an object of antiquarian interest, but would be incurring a perfectly needless expenditure.

"The most difficult question, however, is the second,—whether the flat timber ceiling should also be restored ? I see that Mr. F., who could not have been aware of the existence of an *ancient* ceiling (it being covered with lath and plaster), recommends one as the most proper finish for the church. I cannot say that I went to this length, for before I became aware of the fact of the ceiling being ancient, I felt disposed to throw open the roof to view, remarking at the same time that it would look more quaint and interesting than beautiful. Whether it was at first intended to be exposed I really cannot say. The fact of the interior of the gables being plastered seems rather favourable to this supposition, though some other appearances point the other way. The roof is constructed with some *little* regard to internal symmetry, but less than one would expect had it been intended to be open. I do not think it would look ill, and it certainly would look curious and striking if exposed to view. On the other hand, the ceiling *may* prove to be coeval with

was followed out in the restoration, during which work the bases of the Norman arcade were found, as Sir Gilbert had suggested, beneath the base of the present central arcade, and concealed by the flooring. The great tower was probably built by John Morton, the clerical engineer of the Fen drains, who lived for a short time at Wisbech Castle, and became successively Bishop of Ely and Archbishop of Canterbury. Upon one of the chief panels were the arms of the sees of Canterbury and Ely. A detailed examination of the building followed, during which satisfaction was expressed that the oak ceilings were repaired instead of being removed. It was observed that in the north nave is now a modern Decorated window, having an unmistakably mechanical look about the tracery. In Sir Gilbert Scott's report this window is referred to as a "Perpendicular insertion. A warm discussion took place as to the communion-table, a ponderous framework of oak, in which is set a narrow slab of Purbeck marble, on which are incised three rude crosses. Canon Scott suggested that this might be the pre-Reformation altar let into a later table, but the theory was disputed by several, who observed that the crosses did not look genuine, nor were they the right shape or number, being but three in lieu of five. Mr. Bloxam regarded this as a table of the time of William III, and thought that the one now in the vestry, of much lighter construction, was probably the Caroline table. In the north chancel is a very large brass to a warrior, in chain basinet and breastplate, with long taches, of about the year 1405, to which it is ascribed. The other interesting features of the church were an Edwardian brass of large size in the chancel and some kneeling Jacobean figures of local worthies.

The party then proceeded to Leverington Church, a short distance from Wisbech, and were met by the Rev. F. Carlyon, M.A., the vicar, who very lucidly pointed out several of the points of interest in this fine old edifice, and among other things not of an antiquarian character, though it will become so in time no doubt, directed attention to the memorial slab of a Captain Anthony Lumpkin, who was said to be the Tony Lumpkin of the comedy of *She Stoops to Conquer*, Goldsmith having written the play in a house still existing in the village, and not far from the celebrated "Crackskull Common". The church has

the roof, and certainly *is* a genuine Gothic boarded ceiling divided into panels by moulded joists, and is neatly and carefully wrought, so that it has in itself considerable claims. It may be that the open roof was found to look rude and uncouth, and that it was thought best to hide it. On the whole I am rather disposed to its restoration, as by this you will be preserving *all* the old features of the church, and at the least will be making the interior both neater and warmer than if you throw open the roof." (*Copied from an opinion given by the late Sir G. Gilbert Scott, when consulted in* 1855, *during the restoration of Wisbech Church, respecting the treatment of the roof which he would recommend. Dated April* 21, 1855.)

a well-proportioned thirteenth century tower, capped by a Decorated spire, with good gable lights. The nave is Perpendicular, and attached to it is a beautiful Early Decorated south porch, with canopied niches on the heads of every buttress, a crocketed and beniched south front, and ornamental cresting of open stonework; it contains a private chamber. The font is an unusually rich Late Decorated structure, with sculptured figures on each of the eight sides and on the shafts. The church has been extensively restored by the late rector. The free admixture of Flemish details in tracery, panelling, and parapets, bespeaks an affinity with the Norfolk churches, while the spire lights and octagonal angle pinnacles at summit of tower are of the Nene Valley type.

On the way back to the town the Roman bank was traversed. This is an embankment, still very perfect in places, formed of silt, about 15 feet in average height, with a width at base of 60 feet to 80 feet, and at summit of 10 feet to 20 feet. A similar bank begins at a distance of two miles, and encloses the river Nene and a widening area as far as the sea coast. It was stated that this formed the old estuary of the Ouse, Nene, and other rivers, now partially diverted to Lynn, and that here, where before the members' eyes extended wide fields of sheafed wheat, King John lost his baggage in the disastrous retreat across the Wash. It was further pointed out that all the churches and old windmills are on the outer (landward) sides of the Roman banks, and that their course is marked by tumuli.

Leaving this, a great tumulus near the Leverington road was visited. This had been cut into for the inspection of the party, and showed its construction. It was found to be only of earth, and no traces of interments were met with. Much discussion was occasioned, but the feeling of those present was in favour of the tumulus being considered not a tomb, but the site of a beacon or of a "look out". Before the party retired they were entertained with afternoon tea by Mrs. Sharpe, beneath an umbrageous tree. Returning to Wisbech a visit was paid to the museum.

The banquet which was given to the Association by the Town Council and the inhabitants of Wisbech and its neighbourhood, was served in the evening at the Public Hall, the tables, the platform, and other parts of the room being elegantly decorated with flowers. There were altogether about two hundred guests present, including the Mayor (C. Gane, Esq.) and Mrs. Gane, the Earl of Hardwicke, Mr. J. T. Aveling, Mr. G. G. Adams, Rev. A. C. Abdy, Mrs. Aveling, Rev. E. Bellman, Miss Barlow, Mr. C. Bowley, Mr. J. and Mrs. Baker, Dr. Bellamy, Col. Burnard, Mr. E. Bush, Mr. J. Bush, Mr. L. Brock, Mr. C. Brent, Mr. J. and Mrs. Brinton, Mr. E. Brunt, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., Rev. J. Beresford, Mr. M. H. Bloxam, Mr. W. G. Black, Mr.

T. Burgess, Mr. M. Bennett, Mrs. Barker, Miss Cooke, Captain and Mrs. Catling, Mr. J. D. Collins, Mr. G. D. and Mrs. Collins, Captain Crothers, Rev. F. and Mrs. Carlyon, Mr. G. Carrick, Mr. W. S. Collins, Mr. T. Coote, Mrs. A. Cope, Mr. W. H. Cope, Mr. C. F. Compton, Mrs. and Miss Claggett, Mr. F. S. Coleman, Mr. and Mrs. Cookcroft, Mr. R. and Miss Dawbarn, Mr. E. Dawbarn, Miss Downing, Mr. G. and Mrs. Dalziel, Mr. and Mrs. de Horne, Mr. F. Dodson and family, Mr. W. Dereham, and Mr. R. Dawbarn, Archdeacon Emery, Mr. A. W. and Mrs. English, Dr. and Mrs. Fawssett, Mr. R. H. Fisher, Mr. J. M. Forster, Mr. J. and Mrs. Goward, Mr. J. W. Grover, Mr. G. Goodwin, Mr. E. Hicks, Mr. J. and Mrs. Hampson, Mr. H. and Mrs. F. Howard, Canon Hopkins, Mr. B. and Mrs. Hicklin, Rev. F. G. Howard, Mr. A. E. and Mrs. Hudd, Mr. E. H. Jackson, Rev. J. R. Jackson, Mr. J. Jackson, Rev. F. Jackson, Mr. F. and Mrs. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Kempton, Mr. Kerslake, Rev. E. H. and Mrs. Littlewood, Dr. Lithgow, Mr. and Mrs. J. Leach, Mr. G. Lambert, Mr. J. C. Lord, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, Mr. C. Lynam, Mr. F. M. Metcalfe, Mr. T. P. Maxey, Misses Merriman, Mr. S. B. Merriman, Mr. J. T. and Mrs. Mould, Mr. and Miss Morgan, Mr. A. Marshall, Mr. J. Matthews, Mr. H. S. Mitchell, Rev. G. Merriman, Mr. R. W. Merriman, Rev. S. M. Mayhew, Mrs. Male, Mr. S. H. Miller, Mr. L. Oliver, Mr. J. Pearse, Misses Pearse, Mr. Jno. and Miss P. H. Peckover, Mr. Alex. Peckover, Mr. G. F. Phillips, Mr. S. J. and Miss Pocock, Mr. A. A. Prankerd, Mr. and Miss A. Peckover, Mr. G. F. Peele, Mr. F. and Mrs. Peatling, Mr. J. H. Picton, Mr. G. Pattrick, Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Reed, Mr. Roper, Mr. Reed, Mr. J. and Mrs. Reynolds, Mr. T. and Mrs. Squire, Rev. Canon and Mrs. Scott, Rev. E. Swann, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. H. and Mrs. Sharpe, Mr. F. N. and Miss Sharpe, Rev. J. Smith, Mr. J. F. Swayne, Miss Smith, Mr. G. E. Strickland, Mr. E. R. Schofield, Capt. Temple, Mr. G. F. Teniswood, Mr. C. Tenniswood, Mr. M. Tovey, Mr. W. Welchman, Mr. A. H. and Mrs. Ward, Mr. E. Walford, F.S.A., Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., Mr. W. Wilding, etc.

Grace was said before and after the repast by the Rev. J. Scott, M.A., vicar of Wisbech, and was likewise sung by a capital quartette party, furnished by Mr. H. Ashton, Secretary to the English Glee Union, London, who also contributed selections of music at intervals during the evening.

The Mayor presided, and gave the toasts of "The Queen" and "The Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family," which were loyally received.

The Lord Lieutenant of the County next proposed "The Bishop and Clergy, and Ministers of all denominations." He said he trusted that the bishop would be able to direct the clergy aright, and should any difficulty arise, he hoped the clergy would be ready and willing to obey;

that they might all be enabled to live in harmony. He trusted that in this country of ours we should always have good clergymen with good bishops to direct them. In connection with the meeting which they were celebrating, they had that day been reminded by their President of a great many things about the Fen country. He was sure that all who listened to his lordship's remarks would be obliged to him for the manner in which he delivered the inaugural address. He (the lord lieutenant) looked upon himself as one who was much interested in the welfare of that district, and he could recollect vast improvements which had taken place therein, and many of those events to which Lord Hardwicke had directed their attention. The Norfolk estuary, he contended, was promoted with a view to improving the entire district, and though the money which had been spent in works of reclamation appeared to have been wasted, yet he hoped the time would come when there would be such an accretion of land, that some portion at least of the money which had been spent would be returned to the company's shareholders. As to the churches, Cambridgeshire could boast of many beautiful buildings, and no one could possibly visit the district without thinking of what our forefathers had done to promote the glory of God. He trusted that if the opportunity occurred for any of those present to build a church, they would erect one worthy of the district in which they lived. He coupled with the toast the name of Archdeacon Emery.

Archdeacon Emery, in responding, said he had hoped that the bishop would have been present on that occasion, but they were to have the pleasure of his company on the following day. He trusted that the clergy would accept the advice which had been given by the lord lieutenant of the county, and that the clergy and ministers of all denominations would work together in harmony for the glory of God and the welfare of men. They had some noble churches in the district, and he trusted that whenever they restored or built one of these sacred edifices they would give to God the best that they could possibly produce. With respect to the churches in the Isle of Ely, they had heard much as to the manner in which the past generations devoted their money to the great and noble work of erecting them. Our forefathers did not always think of making the building just large enough to hold the people in the parish, for they found in the parish churches which they had visited that day—Wisbech and Leverington—that something was done beyond merely providing accommodation for the worshippers. The gathering that day was a very important one, as it tended to stimulate them all to a deeper reverence for the past. He trusted that the many excellent papers which were to be read upon the different subjects would lead to a conservative alteration and a useful restoration. On Tuesday the members of the Archæological Association would

visit Ely cathedral, and one object which he had in attending their meeting that day was to tell of the pleasure which he had, as treasurer to the cathedral, in going with them. The construction of that cathedral and its restoration had been the work of ages, and he doubted not but that those who had seen it would be glad to see it again, and that those who had not seen it would go away with the enthusiasm which was said to possess our American cousins after inspecting the place, and who contended that a visit to this country was thrown away unless they could go home and say they had been to Ely cathedral. He trusted that the members of that Association would be able to say how best the entire building could be restored—a restoration which the late Sir Gilbert Scott was so anxious to see carried out in his lifetime. He hoped they would be able to ascertain the time and the circumstances under which Ely cathedral lost its north-west transept. They had heard something that day with respect to Queen Etheldreda. The Isle of Ely was not so strongly fortified now as in her day, and at the period when William the Conqueror visited it, it was recorded that it took William three years to get into the isle; that he was obliged during that period to return to Cambridge, for the purpose of recruiting himself; and that he would never have got into Ely but for an abbot. The Isle had become very much altered since that time, but the same good feeling and pluck remained amongst its inhabitants; and these would be glad of the invasion, not of foes, but of societies from all parts of the kingdom. He must say that the peregrination in the country of the British Archæological Association, for the purpose of making researches into the works of their forefathers in ancient days, must tend to good friendship and to a reverence for the past, and help forward works of religious, moral, and social improvement. In these the bishop and clergy and ministers of all denominations wished to put themselves to the front, and they desired the promotion of every good work that tended to the advantage of those around them.

Mr. E. Hicks proposed the toast of "The Army, the Navy, and the Auxiliary Forces of this country," one which was sure to meet with a hearty reception at all times, and more especially in the present day. During the past year the forces were called upon to prepare to defend the rights of this country, and the alacrity with which every branch of the service—not only in this country, but in our Indian Empire—answered to the call created great sensation, both in England and throughout the world. It was to that alacrity that they were indebted for the peace which had been preserved to this country. Should peace be broken at any time, he held that the defence of this great empire might be trusted to the forces to which he had alluded. In meeting together under the auspices of such a society as the British Archæological Association, it behoved them to look back. Their

noble President had reminded them of the past, in relation to the ground over which they were likely to travel during the present week. Passing from very remote days, he found, in going through some of the churches he had visited, tombstones erected to the memory of those who had made themselves great in the annals of the history of their country. There was one of whom he might say this country was proud, and who was known in every town in England as the gallant Tony Lumpkin; then, passing to another church, they had the name of Sir Henry Smith of Aliwal. They had amongst them that day a gallant officer whose name he should couple with the toast, feeling sure that the honour of this country may be trusted in his hands. He gave to them the name of Lieut.-Col. Reed.

Lieut.-Col. Reed said he felt it to be an honour to have his name associated with the toast, and perhaps there never was a period in the history of this country when it ought to be received with greater cordiality. The efficiency of the army was a matter for great congratulation, and all Englishmen must rejoice that they had not been called upon to take a part in the late war. The influence and the efficiency of the auxiliary forces had no doubt helped to strengthen the hands of Lord Beaconsfield, and so had assisted him in procuring what he trusted would be a durable peace.

Mr. H. J. F. Swayne proposed "The Lords and Commons." He said it had been often asked what the members of those two houses had done, but if they considered the matter thoroughly they would be able to see that those gentlemen had made this country what it was in the present day. He believed that not only did the present Government possess a very large majority, but that there still remained in the country a very large majority whose views harmonised with those of the Government, and he felt proud that they had done something to support the present House of Commons. The members of that house were now enjoying that pleasure and liberty which they deserved, and this meeting had present one of them who had already done something for them that day, and they were going to ask him to do a little more. He should ask their President, the Earl of Hardwicke, to return thanks for the toast.

The Earl of Hardwicke, in returning thanks for this toast, said he felt that he was returning thanks for a large body of gentlemen in this country. They mustered over one thousand individuals, by whom the wealth and intellect of this country were represented. He was not going to touch upon matters of politics, for he felt that it was always dangerous in a society like the present to refer to any questions of that nature upon which there might exist differences of opinion. He always tried to avoid making a political speech, but if he were to say anything now it would be in support of the party to which he belonged.

He would simply then return thanks for the manner in which the health of the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons had been proposed. He trusted that they would continue to perform their duty in the same straightforward manner as they had done in the past, and for the welfare and interests of the country.

The Chairman said he had that day had great pleasure, in the name of the corporation and inhabitants of Wisbech and its district, in welcoming the British Archæological Association to that neighbourhood. He for one felt the honour which the Society had conferred upon the town. When first he was personally asked if he would like that the Society should visit Wisbech, he replied, "Yes, with all my heart, and I will do my best to support it." He thought that if a society of learned gentlemen were brought into their midst it would be the means of doing the town good; and if it did not it would be the fault of the inhabitants. It was also remarked, "Why bring so learned a society into the midst of the Fens, where there is nothing to be seen?" And the reply was that there were plenty of localities for their researches. He asked those present to drink to the health of the British Archæological Association, and with the toast he would couple the name of Mr. Thomas Morgan, the Treasurer.

Mr. Morgan, in responding to the toast, said he could not fully describe the great appreciation which the members of the Association felt for the kindly manner in which they had been received that day. That was their thirty-fifth annual Congress, and wherever the Association met it had always been received with great kindness and cordiality. He must, however, state that that was the second reception in which the members had been regaled at such a magnificent banquet. He attributed that great cordiality to the sympathetic feelings entertained towards them by the mayor and corporation of Wisbech. He was sure that all who had assisted in promoting the undertakings of that day were archæologists themselves, although the mayor had declared that he himself did not know much about it. Unless they were archæologists they could not have given the Association such a reception as they had done. The corporation of Wisbech possessed a history dating as far back as the early part of the time of Edward VI, and had succeeded to the duties belonging to the guild of the Holy Trinity, and dating back to the Middle Ages. Since that time the corporation of Wisbech had performed the duties well, and he might almost say that it was as old as the hills, although perhaps that was not a proper expression. Camden had stated that the country around them was a gift from the sea. He did not think that it was altogether a gift, for it was obtained after a great deal of trouble. It had been stated that the term Ely was derived from the word eel, but he thought that that was hardly correct, and that holy isle was its proper meaning.

He was pleased to see so many ladies present that day, and to find that they were becoming archæologians. Although the Association was said to be a very learned body, they were not above enjoying such a banquet as that which they were attending that day. He thought that there was much benefit to be derived from a good dinner. It was a very old English custom, and he hoped that it would long continue. He concluded by again thanking the mayor and corporation of Wisbech for their kindness, and wished them health, prosperity, and happiness.

The Earl of Hardwicke said he could not leave that room without saying a few words as President of that Association. He dearly held to the friendship of the people of Wisbech—a friendship which had subsisted for a considerable number of years, and he trusted that it would continue to the end of his life. He would present to the mayor and corporation his humble thanks for the honour shown and the kindness testified to the members of the Archæological Association. He always felt that a hearty reception from a friend to a casual acquaintance was a pleasing thing, but when one had to receive acts of kindness from those whom he had never known before, he thought they would all admit that it deserved double thanks. He was grateful for the reception given to the Association; he was certain that it would be of the most cordial character, and therefore in introducing his friends of the Archæological Association to Wisbech he felt that he had not led them into trouble. They had started the week well, and he trusted that they would end it well. There was one thing of which they were certain, and that was whatever difficulties might arise they would be sure of the utmost cordiality on the part of the corporation of Wisbech.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., proposed "The Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech". He said he was sure that every member of that Association would carry home with him grateful recollections of the way in which they had been received by the people of Wisbech.

The Mayor (whose name was coupled with the toast) returned thanks. He said it would be rather a dry topic were he to say much of the doings of the Wisbech corporation. They did not always perform their duties in accordance with the popular views, but they did that which they believed was for the interest of those whom they had the honour of representing. As a corporation, they must not take the whole of the credit for having received the Association, for it was due to their friends in the town and outside of the town. He was sure that the corporation were determined upon doing all that they could for the welfare of the town. It was a good thing to have the privilege of thus meeting together at a social dinner. Douglas Jerrold had stated that if England was swallowed up to-morrow by an earthquake, the inhabit-

ants would be found the next day amongst the *débris* celebrating the event by a dinner. He could confidently say that there was no man who was so well supported as the Mayor of Wisbech, and he had great pleasure in presiding over so distinguished an assembly as the one which was then present, and which was attended by so large a number of ladies. He thought he could see the beginning of better days for the town; they were making a step forward, and he trusted a step upwards also.

Mr. Jonathan Peckover proposed "The Ladies."

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., responded in humorous terms, and this concluded the toast list.

Tuesday, August 20.

A bright sun greeted the large party who mustered at the railway station to avail themselves of the special train to Ely this morning, which was reached in about forty minutes. The party were received by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely, the Ven. Archdeacon Emery, and other dignitaries of the Cathedral. On the road up the gentle ascent, the old abbey gateway attracted the attention of the quick-eyed archæologists, but it presented few features to interest them, though it served as a foil and foreground to the slender pillars and graceful proportions of the numerous stages of the transeptal tower of the west front, beyond which the exquisitely beautiful and lofty west tower lay bathed in sunlight and beauty. If the northern transept and tower had remained, no west front in England would or could have equalled this, which, though not so full of effigies or figures as Exeter, or so ornate as Wells, is more imposing in its grand proportions, and has more of the effects of depth and light and shade than either. Unfortunately the northern transept has gone, and as we entered the Galilee or western porch every line, curve, and pillar was suggestive of grace, lightness, and elegance. To those who know the ritual of the Romish church in foreign lands, each recess and niche was suggestive of grandeur and of a given purpose. This was further illustrated as the narrow, but in this instance tall nave was entered, for here the Norman arcade had been heightened by a triforium, which was as wide as the aisles, yet higher up was the clerestory, which in itself formed an ordinary triforium, and added height and dignity to the nave, which was severe in its simplicity yet grand in its proportions. The creamy grey tone of the aisles was relieved by the painted roof, which was begun by Mr. Le Strange of Hunstanton, and on which Mr. Gambier Parry has expended so much loving labour. This attracted the eye upwards, and carried it onward to the more ornate and richly coloured lantern

tower, which was commenced by Alanus de Walsingham when the central Norman tower fell, on the 12th of January 1322. Here ribs, tracery, and pillars were gay with gold, blue, and red. The vista was terminated by the rich oak screen, beyond which the eastern lancet windows could be seen opening in the apparent gloom. The Norman transepts, with their sturdy columns, were relieved by indications of colours, suggestive of the outline of the carvings and the stonework of the arches. These were neither obtrusive to the eye nor contrary to good taste. On a pedestal in front of the screen and beneath the lantern tower Mr. E. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., one of the hon. secretaries of the Association, pointed out its architectural features in a paper which will be given in a future part of this year's *Journal*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the paper the party passed into the choir, where the three bays designed by Alan de Walsingham were pointed out by Mr. Brock. He then gave place to Mr. M. H. Bloxam, who gave a general description of the monuments, and afterwards visited and referred to them in detail. He pointed to the tomb of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, on the south side of the presbytery, lying between his two wives, and also noticed the costume and collar of SS. John Tiptoft was beheaded in 1470, but was not buried at Ely. Mr. Bloxam particularly dwelt on the tomb of Bishop Heton, who died in 1609, and, though a Protestant bishop, is depicted in rochet, cope, and cassock. The cope is richly embroidered, and bears on it figures of various saints and evangelists. The bishop has a short ruff round his neck and a skull cap on his head. On the south aisle of the choir was pointed out the sepulchral slab which was found in St. Mary's Church, Ely, in 1829. It is of Norman work, with a canopy finishing of architectural devices. Beneath a segmental arch there is an effigy of St. Michael, of the conventional type, representing him conveying a soul—that of a bishop—to heaven. Canon Luckock and Archdeacon Emery next proceeded to indicate the beauties of the monastic buildings. The ancient cope of the cathedral, so well known as the Ely cope, was brought into the building for the inspection of the party. Mr. Bloxam put it on, the better to enable them to do justice to its work. The Bishop also drew attention to the ancient oil painting of Wisbech Castle, in anticipation of the paper to be read at the evening meeting in illustration of that once famous building.

A visit was also paid to the lady chapel, which has been used since the Reformation as a parochial church, and which received the attention its elegance and lightness of character merit. The walls are panelled and arcaded throughout, a series of rich ogee and crocketed and cusped canopies overhanging the continuous stone seat. The roof is of peculiar construction, and adds greatly to the beauty of the handsome chapel. The interior is as yet unrestored, except that thirteen years since open

seats were substituted for high pews. Each of the hundreds of statuettes which crowd the canopied work has, with one exception, lost its head, the cuspings and finals are broken away, the vault and walls show traces of faint colouring, and the windows are nearly all filled with modern plain white glass. Mr. Brock and Mr. Bloxam pointed out the architectural features of this superb room, and Mr. Blashill remarked on the practice during the thirteenth century of erecting large chapels to the Virgin Mary, and rendering them accessible to the general congregation. Archdeacon Emery drew aside the modern frontal cloth (worked by the sisters of Clewer), and asked advice as to the desirability or otherwise of restoring the rich arcade at the east end; the general advice was against the proposal to repair and retouch the colouring on this work. Some discussion arose as to the date of this arcade, the weight of opinion being that it was carried out contemporaneously with the larger and less ornate arcading in the rest of the chapel.

The company then assembled at the Lamb Hotel for luncheon, after which the Earl of Hardwicke proposed the health of the Bishop, who in reply expressed regret that, owing to the large number of members in attendance, the Chapter and himself were unable to offer the Association that due hospitality which otherwise they would have been happy to present, and which really had been declined by their worthy secretary. They had therefore changed places, and instead of being the hosts they were the guests. He thought that the labours of such an Association were not appreciated as much as they ought to be, for they not only pointed out much that was otherwise obscure in history, but gave it renewed life, and thus the lessons of the past were beneficial to those who in their aspirations for the future were too apt to ignore the artistic masterpieces of the Fen work of the past. Thus the Association taught them that they had much to conserve as well as to create. Therefore he thought that labours like that of the British Archæological Association were calculated politically and socially to do more good than what at first sight appeared.

The members next proceeded to inspect the outside of the cathedral, and the south-west transept, with its twin octagonal turrets, was seen to be leaning seriously outwards, and the windows and voussoirs are splitting, threatening a similar disaster to that which had long since befallen the corresponding wing on the north. The great tower is trussed together with an elaborate system of ironwork, and yet needs careful watching. Progress is being made with the completion of the masonry of the octagon. Crocketed Perpendicular pinnacles have been added to all but three buttress heads, and the intended parapet is being finished with a low screen of pierced and flowing pattern. Returning to the nave, Archdeacon Emery acted as guide, and showed coloured sketches, depicting an imaginary restoration of the Norman

west front and of the lady chapel scheme of colouring, prepared from the designs of Mr. Edmund Sharpe, M.A., and said that a new roof painted by Mr. Gambier Parry would be unveiled in a few weeks, the subjects, the life of John the Baptist, the chapel being dedicated to that saint. Outside the south of the nave remains of the north cloisters' walk, Transitional and Decorated work, was seen, and also the priests' door, having an elaborate tympanum, and representing spirits weighed in the balance by our Lord, and enriched mouldings. The doorway has been claimed as Saxon, but was pronounced by Mr. Brock and others as of about 1150, set into a wall thirty years anterior in date. At the eastern end of nave are still more interesting monks' doorways, both external, the one opening into the nave, the other into the transept. Both are fragmentary, and are adorned with fine arabesque ornament. In each case there is above the key-stone a female head projecting above the general surface. The east door was walled up by Walsingham in his efforts to strengthen the central octagon at its weakest point, a buttress of fourteenth century character being built through the arch. This eastern doorway is of the earliest type of Norman, being treated with the star pattern, and was only discovered five or six years ago, during the replastering of the wall. From hence the party proceeded to view the conventual buildings, all on south side of cathedral, and the uncertainty of the identification of these gave rise to frequent discussions. The infirmary is, as at Peterborough (where the remains occupy a precisely similar position to these), partly built up into canonical residences; the arcades have columns circular and octagonal, set on edge in alternation—an arrangement Mr. Brock showed also followed in the bases of the west transept. The columns and arcades are about the date 1160, but have been shamefully mauled by former canons in residence. The fourteenth century guest hall now forms the basement of the grammar school, but the location was disputed by Mr. Reynolds and others, who also doubted the received plotting of the former chapterhouse in the dean's garden, on the south of the cathedral nave. Archdeacon Emery said the dean and chapter wished advice on this point, as they were desirous of building a chapterhouse. Visits to Prior Crawden's chapel, now that of the grammar school—a beautiful specimen of Walsingham's work, not at the moment in the cleanliest or best repaired condition; to the ancient porter's lodge, with its wide four-centred gateway and the chamber above, used as the school day-rooms, concluded an instructive day at Ely.

Upon returning to Wisbech by special train, they proceeded, under the guidance of Mr. William Smith, Mr. Dawbarn, the Messrs. Peckover, and others, to view the Museum, and especially were pleased with its admirably arranged contents. It contains a good collection

of early pottery and flint weapons dug up in the neighbourhood, besides geological and ornithological collections, seals, and coins. Among the special exhibits were the objects recently found at Leverington and Walsoken.

After an hour spent most usefully in the examination of the Townshend collection, and the Roman and mediæval articles and objects of interest found in the neighbourhood and town, the party proceeded to the inspection of certain vaulted brick chambers under several of the houses in the High Street and Market, of fifteenth century date.

The party afterwards went to Union Street, and inspected various underground crypts and vaults near and upon the site of the old Castle, which are of no great antiquity although of great extent. They are all of brick. They were thought to have been the domestic offices of some bygone burgess of Wisbech. Another vault, in Bridge Street, belonging to Mr. Exley, was also examined. This was a long passage probably leading to the Castle.

In the evening there was a large attendance of Associates and the general public at the Council Chamber, when the Mayor presided. After the reading of a paper by Mr. Thomas Morgan, "On the Roman Roads of Cambridgeshire", which he illustrated by the exhibition of a map on which were delineated the Roman military roads through England, mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. The stations can be traced by the names still clinging to the sites, and by the numerous remains found at intervals along the roads. The old sea-walls, with their system of dykes and drains, were referred to, and also the forts by which these drainage works were defended. The various roads between East Anglia and the north of England, and those causeways across the Fens, were also alluded to. A warm discussion followed, in which the correctness of the popular identification of the stations was impugned and well defended.

Mr. Jonathan Peckover, F.S.A., read a paper on "Fen Tumuli", which has been already printed at pp. 11-14.

Mr. R. B. Dawbarn next read a paper on "Wisbech Castle", which is given above at pp. 59-67.

A short discussion followed the reading of each paper, and the various speakers, including Messrs. Picton, F. Metcalfe, Birch, Loftus Brock, and Burgess, complimented the readers upon the ability displayed in their preparation.

Proceedings of the Association.

Wednesday, December 4, 1878.

T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mr. J. B. Greenshields gave information that Messrs. Pirie of Aberdeen are building a warehouse in London, on the site of the famous Fleet Prison, and have found the old foundations of logs of oak so damp and bad that they have had to excavate to a depth of 25 feet before laying the new foundation. During the operation the workmen came upon heaps of bones; but no one being on the spot who took an interest in such matters, none have been preserved. The objects discovered during the progress of the work were, as might be expected, of various dates. The earliest which came into Mr. Greenshields' hands was a portion of a small Roman vessel of fawn-coloured terra-cotta; the middle ages being represented by a portion of a knife of the sixteenth century; and more modern days by a halfpenny of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, as thickly encrusted with green patine as any ancient coin could be.

Dr. J. Stevens of St. Mary Bourne, Hants, forwarded the following note: "As the breaking up of any work of past ages is worthy of short record, if merely for future reference, it is my desire that you should know that they are now removing that portion of the Roman Portway between Silchester and Old Sarum which extends from Derrydown Copse, immediately west of St. Mary Bourne, to Flesch Stile, at which point the Roman road runs into, and is continuous with, the high-road from St. Mary Bourne to Andover by Finkley. The portion to be removed extends for about a quarter of a mile. The pitched surface lies at depths varying from 4 to 8 inches underneath the soil, and is condemned on account of its interference with farming operations. The width of the flint pitching is about 24 feet, and is in tolerable preservation. In testimony to the care taken in the accurate adjustment of the flints, I found that twelve cartloads of stones had been used in facing a superficial area of 24 feet square. The road is not recognisable in the fields, but through the copse its outlines are clearly traceable. I thought it advisable to admonish the men to look

out for any objects of interest, having told them that during probably several hundreds of years of usage coins might have been dropped, or perhaps things buried alongside the highway.

"Another object of small interest has just come to light here. At about a quarter of a mile south of the Portway, at Flesch Stile, there are indications, in the shape of roof-tiles, broken bricks, etc., that Roman buildings occupied a portion of a large field on a farm known as Lower Wick. At one spot hollow sounds, in passing over a point in the field, indicated a sewer or well; and only the other day a sink occurred, revealing a very deep circular shaft, which was probably a well. In filling in the well the labourers, in removing the adjacent earth, disclosed some rims and other portions of several varieties of the ordinary Roman-British culinary ware; and a large section of a circular stone vessel, perhaps a *mortarium*; besides facial, jaw, and leg-bones of *Bos longifrons*, and bones of pig."

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a rare medal—*obv.*, Pyramus and Thisbe; *rev.*, a betrothal—of the time of James I.

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited a handsomely carved key of the seventeenth century, dated 1706. The heraldic devices on it relate to the family of Lawrence.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a variety of mediæval relics from Cheapside, including two fictile vessels, a Delft platter, two knives, and a tool-handle.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a collection of London relics, and promised a communication to the *Journal* concerning them.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a fine palæolithic stone from Ealing.

Mr. Mayhew read a paper on "Roman Remains recently discovered at Lincoln", which will be printed hereafter.

Rev. R. E. Hooppell, LL.D., read a paper on the "Tenth Iter of Antonine", which will be inserted in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

Mr. J. Romilly Allen read a paper on "The Prehistoric Rock-Sculptures of Ilkley", which has been printed above, at pp. 15-25.

Wednesday, January 15, 1879.

T. Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following members were declared duly elected:

Emmanuel Boutcher, Oxford Square, Hyde Park
Harry E. Pollard, 13 John Street, Adelphi
Rev. G. W. Phillipps, Vicar of Petworth, Stratford-on-Avon.

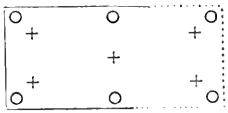
Thanks were ordered to be conveyed to the donors of the following additions to the library of the Association:

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Oct. 1878, Fourth Series, No. XXXVI.

„ „ for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxv, No. 139. 1878.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note from the Rev. H. Chandler, vicar of Waterbeach, Cambrs.:

"I have found in the sacrarium of my church what I believe to be the old high altar-slab. The present sanctuary floor is being removed for restoration. Upon removing a large slab which formed part of this flooring, it was discovered to have on three sides a beautifully moulded edge, very Early or Transition. The slab is of Purbeck marble, and has been polished on both sides. It has one broken end which has evidently been chiseled in order to fit it into a space in the floor we are now removing, and which was laid in 1849. Upon the slab were laid three out of the five crosses which distinguish the ancient altar-slabs. Measuring the distance from the central cross to the unbroken end, I discovered that one-fourth was missing. Searching for this, I came, at a foot below the floor just removed, upon the old sacrarium floor, which was not wholly removed at the time of raising the level and reflooring in 1849. This second and ancient floor being removed, I found, buried about a foot beneath it, the missing fragment with the two crosses. The other marks upon this marble slab were six cuttings in the marble, intended to receive six pier-shafts by which the slab had been supported. Thus—



The slab is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and the buried fragment has preserved its polish in great measure. The only difficulty is in the five crosses being on the *under* side,—that side which both the moulding and the cuttings for pier-shafts *prove* to have been the under side. Are any cases known in which these distinguishing crosses are found on the under side of altar-slabs? And were the five crosses ever cut on any unconsecrated slabs?"

The following note concerning Roman remains at Chichester cathedral was communicated by Mr. Gordon M. Hills:—"Small fragments of Roman pottery have at various times been found in Chichester cathedral when occasion has occurred for disturbing the floor. I think it was in 1848 that a grave was dug in the western part of the north aisle for the interment of General Sir Thomas Reynell. I had then the opportunity to notice quite a stratum of broken Roman tile or brick and fragments of Samian ware. Some of these pieces and others found at various times are still preserved in a case of 'curiosi-

ties' in the cathedral library. I now exhibit a piece of a tesselated Roman pavement and of Samian ware, taken out of a trench of 18 inches to 2 feet deep in December last, in laying in water pipes across the nave and aisles of the cathedral. I noticed at the same time several pieces of Roman building tile and two or three pieces of hollow flue tiles, the latter scored, as is often seen on flue tiles, with rough wavy lines. The piece of pavement now exhibited is about 7 inches by 6 inches, the *tesellæ* are of common red tile or brick, broken into small fragments of irregular shape, but very even surface. The superficies of the *tesellæ* does not exceed 1 inch to each."

Mr. Hills then proceeded to exhibit a collection of sketches of earthen jars of various dates, found built into church walls, and in illustration of the exhibition read the following paper :—

Earthenware Jars in Church Walls.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ.

In our *Journal* for 1873, page 306, will be found a notice of some Romano-British jars or pots, found in July 1872 at East Harling Church, Norfolk. A recent discovery, which I am about to describe, has induced me to obtain from Mr. H. Watling of Earl Stonham, who sent that communication to Mr. Cuming, some further particulars, which I will first state, concerning those at East Harling. A correction in the former account should be made, they were not, as there said (by a misunderstanding as to the position of the timber called the *wall plate*), below the wall plate, but above it. They were found in examining the state of repair of the roof timbers, which rest immediately on the wall plate and on the top of the wall, behind a facing of upright lath and plaster, in a hollow space about 9 inches wide from the face of the lath and plaster. The back of this space was formed by solid walling, built up under and between the feet of the rafters; against the face of the wall rested the jars, their mouths being turned towards the inside of the chancel. The jars were four in number, arranged at about equal spaces, as nearly as the timbers between them allowed, along the north side of the chancel. None were on the south wall. The roof has a pitch of over 45 degrees, and the mouths of the jars were about 2 feet below where the slope of the rafters comes into view, above the short upright timbers, which continue the line of the upright face of the wall.

I have notes of discoveries of vases built into the walls or vaults of eight churches on the Continent, and notices, without details, of five other instances. In Ireland one instance has been carefully described; and in England I have collected descriptions of eight instances, and have unsuccessfully attempted to follow up hints as to one or two other

instances. Add to these the two discoveries specially now described, and it will be seen that the examples are rather numerous; too numerous for me to attempt the description of the whole at an evening meeting, although I think a collected notice of all the descriptions would give a useful view of all that has been discovered or reported on the subject.

The second description for this evening relates to the church of Leeds, near Maidstone, in Kent. In August 1878, upon uncovering the ancient nave roof, there was found in ruinous condition a range of earthenware pots, of which I exhibit one whole and parts of two others, extending the whole length, and embedded in the top of the nave wall on both sides of the church, immediately under the wall plate. There were certainly twenty-four, and I think twenty-six, on each wall, making forty-eight to fifty-two in all. As the places of some of them at the ends of the walls were dislocated and broken up, I am not quite confident in counting to the higher number, but the spacing of them would give that. They were laid on the side, their mouths facing the centre of the nave, and straight with the face of the wall, but their mouths had been plastered over. Their height from the floor was 28 feet. The walls are of the fifteenth century, and the oak roof was of the same age, yet beneath the wall plate and very soon after the first construction of the roof there appears to have been added a series of upright timbers and timber arches all along the face of each wall. The addition of this work put out of sight almost completely the rows of jars, and interfered with another arrangement relating to them. Without supposing that the jars had any such effect, it may be admitted that they were placed there with a belief that they would have an acoustic effect. To further this object and carry its effect into the north aisle two sound holes were made in the wall, 4 or 5 feet below the pots. The openings for these sound holes are splayed on both sides of the wall, as a window usually is on the inside only. In the middle of the thickness of the wall an oak board is fixed, perforated with a semicircular-headed aperture, 15 inches wide, and about 27 inches high. On the south wall there are indications that the south aisle had similar sound-holes. When the timber-arching was added under the roof, these sound-holes were disregarded. They were closed up on the north wall with walling from the nave side of the wall into the middle of the wall. A corbel for one of the uprights between the timber arches was inserted in each wall in one sound-hole, and the arching encroached upon its space. That this timber arching was an addition after the construction of the roof, and of the arrangement of the jars, was also seen upon the removal of the arching, for the finished plaster of the wall was perfect behind the timbers. About a hundred years ago this arching had become so unsightly,

from decay of the wood, that the whole of it was covered over with lath and plaster, and put out of sight,—of course most effectually burying the jars. The jars vary but little in form and size, being 10 inches to 12 inches in height; their mouths, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; their bodies varying little from a cylinder, $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. They have the bottom convex, of which there is only one other instance, and they differ from all others in having the bottom perforated. Two of them have the perforation in a quatrefoil form; one has a star of five rays, which I exhibit; the rest, out of twenty-two perfect enough to be examined, have a simple cross + perforation, 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. The perforations were made whilst the clay was soft. The clay is intermixed with small broken shells and fine gravel, and is burnt. Mr. Cuming, V.P., has been so good as to look at the whole jar and some of the fragments, and he authorises me to say that the jar is undoubtedly of Romano-British make, probably of the fourth or fifth century.

Many of the jars were in fragments when exposed, and some had little to mark their places more than their imprint left in the wall. Before I saw them a Kentish archæologist had advised the removal of all that could be moved to the Maidstone Museum; accordingly I have seen nineteen of them there, of which seven are whole, or nearly so. One is preserved by the churchwarden, Mr. Lawrence; and the whole one, with the fragments you now see, I have asked Mr. Cuming to accept for his museum.

It is an important step in the consideration of these instances, that at Leeds Church and at East Harling the age of the pottery has been examined by so competent a judge as Mr. Cuming. A great age has been suspected, but with no definite result, in one or two other instances. With drawings before me of twenty kinds of jars found in churches, I venture to think that they are of all ages. Every instance has hitherto discovered a fresh form of jar, whilst the Irish discovery of only ten jars, itself gives four widely differing forms, if not more; for the drawing shows four, and the text says (*Hibernicè*) the others are similar, but smaller. Through the chronicle of the Celestins, at Metz, we know that in one case, in 1439, the jars were expressly made to be put up in their church; that they were put up for the improving of the chanting, by the Prior, Ode Le Roy; that they remained many years after, and were not only deemed useless, but a great disfigurement to the building; the marvel of all beholders, and the jest of fools.

If even the highly scientific though unintelligible description by Vitruvius, of acoustic vases made with mathematical precision, each for its proper note and position, be of doubtful effect, what should we expect from jars made of every form and any form, or taken at hazard from old and new, and placed anywhere from beneath the floor to

beneath the roof? Certainly not an acoustic effect. But I will go further, and say that most of the instances never had an acoustic purpose in view. Their purposes were several; but that I will leave to further time and investigation.

Mr. Blashill, Mr. Brock, and Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., took part in the discussion which ensued.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, read extracts from letters written by Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., of South Shields, relating to further discoveries on the site already spoken of as having yielded interesting relics. The description of these curious objects excited much attention, and it appeared to be the hope of the members present that the objects themselves might be put before the meeting on a future evening, and that Mr. Blair would write a paper upon them for future insertion in the *Journal*.

A paper on "The Roman Fen-Road", communicated by Mr. W. C. Little, was read by Mr. Brock.

Dr. Woodhouse exhibited, through Mr. Brock, a collection of forged antiquities, comprising, among other objects, two of the well known badges or plaques, dated with Arabic dates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; knives or daggers, rings, etc. The opportunity of inspecting these pseudo-archaic fabrications of a character not altogether without ingenuity, was not lost upon the members, who, by becoming familiar with these objects from the occasional exhibition of similar things, may thus learn what to disregard and reject in their study of antiquity.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on the "Roman Army in North Britain in the Second and Third Centuries, with Reference to Recent Discoveries." It is hoped that the paper may find a place in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., V.P., exhibited a series of photographs, and communicated the following notice of the antiquities which they represented:

"*Statuettes in White Clay discovered* (1868) *in the Département of the Allier.*—The ten photographs exhibited are selected from a large number of works in white clay, which M. Esmonnot, Vice-President of the Society of Emulation of the Allier, has collected near the *bourg* of St. Pourçain-sur-Besbres, in conjunction with Mgr. de Conny. They were discovered near the bed of an old pond formerly fed by a small brook which had become dried up, at the depth of between 4 and 5 ft., in a layer of black earth, with numerous fragments, accompanied with moulds which had served for their fabrication. They had, therefore, without doubt, been made upon the spot; and the presumption is that most of them may be regarded as rejected by the makers, from imper-

illustrations of the sixteenth century, one of the pin-heads as a modern dress-button, etc. His opinion was shared by various speakers who pointed out other indications of modern fabric. The objects have since been examined by two eminent archæologists in the British Museum, who expressed their unwillingness to accept them as genuine antiquities.

Mr. Brock exhibited the photograph of a sepulchral effigy, and read the following:

Notes on a Roman Sculptured Stone recently discovered at Carlisle.

by E. P. loftus brock, f.s.a., hon. secretary.

During the progress of some building operations at Murrell Hill, Carlisle, for Mr. Nelson, a stone slab was observed by the excavators. It was found quite beneath the surface of the ground at the back of Mr. Nelson's marble works, and there were indications of its having been deposited in a pit dug in the clay soil, and then filled in. On being brought to the surface and cleaned, the sculpture proved to be of great beauty, although the faces appear to have been broken on purpose. It is very well executed, and is an admirable addition to the numerous sculptured stones which have been found along the course of the great Roman wall and in its neighbourhood.

The Association may be congratulated upon having before it the remarkable monument from South Shields, near the commencement of the Wall, and now this from almost the other extremity. The similarity of workmanship between these two objects, as well as many others, leaves little room for doubt but that this, too, is a sepulchral monument. There is unfortunately no inscription here. It has probably been broken off from the base; and from the circumstances of the discovery, it is scarcely probable that it may still be in the ground where the sculpture was found. There is no record of any other Roman discovery in the immediate locality, which is not at present known to have been that of a Roman cemetery.

The stone is a slab more than 4 feet in height, and about 3 feet in breadth. It has the representation of a seated lady whose costume is more classical than British, and which may be compared with that worn by Regina on the South Shields stone. She holds in the right hand a circular fan of precisely the same pattern as those of modern use, and which fold up at the will of the user. Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A., informs me that he has met with a similar example in a provincial French museum. Beside the lady is a child; and the whole composition is contained within an architectural niche adorned with fluted pilasters. Above the niche are three remarkable figures. The central one is the bust of a winged figure badly broken. Right and left of it are two small lions, each devouring a human head. The

[1] Bruce, p. 138.

occurrence of this strange subject upon Roman sculptures is not unfrequent, and the meaning may be more accurately known by consideration of these as they are met with from time to time. Probably the references to Mythraic rites are no more accurate than others that could be suggested.

There is a remarkable sepulchral monument at the back of Drawdykes Castle, near Carlisle, with this subject precisely similarly treated. It came either from Carlisle or from the neighbouring station of Stanwix, and is figured on p. 291 of Bruce's *Roman Wall*.

There is a subject very analogous now at Matfen Hall. It represents a lion crouching upon and overpowering some animal of the chase; and these are not unfrequently met with on the line of the Roman Wall.[1]

The celebrated Colchester sphynx is another example of similar import, while the Camomile Street lion is another.[1] These monuments may all be concluded to be of sepulchral character, since so many of them have been found within or close to Roman cemeteries.

The sculpture will be cared for, and through the efforts, I believe, of Mr. R. S. Ferguson, F.S.A., it will be placed in the Carlisle Museum, which is a collection of much interest, and worthy of a fitting home.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited two large flint adzes from the British camp at Ightham, near Sevenoaks. Mr. Smith also placed upon the table, for inspection, a collection of camera lucida drawings of antiquities in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, drawn and coloured by him on the spots. The series comprised views of the inscribed Ogham stone at Llan Vaughan; inscribed stones at Llanwonno, Llanllyr, Llandewi-brefi, Silian, Llanfihangel-ar-Arth, and Criban; kistvaens at Trawsnant and Craig-pillbo; monoliths at Llany-Crwys, etc.; hut-circles of stone at Craig-pillbo; large cairn on Brynmawr; and the mountainous hill of Bryn-glas, with traces of ancient agricultural work.

An exhibition of a comparative collection of ancient, mediæval, and modern pottery was then made, and the following illustrative notes read:

THE SURVIVAL OF ANCIENT TYPES IN POTTERY AT BARNSTAPLE, DEVON.

BY R. EARLE WAY.

From time immemorial potteries have existed at Barnstaple, and the potter's art is still one of the staple trades of that town. Immense beds of coarse, fictile clay are found all round the town, particularly at Frimington, two miles from Barnstaple, where vast pits, now filled with water, and mounds of refuse, testify that the trade must have been carried on for ages: in fact, judging from remains of ancient

[1] *Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 492.

ROMAN SCULPTURE
FOUND AT CARLISLE



From a Photograph by
Messrs D. Scott & Son, Carlisle.







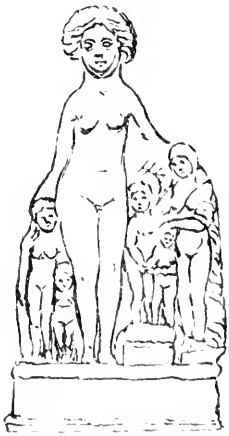
















fections, and thrown away. The preservation of those which are uninjured must be accounted for in such accidental cause.

"The subjects represented by these fictile works are much the same as those discovered some years since at Toulon, in the district of Moulins, at Vichy and Clermont, which are described and illustrated in the sixth volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua*. The type of Venus Anadyomene seems the most frequent; then follow those of Isis, Latona, Abundance, Fecundity, etc.; and some of Minerva, Mercury, Hercules, and Mars; with what seem playthings, or it may be votive offerings, or both, with birds of various kinds, oxen, horses, monkeys, etc. A medallion representing Castor and Pollux is among those sent me by M. Esmonnot. Some medallions of rather large size have erotic scenes. These, M. Esmonnot thinks, were broken intentionally; but this may be doubted.

"A portion of these statuettes and medallions is deposited in the Museum of the Department at Moulins; other portions are in the collections of Mgr. de Conny, M. le Docteur Baillot, and MM. Bertrand and Esmonnot."

Wednesday, February 5.

H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., in the Chair.

Sir Lewis W. Jarvis was elected Local Member of Council for the county of Norfolk.

W. H. Henfrey was elected Local Member of Council for the Isle of Wight.

Thanks were ordered to be returned

To the Society for the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, 4th Series. July 1878. No. 35.

„ „ for "Report of the Council of the Art Union of London for 1878."

To the Family of the late William Palgrave, Esq., for "Palgrave Family Memorials", edited by Charles James Palmer and Stephen Tucker, *Rouge Croix*. Norwich. For private distribution only. 1878. 4to.

Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields, forwarded for exhibition a pencil drawing by the Rev. Dr. Stephens of South Shields, representing the cheek-piece of a Roman helmet dredged out of the river Tyne, near South Shields, about ten or twelve years ago. It is thought to have formed part of the armour of the soldier whose shield-boss was discovered about the same time and place, now in the possession of the Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham.

Mr. Blair also forwarded for exhibition a large collection of objects found in recent excavations at South Shields, of which the following may be specified:—helmeted head in relief; another, larger, on soft stone; carving of a bear standing on one leg, in relief; portion of a jet armlet; jet amulet with cross pommetée; gorilla and branch carved on a truncated pyramidal plate of jet, inscribed ELAIAS; three pieces of rough jet; torso of a Venus in jet, for inlaying; jet spindle-whorl; three pins of bone; crescent moon with face in profile, jet; two Latin crosses, each inscribed REMO; two jet heads; four jet rings, one with a bronze figure set in the bezel; pyramidal plaque of slate with demon form standing on its arms, with feet upwards, inscribed INSIDIIS DIABOLI.

The following paper respecting these objects was then read:

Notes on certain Articles recently found at South Shields on the Site of the Roman Station.

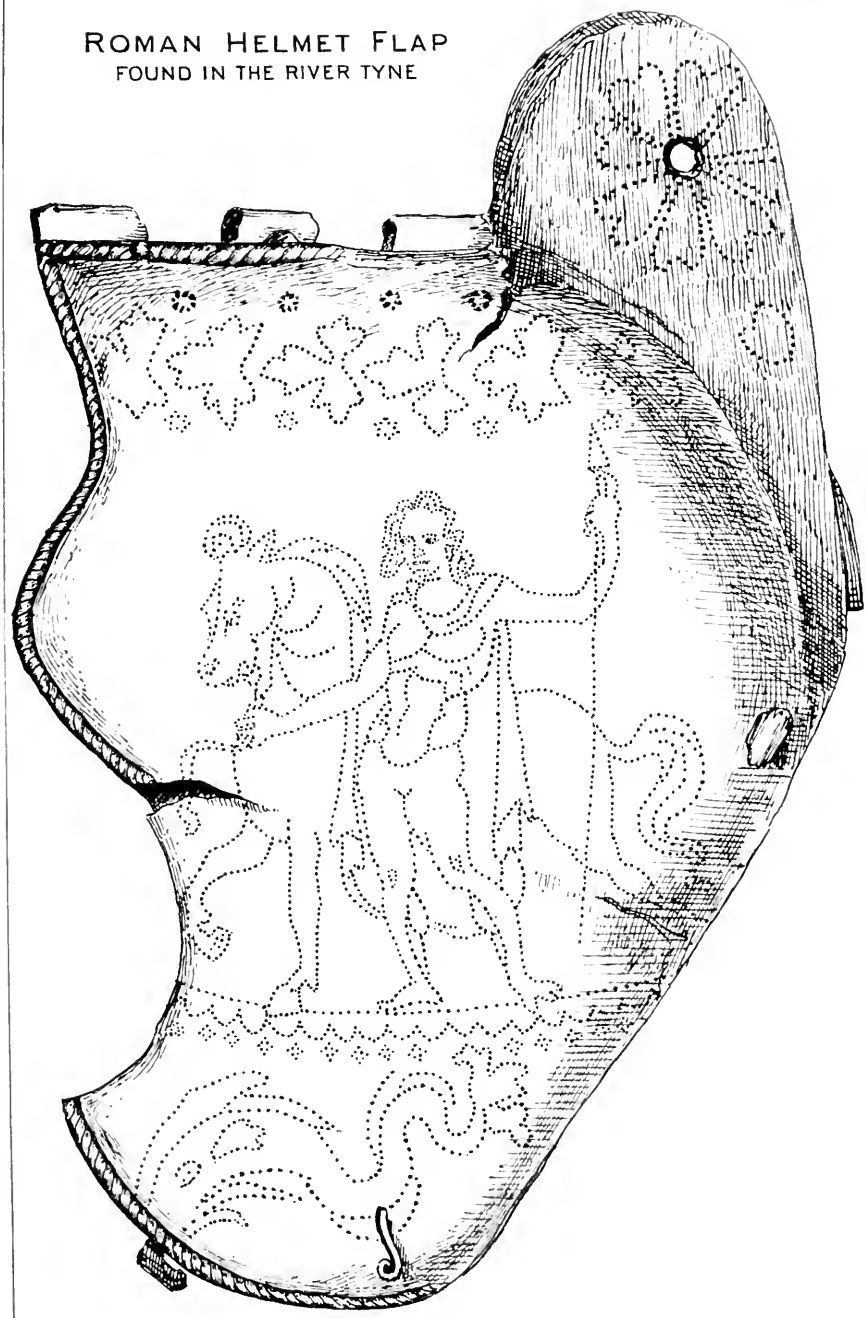
BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

There have been recently found at South Shields, on the site of the Roman station, several articles altogether diverse from the objects usually brought to light by the excavation of Roman sites. These have been the subject of much wonder and speculation, and several have not scrupled to express the opinion that they are not genuine, or at least that they had not lain long in the earth at South Shields before their recent exhumation.

After very careful examination of them I have come to the conclusion, personally, that they are certainly genuine; that is to say, that they are really ancient; that they have not been fabricated in recent years for purposes of deception. I have also come to the conclusion that they really *were* found at South Shields by honest digging and sifting. In fact, it is almost impossible, after hearing the evidence, and knowing the methods constantly being pursued at South Shields, in the search for and acquisition of the relics of which the site of the Roman station there is a vast storehouse, to come to any other conclusion.

The articles alluded to above comprise two crosses of the four-armed Christian type, one in bone, and the other in jet, adapted for wearing as ornaments or charms, each inscribed with the word REMO; a jet tablet with the figure of, apparently, a human being, but with very small head in proportion to the rest of the body, falling head foremost, and beneath it the words INSIDIIS DIABOLI; several tablets of stone or terra-cotta, and jet, with helmeted and bare heads and busts sculptured upon them in relief; and a tablet of magnesian limestone with a figure as of a whale, though, as far as I can judge, widely different in detail from whale or seal, or any other known animal, and beneath it the letters CE . S + VA. In addition to these articles there is another, pent-

ROMAN HELMET FLAP
FOUND IN THE RIVER TYNE



The Revd S. Stephens delt.



angular, tablet, in jet, with a good figure of a gorilla or other large kind of ape grasping a club, and beneath it the word ELAIAS or ELAITAS.

Now I cannot say that I have obtained a clue to the explanation of *all* these puzzling objects; but I certainly think I can solve the mystery attaching to the crosses and the "Diaboli" figure and inscription.

The exploration of the station at South Shields revealed abundant evidence of the continued occupation of the town after the Romans had left it,—of occupation which plainly went on for, at least, a considerable period of time. Manifest proofs of this are mentioned in my paper on the "Discovery and Exploration of Roman Remains at South Shields", published last year in the *Transactions of the Tyneside Naturalists' Field Club*, at p. 14; and the revelations of this fact by the exploration entirely agree with the statements of Leland, that an important city existed on the spot in Romano-British and early Saxon times, called Caer Urfa, where King Oswin was born, and which finally perished through fire at the hands of the Danes.

Besides this fact, of the continued existence of the city, another must be borne in mind, also of great importance, upon which much light has been thrown by recent exploration. This is the prominence of South Shields as a maritime, and doubtless also trading, station. The Greek coin found, the Palmyrene inscription on the sepulchral slab, a Persian or Arabic inscription lately brought to light on a piece of bone, and other circumstances, indicate very plainly this important fact. For my own part I imagine the mouths of the Tyne (for in those days there were two) formed the greatest and best known port on the eastern coast of Britain, between the Forth and the Humber, for all the Saxon and Scandinavian nations; whence it came that they called the bay, sheltered on the north by Tynemouth heights, and bounded on the south by Marsden rocks, "Westvoe", that is "West Bay", corrupted in later days, first into Wivestoe, and afterwards into Westoe. I doubt not that constant communication was kept up with Gaul, Frisia, and the continental home of the Angles, before the latter people, intermingled with Frisians and Franks, made their permanent descents upon our shores.

It is to this frequent intercourse between the Continent and the Tyne, in the fifth and sixth centuries, that I attribute the introduction of the ideas embodied in some of these mysterious objects, if not, in some cases, of the objects themselves. At that time, about the year 500 A.D., Remo, Remi, Remy, or Remigius (for his name appears in all these forms), was a mighty power on the Continent, in Gaul, and Frisia. He is called by writers of the next age "the Apostle of Gaul", and his influence was marvellously felt by the Franks. It was through him the renowned Clovis embraced Christianity, and by his advice rebuilt ruined churches, recalled exiled priests, and appointed pious and

able bishops. Prior to the conversion of Clovis and his Franks, great parts of the maritime districts of Europe, particularly those directly facing the eastern coast of Britain, had relapsed into heathenism: as writers of the age tell us, they had relapsed "into all their ancient idolatry, and to more than their ancient vices"; and with regard to some of them, particularly those dwelling about the Scheldt, the remarkable expression is used, that they were "so entangled by the Devil's net" as to afford little hope to the most zealous missionary. These words throw, I think, great light upon the jet tablet with the headlong figure, and the words "Insidiis Diaboli". Read by the light of the history of Gregory of Tours, who wrote but a generation afterwards the Life of St. Remi, it represents a lapsed Christian, one falling headlong from heaven to hell "through the snares of Satan",—a warning to other converts and Christians of the day.[1] And the crosses, with the Saint's name upon them, appear to have been worn in memory of him, or in honour of him, because they had been blessed by him (if such a practice were in vogue), or because the wearer was a follower or admirer of him. They attest his wide-spread reputation and marvellous influence, in the same way that the watering-place of San Remo in Northern Italy (which, I take it, is named from him), and the towns and villages in France called St. Remy, from him undoubtedly, do. Rheims, which was also attributed to his name by Milman, is, doubtless, not named from him, though he was its Bishop, but from the Remi, the ancient tribe which dwelt there in earlier times.

If the solution I have now given of some of these articles be the correct one, it will probably throw light, by and by, upon the other articles also. At present I will only say that I think the heads in relief may very possibly be portraits. I am not well acquainted with the varieties of ancient armour; but at least one of the helmets, that on the head of the younger man, appears to me to be Frankish rather than Roman. Altogether the articles appear to me to be of the highest possible interest. It is desirable that careful drawings should be made of all of them, and it may be hoped that further research will clear up all the mystery that at present attaches to them.

Mr. Birch dissented from Dr. Hooppell's suggestions respecting the word REMO, and said that he had very great doubts of the genuineness of the articles, except, perhaps, the spindle-whorl and the bronze figure set in a jet ring.

The Chairman, however, unhesitatingly declared the whole collection to be a forgery and deception of the grossest kind, and pointed out the helmet of one of the figures as of the kind conventionally used in

[1] The smallness of the head, in proportion to the rest of the body, is to intimate, I take it, the extreme folly and stupidity of those who thus exchanged again light for darkness, knowledge for ignorance, truth for absurdity, reason for nonsense.

pottery often found in the neighbourhood, and the early types still reproduced, I think it is not too much to assume that potteries have continued at Barnstaple ever since the Roman period.

The valley of the Taw was occupied by the Romans soon after the conquest of the west under Vespasian, and coins of the reigns of Domitian, Severus Alexander, Diocletian, Constantius, and Theodosius (A.D. 81-379) have been found in the vicinity. The Saxons, no doubt, continued the potter's art, for Athelstan, after he expelled the Britons from Exeter, repaired the walls and built the Castle of ancient Barum, remains of which exist close to the North Walk. He also granted a charter to the town; and some of the pottery still made there is decidedly of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman type.

Coming down to a later period, I am enabled, by the kindness of J. R. Chanter, Esq., to lay before the Association some notes respecting the potters in the middle ages. The trade is mentioned in the earliest by-laws of 1423, and again in the reigns of Charles I and II. In 1670 the *urnarii*, or potters, were indicted for filling the streets with their wares. A street also in Barnstaple, to which the potters used to resort, was called "Crock Street", softened into Cross Street within the last two centuries; and there is a thoroughfare still called Potter's Lane.

The specimens I have selected are some of the oldest I could procure; others are those made during last year. The type that first attracted my attention was the *steen*,[1] which bears such a close resemblance to the sepulchral urn of the Romans. The largest example is, no doubt, upwards of one hundred years old. The smaller ones are those recently made. The pitcher is of the Saxon and Norman pattern,[2] and extensively used all over Devon. The small bottle with mediæval letters was recently dug up in a garden. The lamp is old, of rude workmanship, and used by the peasants during the last and early in the present century, when a duty was placed on candles. The peculiarities of this ware are, the coarseness of the clay, rude style of workmanship, and want of ornamentation; but at the same time it partakes largely of that class of coarse Roman ware found all over Britain, from Cornwall to the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland.

In the discussion which ensued, Dr. Phené, Mr. Brock, Mr. Cope, and the Chairman, took part.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Sir Lewis W. Jarvis on the history of Middleton Towers, Norfolk, and illustrated his remarks with the exhibition of a set of photographic views. The paper will be printed hereafter.

[1] *I.e.*, Anglo-Saxon. A vessel of clay or stone.
[2] See T. Wright, *The Celt. Roman, and Saxon.*

The Chairman read the next paper, entitled :

On the Beggar's Clicket.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

The different purposes to which the same principle, if not the self-same object, may at times be applied is curiously exemplified in the classic *crotalum*, employed in the worship of Cybele, and as an accompaniment in dancing; in the *castanets* of Southern Europe, the *bones* of the Ethiopian serenaders, and the bits of *slate* of their *gamin* imitators, all of which are close akin to the *tcha-pan*, or clapping-sticks, of the Chinese beggars. These Celestial castanets consist of two stout plates of hard, dark-coloured wood, some 7 or 8 inches long by 2 inches broad, which the beggars strike together to produce a loud clicking sound, to attract attention and call down charity; and such a horrible noise do they keep up with their *tcha-pan*, that persons gladly give them money to be free of the nuisance.

In England, at an early period, the clapper and alms-vessel were united for the service of the beggar, the combination being denominated a *clicket, clap*, or *clack-dish*, which might with equal propriety be called a box or pot, for the money-receptacle assumed all these several forms in the mutation of ages; but through all the changes of *contour*, the cover to produce a clinking or clapping note was a *sine quâ non*; and the unceasing noise which the vagrants kept up with the hinged lid upon the edge of the vessel, gave rise to the old proverb respecting a talkative individual, that "his tongue moves like a beggar's clap-dish." This famous dish is mentioned by some of our old dramatists. The following colloquy occurs in Thomas Middleton's comedy of *The Family of Love*, 1608 :

> "Can you think I get my living by a bell and a clack-dish?
> By a bell and a clack-dish? How 's that?
> Why, begging, sir."

In the stage directions in the second part of Thomas Heywood's play of *Edward IV* (1619), we have, "Enter Mrs. Blague very poorly, begging, with her basket and a clack-dish"; and in Shakspere's *Measure for Measure* (iii, 2), Lucio says that the Duke "put a ducat in her clack-dish", meaning thereby that he stopped a woman's tongue with a piece of gold.

According to Fosbroke a modification of the olden clack-dish was long employed by a society of widows at York, who resided in alms-houses, and who on particular days begged from house to house by clattering a wooden dish, the noise being made by a kind of button suspended by a string from the bottom.

The bowl-shaped, covered clack-dish seems as a rule to have been

abandoned by the beggars in the early part of the seventeenth century, its place being supplied by a small cylindrical pot of wood, copper, pewter, or tin, with a slit in the lid through which the benevolent dropped their alms. Such a pot or box is held by one of the beggars in Jacques Callot's *Capitano de' Baroni*, an effigy which is made to do duty as the "Blind Beggar" on the head of the staff of the beadle of the parish of Bethnal Green, as already pointed out in this *Journal* (xxiv, p. 286). Callot died in 1635.

Few old examples of the beggar's alms-pot are now extant; but among the divers and diverse finds made in Smithfield in 1867 was a crushed and battered specimen of pewter, now in my collection. It is of the commencement of the seventeenth century, and when bright and perfect must have been a natty looking thing, measuring, with its slightly convex lid, full $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high; the lid being perforated with a slit about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, for the admission of money. The drum has a broad annulated band towards the top and bottom; and at back is a handle emanating just below the edge of the vessel, and bowing out gracefully till it unites to it near the base. This rare old money-pot was most probably knocked out of the hand of some unfortunate beggar during one of those riotous assemblies in Smithfield so vividly and graphically portrayed by Ben Jonson in his comedy of *Bartholomew Fair*.

Well do I remember an old beggar about the streets of London, who had attached to his leathern waist-belt a tin pot of very similar form to the foregoing, with the lid of which he contrived to keep up a clacking noise as an accompaniment to his monotonous chant of "Pity the poor blind!"

The sturdy vagrant is now almost as rare an object as his obsolete clacking alms-receptacle, for what with the police and the Charity Organization Society he is well nigh driven from the highways, and it can scarcely any longer be said that

> "Of all the trades of London, the beggar's is the best."

Mr. Birch exhibited a drawing of a stone implement by Dr. John Harker, and read the following description forwarded with it from that gentleman:

"I have been favoured by my friend William Roper, Esq., with the sight of a stone implement of spear-head shape, discovered at Morecambe, on the premises of the Morecambe Gas Company, during the process of digging out a deep pit to make a reservoir for the reception of a new gasometer; and I have since carefully examined the local surroundings which give importance to this prehistoric object. In excavating, about two feet of surface-soil was passed through, and then stiff clay. The stone implement was discovered at the depth of twelve

feet from the ground-surface. This beautiful spear-head must certainly be classed as a very early example of neolithic workmanship. Its material seems to have been obtained from a hard Silurian rock, such as may be found in the Lime watershed. The colour is a uniform light blue, with one superficial wandering vein at the broad or shaft-extremity. The length of the spear-head is four inches. On its flattened aspect it tapers from a width of one inch and six-eighths to, at the apex, six-eighths of an inch. In section it is a very correctly formed elongated oval, swelling to one-eighth of an inch at the distance of two inches from the bent end, and tapering finely from thence to the point. The implement shows on its surface the conchoidal depressions of the chipping marks by which it was originally brought to its form, before being carefully polished by grinding or rubbing down.

"The very interesting clay bed, with some sand, in which the spear-head was found, is usually a fine clay without boulders; the deposit, of wide extent over this fruitful Morecambe plain, extending to Lancaster and the river Lime. The clay is fossiliferous, containing oak trees; not in the sound condition of those of similar deposits in Ireland, the famed bog oak, but carbonised to a black and friable condition. The clay also contains oak-leaves, bedded longitudinally, as they have fallen from the trees into the ground of their day. The material also has embedded in it a grass in great abundance, the grass-stems in all cases in an upright position, as when growing. From all this we gather that the deposit has been of very slow formation, perhaps during periods immediately succeeding the glacial period, as the deposit leads down to the boulder clay, or still beneath.

"I have a good-sized portion of clay-paste in my possession, which, doubtless, will yield other organic remains. It is stiff, and not easily worked. After chemical examination, I conclude that the deposit is of similar character to the alluvial plains which, like strings of green beads, adorn the valley of the Lime, about the bed of the river. It does not contain lime to any extent, as would be the case in the Kent valley, which is nearest to it. The Lime has meandered widely, leaving many fruitful plains."

Wednesday, Feb. 19.

T. Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Thanks were returned to the donors of the following presents:

To the Society, for the "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxv, No. 140. 1878.

To Walter Money, Esq., F.S.A., for "Outline of the History of Donnington Priory, near Newbury, a House of the Maturine Friars"; "Outline of the History of the Maison Dieu, or Hospital of

Sir Richard Abberbury, at Donnington"; and "Annals of the Church of St. Mary, Shaw-cum-Donnington." By Walter Money, Esq., F.S.A.

It was announced that a fund for excavations at Castor, the site of *Durobrivæ*, formerly excavated by the late W. T. Artis, Esq., was opened under the auspices of the Association. A prospectus was in course of preparation, and a local committee appointed for the conduct of the same. Several subscriptions, to cover the expenses of a tentative excavation, have already been promised.

Rev. Dr. Hooppell exhibited, through Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., a squeeze from a tile at Binchester, reading N̄ CO IV; evidently referring to the fourth cohort of the [Lingo]n[es], known to have been stationed at that place. Many of the tiles found, like this, at Binchester, bear a stamp which, though somewhat involved, is supposed by Dr. Bruce to read LINGON[ES]. Inscriptions record that the first cohort of the Lingones was at High Rochester and at Lanchester. The fourth cohort was at Tynemouth. The Lingones were Gaulish Celts, occupying the country where the Seine and Marne take their rise.

Mr. Maude exhibited an Etruscan sepulchral *unguentarium*, and a Roman lamp inscribed on the base FLORENTI, from Rome; and a large collection of copper tokens of the early part of the nineteenth century; and a Nuremburg jetton.

Mr. Worthington Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a fine flint scraper of the palæolithic period, from Ightham in Kent.

Mr. Morgan exhibited pieces of Roman pottery from Castor, which had been picked up during the visit to that site on the occasion of the Wisbech Congress.

Mr. Patrick then read a paper on "Burleigh House and the First Lord Burleigh", illustrated by plans and views. The paper will be printed hereafter.

The Rev. Mr. Collier, F.S.A., communicated, through Mr. Brock, a plan of the Roman villa at Itchen Abbas, from which the pavements lately illustrated in the *Journal* are derived, and accompanied the exhibition with the following notes:

"Since my last communication to the *Journal* we have laid bare another pavement of the villa at Itchen Abbas, a sketch of which I send. I show also a plan of the villa as far as explored. The room marked No. 1 has a hypocaust underneath it. The floor rests on columns made of tiles. The room marked No. 3 in the plan has no hypocaust underneath it; nor has the room marked 2. At the spot marked 7, in the long passage (4) are the bases of two stone columns, as if there had been a door or curtain between them. It will be seen that the pavement of No. 3 is a very fine one. With the exception of

a slight fracture made by a tap-root of one of the trees which grew above it, the pavement is entirely perfect. The central figure would seem to be Flora. The colours of all the tesseræ are well preserved. We found a considerable quantity of wall-plaster, much of it nicely ornamented, the colours being almost as fresh as when new. Some of the patterns were of most elegant design. The floor of the room No. 5, which is of white concrete, was evidently most carefully constructed. The surface is smooth, and the concrete of fine texture. We have found no coins since my last communication to you. The portions of broken pottery which we meet with are of various kinds, and many of the remains show that the vessels of which they are portions were of very beautiful shape.

"Since I wrote to you, the workmen employed in making drains for the sewerage of Winchester have found there a portion of a very elegant Roman pavement. The colours are exceedingly good. It is quite clear that the Romans were widely and thoroughly settled in and near the valley of the Itchen. The remains at Itchen Abbas, the many remains in Winchester, the pavement at Bramdean, and the extensive remains in Lord Northbrook's plantation near Micheldever, all testify to the extensive Roman occupation of this neighbourhood.

"I ought to say that Mr. Shelley, the owner of the land at Itchen Abbas, on which the villa was found, and his courteous tenant Mr. Way, keep careful watch over these relics. Mr. C. Roach Smith has visited the spot since my last communication. The diggings have been stopped for awhile, but I believe they are to be resumed as soon as the weather permits."

During the discussion after the reading of Mr. Collier's note, the desireableness of preserving the remains was dwelt upon; and it was considered that it would be a loss to archæology were the remains again buried or concealed from view.

A resolution was proposed by Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., and seconded by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L. On its being submitted to the meeting, it was unanimously agreed to, and a copy was directed to be sent to Mr. Collier for the consideration of the owners of the land and the gentlemen who have undertaken the excavations:

"That in view of the importance of the remains excavated at Itchen Abbas in so painstaking a manner by the Rev. C. Collier and his friends, it is very desirable that further efforts should be made to protect them by enclosing them with walls and a roof. The villa being an admirable example of the arrangements of a moderate sized Roman house, with pavements of great beauty, it is of importance that it should be kept intact, and open for the purposes of study, under circumstances that will ensure its safety."

The contemplated destruction of the ancient Cariol Tower of New-

castle-on-Tyne was then announced, and much concern was expressed by various members present at this proposed unnecessary act. In the hope that a representation made to the Town Council of Newcastle might have the effect of preventing the demolition, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Woodhouse for presentation to the local authorities. It was seconded by Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., and unanimously carried :

"That the members of the British Archæological Association have heard with much regret that a proposal is before the authorities of Newcastle-on-Tyne for the demolition of the ancient Cariol Tower. That, in regard to its value for purposes of study as a good example of middle age town-fortification, now become scarce in England, as well as its importance as a historical monument, it is greatly to be desired that the Mayor and Corporation should reconsider any proposals for its removal, with a view to taking steps for its permanent safety."

Wednesday, March 5.

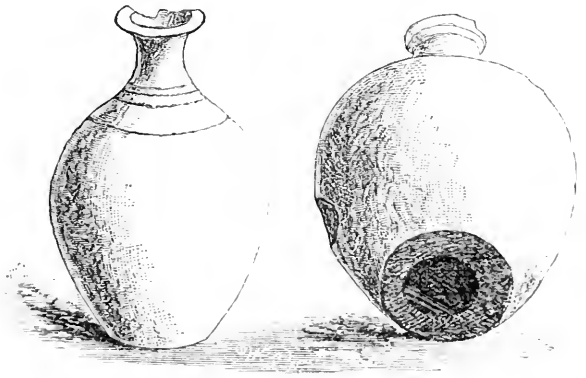
Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., in the Chair.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society, 1877-1878." Parts 1, 2.

„ „ "Index to the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute."

The Rev. Prebendary Sir Talbot H. B. Baker exhibited sketches of a remarkable Roman vessel recently discovered near Chatham. The



following description, prepared by Colonel Akers, R.E.A., was read :—

"I send a sketch of a small urn found lately in a sand-pit a few miles from Chatham. It is remarkable that it was found, as far as present evidence goes, at a depth of about 15 feet from the surface, in compact

sand, far away from any recent stream or depression where sand-washings might be expected to accumulate; and that it has in its base a round hole with a flanged valve of the same material as the vase, made to fit. In my sketch I have attempted to show the base of the jar with the edge of the valve displaced inside.

"I do not remember ever seeing a jar of this sort before; and although the form may be common to antiquaries, I thought it worth while to let you know of it. The jar appears to have been made for obtaining water by pressing it, bottom downwards, into a stream or well, the valve retaining the water when the vessel was drawn up. The vase is $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and 5 inches in largest diameter. The colour is a reddish brown."

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Cuming and others took part. The Roman character of the vessel was acknowledged, and the rarity of the example. It was pointed out that the system for retaining the water was identical with that of the mediæval watering-pots. Other examples of ware of similar texture have been met with in the locality, which is close to the extensive Roman pottery works of Upchurch.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited five remarkable silver spoons.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited several objects from Prince's Street.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, described a beautiful example of glass manufacture found in Cyprus. It is 6 inches high, elaborately worked in lines of parallel zigzags, of black and purple on a white ground.

The Chairman exhibited a choice collection of glass, chiefly of the Venetian period.—1. A cameo of white moulded glass, 6 inches by 4, representing a beautiful female head surmounted by a band and five-lobed tiara. This specimen had at some period been recovered from the ground. The design, execution, and "metal", are of high art and exact proportion. 2. Two "buttoned" cruets about 7 inches high, the one of white, the other of purest, deepest, and faultless blue. Both are cut in diamond and leaf-patterns, the angles refracting the rays of light in such manner as to fill the vessels with a galaxy of brilliant white points. A curious history belongs to them. The white specimen was exhumed from a London excavation, with much broken Venetian glass and jasper wall-tiles, in 1866; the other bought recently in an obscure London shop, wherein apparently the remanets of ages had been deposited. 3. A very beautiful vase, 10 inches, somewhat conical, and lapping over into six semicircular lips, of rare Italian *millefiore* glass; blue and white threads curiously and exactly interwoven. 4. A beaker-shaped vase, modelled from the Chinese, standing on a raised and hollow foot; of brilliant opalescent glass, painted with large groups of flowers in blue and gold, following the designs of Chinese artists. This object came from Peterborough. 5. Another, of pure

sapphire glass, plain, modelled on the shape of a Chinese beaker, with cap and button; of extremely thin material, and in colour so brilliant as to destroy both bright blues and greens. The vase, with its cap, stands 14 inches high. 6. A circular Venetian wall-plate perforated for candle-socket, and engraved with wreaths of roses. The silvering and general execution are brilliant and perfect. Diameter, 10 inches. 7. A pretty pink jug of Spanish opalescent glass, painted in bouquets of coloured flowers. Most likely from San Ildefonso. Seventeenth century.

Mr. H. S. Cuming, V.P., called particular attention to the Chinese element in the vases numbered 4 and 5. At first he was disposed to pronounce them as belonging to a Chinese art of which very little is known; but closer inspection shows the design Chinese, the manufacture European.

The exhibitor also showed a silver seal and ring; the latter, set with sparkling though false brilliants, belonging to the latter half of the seventeenth century. Also a very fine *Cor Curoli* in silver, similarly decked to the ring, which Mr. Cuming said undoubtedly belonged to the reign of Charles II.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., described a perfect little Roman *poculum* recently found in Mark Lane. It is of black Upchurch ware, with a grape pattern indented around its edge. He exhibited also, as a warning to antiquaries, a forged Roman inscription, incised with neatness on a slab of white marble. It had every appearance of being part of a funereal slab from one of the Catacombs of Rome; but it was professed that it had been found in Cannon Street, London, and was so labelled in the collection of a man of taste, where it had remained until recently.

Mr. Cuming pointed out the indications of its being a forgery, and described it as undoubtedly the work of Flinn, "the Irish Giant", a cunning worker, who fifteen or twenty years ago gave much trouble to antiquaries, and who, possessing some classical knowledge, had, from bad habits, to turn his attention at last to "navvy" work for a subsistence.

Dr. Phené, F.S.A., then read a paper on "The Cave of the Delphic Oracle." This paper was illustrated by a large number of elaborate views and diagrams. The peculiar mounds, of serpentine form, in various countries of the globe, which have been so carefully studied and explored by Dr. Phené, were illustrated by many of the views, while sketches of some well known North American examples were produced to show their analogy to those of Europe and Asia. The paper will be given hereafter in the *Journal*.

A lengthy discussion followed, Mr. Morgan referring to the descriptions given by Greek authors, who speak alike of the majesty of the

temple of the god and that of the valley. Hemmed in, as the former is, by such a formidable barrier of lofty mountains, its capabilities for defence must have been very great, and very necessary when such accumulated wealth was stored within the temple for safety.

Mr. Cuming suggested that probably in our own country some of the chalk and other caverns may have been used for such purposes by the early inhabitants.

Mr. Brock drew attention to the necessity for a careful exploration of the winding and subterranean passages of Surrey and Kent, with the object of ascertaining the purpose of their formation. He referred to Mr. Brent's description of one, three miles long, at Chislehurst.

Dr. Phené explained, in reply to an inquiry, that there were no laurel but olive trees now at Delphi. There were various triple-leaved shrubs.

Mr. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., called attention to the triple shoots of the laurel, laurustinus, and Daphne.

Mr. Cuming explained that in England, to the present day, it was not unusual for the superstitious to place a laurel-leaf beneath their pillow, in the hope of obtaining a revelation during the night.

A paper by C. W. Dymond, Esq., on "Gunnerkeld Stone Circle", was then read, in the unavoidable absence of the author, by Mr. Loftus Brock, *Hon. Sec.* It will be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which followed it was pointed out that there was no trace indicated of any covering mound,—a fact which in this instance at least militated against the theory that all similar circles were always so covered. The same is observable with respect to the simpler stone avenues at Callernish.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

These paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Castor Excavation Fund.—When the Association visited Castor, in Northamptonshire, during the Wisbech Congress, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., suggested that some excavations should be made with a view to ascertain the exact site of the ancient Durobrivæ; and, as the suggestion met the approval of those present, endeavours have since been made to obtain the co-operation of the owners of the land, and others in the neighbourhood, and to form a Local Committee to superintend the work. It is hoped that this plan may be carried out. Mr. Brock

has obtained an offer of the gratuitous services of an eminent engineer at Peterborough, who has experience of such works. It is proposed, in the first instance, to spend only £25 (a considerable portion of which has been subscribed already), for the purpose of opening the ground; then to report upon the system proposed to be followed. As the British Archæological Association has no funds to devote to this object, an appeal is hereby made to the first encouragers of the movement before making a general appeal, if such a course be desirable.

Roman Remains.—Two fine stones have been added to the Roman curiosities in the Gloucester Museum,—a foundation-stone of the Southgate Castle, weighing forty hundredweight; and a pillar-base, far larger than those at Lincoln, found three months ago in Southgate Street, 9 feet under the present level, probably the largest find in Britain. The diameter of the shaft is 39 inches. It is of weatherstone oolite. The base-blocks were strongly clamped with iron, which were broken in order to get them removed.

Restoration of the Parish Church of Hawton.—The Rector and Churchwardens of Hawton, near Newark, in the county of Nottingham, solicit assistance to enable them to effect the restoration of their parish church. Hawton Church stands greatly in need of repair throughout the entire building, and it appears very desirable to take the opportunity of restoring the whole fabric according to its original design. For this purpose plans have been prepared by James Fowler, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., of Louth, and efforts are now being made to raise the necessary funds for carrying out the work.

The following extracts from Mr. Fowler's Report will show the special character of the church, and how greatly it deserves careful preservation:—"The church at present consists of a nave with clerestory, north and south aisles, south porch, a chancel, and a western tower. The work is, for the most part, Decorated in character, dating about 1320 A.D., and retaining generally its original features. The nave is divided into three bays with arches on each side, the divisions being further marked by the three compartments of the roof having a window in each bay. The north arcade is of late twelfth century work, and as such has a prior claim to notice, being the only remaining portion of the ancient church. The pillars are octagonal in form, the arches being splayed with a fleur-de-lis termination above the cap, and having hoodmoulds with a dog-tooth ornament. The chancel is of good proportions, and the work, of Decorated character, very graceful in style; and it may fairly claim to be the most interesting in the county, and, withal, of most excellent design, workmanship, and materials. The east gable is filled with a very fine window of seven lights,

which is richly moulded, and fitted with elaborate tracery. Underneath the eastern window, on the south side, are a sedile and piscina; and on the north side are the Easter sepulchre" (of which there is a full-sized model in the Mediæval Court at the Crystal Palace), "a monumental recess, and a doorway to a former vestry, all most elaborately moulded and carved. The interior, indeed, is rich in canopy and monumental work. In the arched recesses the extreme delicacy of all the projections, and the refinement of the profiles of the mouldings, are well worthy the most careful study, and with the elaborate canopy work form a composition hardly to be excelled in beauty by any in the country. The tower is of late fifteenth century work, being Perpendicular in character, and ranks as one of the finest in the district."

The present state of the church is one of serious dilapidation, both externally and in the interior, being neither wind nor water-tight, and presenting altogether a shabby and neglected appearance most unbecoming the house of God, and very unworthy of the character of its architecture. The church is wanting also in the useful and seemly appendage of a vestry, which it is proposed to restore; and the south porch, a comparatively modern erection, not being at all in harmony with the church, and needing repair, will be rebuilt. For the accomplishment of the work, including all expenses, an outlay of about £1,500 is absolutely needed, exclusive of the repair of the chancel, which is undertaken by the Rector. The population of the parish being almost entirely agricultural, and only about two hundred and fifty in number, with no resident landowners, it is utterly beyond the power of the parishioners to undertake the work unaided; they are therefore compelled to make this appeal to the public in the earnest and confident hope that it will be kindly and liberally responded to by many who are interested in the welfare of the Church of England, and who will sympathise with this endeavour to restore an ancient and beautiful church, and make it in some measure worthy of divine worship.

Any contributions will be thankfully received and acknowledged by the Rector or Churchwardens; or they may be paid into the Bank of Messrs. Handley, Peacock, and Co., of Newark, to the account of the "Hawton Church Restoration Fund."

Early Drawings and Illuminations.—This book,[1] which professes to be a guide-book rather than an exhaustive catalogue, will certainly prove to be of great assistance to the many artists and students of

[1] *Early Drawings and Illuminations: an Introduction to the Study of Illustrated MSS. With a Dictionary of Subjects in the British Museum.* By Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., and Henry Jenner, of the Manuscript Department in the British Museum. With Illustrations in Autotype Photography. S. Bagster and Sons.

antiquities, religious or secular, who frequent the British Museum. In it they will find references to armour, architecture, costumes, vestments, church and domestic architecture, utensils, weapons, and ships of various dates and nationalities, as well as to pictures of historical and religious scenes, events, or personages, arranged in the convenient form of a simple alphabetical index. An idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken and achieved may be gathered from the fact that about a thousand MSS., in most cases full of pictures (a single picture often containing in itself several objects of interest besides the actual subject), have been carefully examined, noticed, and indexed. The arrangement of the work is very simple. A description of the plates is followed by an introductory treatise on the general subject of mediæval art, containing short notices of the different national styles, descriptions of the *scriptoria* of monasteries, a useful account of the modern bibliography of the subject, and an equally useful and very necessary description of the various service-books in use in the mediæval Church,—a class of MS. to which a large number of the illuminated books belong. A list of the MSS. indexed comes next. This is arranged under centuries, the fifteenth being subdivided into "Early", "Middle", and "Late"; and each century is further subdivided into styles obtaining in countries, under which the books are classified by subjects, beginning with Bibles and service-books, and ending with romances and science. In the list which follows, the MSS. of earlier date than the fifteenth century have been arranged in order of Museum numbering. The use of this table is considerable. Instead of overloading the body of the book with constant repetitions of dates, the authors have merely given the numbers and pages of the MSS. referred to under each heading of the dictionary; and the date may at once be ascertained by reference to the prefixed tables of date and character. In some few instances of large headings, such as costumes, armour, vestments, etc., this plan has been developed; and the dates, for obvious reasons, have been given under the heading itself. Next comes the dictionary itself. By a happy inspiration the authors, instead of including in the introduction detailed accounts of the more important headings, have enlivened the usual monotony of an index by interspersing it with paragraphs comprising notices of a large number of the subjects to which reference is given. These notices are directed chiefly to treatment of subjects as they appear in the MSS. of the British Museum; but in many cases the subjects are treated more or less generally. Among the articles may specially be mentioned those which precede references to pictures of Jesus Christ and of the Blessed Virgin (which two prolific headings occupy a very large proportion of the index), costumes, armour, devils, initials, landscapes, ecclesiastical vestments, shipping and zodiac, and the short accounts of

the artistic treatment of several of the more important saints. But perhaps more interesting than any is the article by Dr. Samuel Birch on the novel and little known subject of the illuminations and miniatures found in the Egyptian papyri. The book has been compiled to meet a want felt strongly by archæologists and literary men, and will, no doubt, meet with its reward.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.—We have pleasure in announcing the establishment of a new society under the above title for the study of ecclesiastical architecture and design by non-professional persons. The inaugural lecture will be delivered by A. J. Beresford Hope, M.P., on April 1, at 7 p.m., at the Chapterhouse. Among the supporters are the well known names of the Right Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Lord Bishop of Durham, the Dean of St. Paul's, Canons Gregory and Liddon, Dr. Claughton, W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, B.D., Precentor of Chichester, Rev. H. R. Haweis, John Stainer, F. C. Penrose, S. I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix Pursuivant*, G. E. Street, R.A. From the rules, we gather that the entrance fee is two shillings and sixpence, and the annual subscription the same sum. The society will meet at least twelve times during the year, for the purpose of visiting buildings of interest or other ecclesiological objects. Full particulars of the society's rules of membership may be had of the Secretary, R. Howard Wall, Esq., 18, Little Britain, London, E.C.

Discovery at Paisley Abbey.—An interesting discovery was made at the venerable abbey of Paisley on the 13th March. While some workmen, employed at the new Abbey Bridge, were excavating a drain in Bridge Street they came upon a solid structure of masonry about 4 ft. from the surface, which, on several stones being removed, was found to be the roof of an arched subterranean passage of considerable dimensions. The *locale* is about midway between the Abbey and the Cart. The existence has long been suspected of a secret communication from the abbey to Crookston Castle, Blackhall, or some place equally distant, and the discovery would seem to show that the tradition so long cherished is not without foundation in fact. Shortly after the opening was made the contractor at the works, Mr. James A. King, Glasgow, Mr. Thomas Reid, of the St. Mirren Engine Works, and a number of other gentlemen, descended through the aperture and made an examination of the archway, which crosses Bridge Street nearly at right angles. The explorers found their progress eastwards barred, apparently by a falling in of the roof only a few yards from whence they started. In the other direction the way was clear for 150 ft., to which distance Mr. King and a few of his adventurous band penetrated. Running at first nearly parallel with the Cart, the roadway takes a bend

northwards in the direction of the abbey, to which there can hardly be a doubt it extends, as the whole range of the explorations were almost under its very walls. The arch enclosing this interesting subterranean roadway is a Gothic one, corresponding with the design of the Abbey itself. Every 4 ft. or 5 ft. (the distances are irregular) the masonry is supported by a "rib" of well-dressed stone, about 10 ins. in breadth. The walls, which are built of ashlar, have been constructed without mortar, except at the "ribs". The height of the arch is barely 5 ft., and the width about 4 ft. It is probable that the height was formerly considerably more, the accumulations of centuries having silted up the passage to its present dimension. In some places the roadway has apparently been pressed into service as a common sewer. In general, however, it is in remarkably good condition. Further explorations will be undertaken to ascertain the basis of the old traditions.

Restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey.—We beg to call attention to the progress of the restoration of this fine old relic of English architecture, visited lately by the Archæological Association. A meeting was held, by the kind permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the library of Lambeth Palace on 28th March, when a paper was read by J. Oldrid Scott, Esq., who is continuing the restoration commenced by his distinguished father, the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and drawings, plans, and objects of interest connected with the Abbey were exhibited. Among the names of the National Committee, assembled in view of the reopening of the Abbey in September of this year, are the following:—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, *President;* The Right Hon. Lord Sudeley, High Steward of Tewkesbury, *Vice-President;* the Earl of Ducie, Lord-Lieutenant of Gloucestershire; the Marquis of Abergavenny, Earl Beauchamp, Earl Bathurst, the Earl of Dudley, Earl Somers, Lord Sherborne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P., Sir Edmund A. H. Lechmere, Bart., M.P., Chairman of the Restoration Committee; Sir Edmund Beckett, Bart., Q.C., J. T. Agg Gardner, Esq., M.P., A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., S. S. Marling, Esq., M.P., C. J. Monk, Esq., M.P., W. E. Price, Esq., M.P., J. Reginald York, Esq., M.P., J. J. Powell, Esq., Q.C., Frederic Ouvry, Esq., V.P.S.A., J. H. Parker, Esq., C.B., Hon. M.A. Oxon., F.S.A., E. A. Freeman, Esq., D.C.L., Rev. J. H. Blunt, F.S.A., C. Locke Smiles, Esq., 15, Bedford Row, W.C., and T. Bowater Vernon, Esq., 33, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., *Hon. Secs.*; Charles W. Moore, Esq., Tewkesbury, *Treasurer*, will be glad to receive any donations in aid of the restoration; and Frederick Moore, Esq., Tewkesbury, *Hon. Sec.*

Assyrian Discoveries: the Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.—The important discoveries recently made by Mr. Hormuzd

Rassam, during the explorations around the site of ancient Nineveh, which he is prosecuting for the authorities of the British Museum, have been already fully noticed in the public press. No similar monument has before been discovered, and no representation of such a one is to be found on the sculptures brought from ancient Assyria. Hence its great value and interest cannot be over-estimated. The careful cleansing and reconstruction now in process reveals, as the work proceeds, more distinctly its value as a unique specimen of Assyrian art, and it has been resolved that its reproduction, in the form of a series of plates, shall be forthwith commenced, under the sanction of the Trustees of the British Museum, and under the superintendence of Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., Keeper of the Oriental Department.

The ornaments, executed in *repoussé* work, formed the covering of a pair of enormous folding doors, probably of cedar wood, each about twenty-two feet in height, which were set up in the city of Imgur Beli, now represented by the mound of Balawat, situated about nine miles north-east of Nimrud. The bronze plates, now almost the only remaining portion, are about eight feet in length, and were nailed horizontally across each leaf of the gates, one end being turned round the posts upon which the doors revolved. They exhibit in double bands, each about six inches broad, a complete pictorial record of the historical events of the first nine years of the reign of Shalmaneser II (B.C. 859-851). Battles, sieges, triumphal processions, containing hundreds of figures, are here represented; the king, with his army on the march, torture of prisoners, etc.; scenes and subjects, which, carefully depicted as they are in all their multitudinous detail by the hand of the Assyrian artist, cannot fail to be of the greatest value to the antiquary, as well as the philologist and ethnologist. In some cases, above the figures represented are inscriptions recording and explaining the events depicted.

It is proposed to issue with the facsimile plates letterpress descriptions by Mr. Theophilus G. Pinches, Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, who will be glad to receive names of subscribers. The reproduction will be in the *exact size and colour of the originals*, by means of the autotype permanent process. The entire publication will consist of about ninety large plates, and will be issued in five parts, similar in size to the publications of the Palæographical Society. Only a limited number of copies will be issued, of which the price to subscribers will be 21*s.* each part. After the issue of the third part the price will be raised. Specimens of the work may be seen at the offices of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 33, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.

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ON ROMAN ROADS IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND NORFOLK.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

In these days of research, when the most obscure periods of history are anxiously inquired into, with the desire of adding something to the records of the past, you will probably be led to consider the difficult, because meagrely recorded, period, which embraces many centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire of the West. This period is receiving a considerable accession of daylight, both from the many recent discoveries as well as from the scientific method of studying them; and there is no reason why, by an inductive method of research, the dates of the numerous remains of this epoch should not be determined with tolerable accuracy. I would particularly direct attention to the Roman and Romano-British remains of forts, towns, and villas, sepulchral and dedicational monuments, of which many have recently been uncovered, as well as to the strongholds of the British inhabitants, the oppida and castella of the ancient Britons, and the burghs of their successors, now much explored by the many archæological societies established throughout the kingdom.

The sepulchral tumuli of post-Roman times, being nearer to our own than the same class of tumuli of the Roman and pre-Roman period, might be expected consequently to be the most numerous, and so indeed they are found to be; yet before the impulse given by the societies to researches beneath the surface of the earth, it was the custom to look at all tumuli, *prima facie*, as works of the most ancient

Britons, or of the time of Julius Cæsar and his immediate successors, whereas these must now be taken as the exceptions, and post-Roman sepulchres as the rule. Without referring particularly to the arms, utensils, and personal ornaments of the inhabitants of our island, and which the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire have yielded up in great abundance, I would call special attention to the mortuary urns for containing the ashes of the dead, who had been burned according to the Roman pre-Christian custom, and the remains of the dead buried entire, either in lead or stone cists, or in wooden coffins, which indicate the Christian practice. And if we take the conversion of Constantine as a point of departure, we may range the tumuli containing such indications as belonging to the century before or after the middle of the fourth century, where they are found in juxtaposition, or there are no other circumstances to guide us; but of course where the Pagan element again intervenes, we might find the mortuary urns resumed at such periods, that is, up to as late as the time of Sweyn or Canute; and in the same way, working backwards, the mortuary urns might extend to any time during the Roman occupation or before it. In the cemetery of Little Wilbraham, near Cambridge, Mr. Neville calculated about one hundred and twenty mortuary urns to one hundred and eighty-eight skeletons.[1]

Perhaps the best outline of Romano-British history is a map of the Roman roads; and as the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, which though so well known and so much written upon, has seldom been drawn upon a map without being mixed up with the Roman roads of successive generations (by which the scheme is confused, and the admirable military system on which it was planned is lost sight of), I produce a map, on which nothing is marked but the roads of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, in the north-east of England, with the stations and distances between each.

In the *Itinerary* of Antoninus we have an excellent chronological point of departure, composed at a period when the Roman military system was most complete; and it will be seen that in the second century the roads were laid down to connect Colchester, the great fortress of the eastern coun-

[1] See *Saxon Obsequies*, by Hon. R. C. Neville.

ties, with the corresponding Roman strongholds of Castor in Northamptonshire, Lincoln, York, and Carlisle; and by a branch from this line with that of York, at Catterick, on the Swale (*Iter* No. 1), communicated across the river Tees, with four camps, as indicated by their names, at Binchester, Lanchester, Elchester, and Corchester, near Corbridge, on the Tyne—a river which was crossed by the bridge of Hadrian, and the road then went onwards through and beyond Hadrian's Wall, to Bremenium, High Rochester, and into Scotland.

I will give the fifth *Iter in extenso*, with the Roman stations and their corresponding modern places, according to the most probable opinions :—

	Miles.
No. 5.—From London to Luguvallum, Carlisle .	443
Cæsaromagus, Chelmsford	28
Colonia, Colchester	24
Villa Faustini, perhaps Dunmow	35
Iciani, Icleteton and Chesterford	18
Camboritum, Cambridge	35
Durolipons, Godmanchester	25
Durobrivæ, Castor	35
Causennæ, Ancaster	30
Lindum, Lincoln	26
Segelocum, Littleborough	14
Danum, Doncaster	21
Segeolium, Casterford	16
Eboracum, York	21
Isibrigantum, Aldborough	17
Cataracton, Catarack	24
Lavatræ, Bowes	18
Verteræ, Brough	14
Brocavo, Brougham	20
Luguvallum, Carlisle	22
	443

It will be seen that this is one of the few *itinera* in which the distance given at the heading agrees exactly with the summing up of the mileage, and the line is a very direct one from Colchester to Carlisle, if we adopt Iciani as at or near Ickleton and Chesterford, where extensive Roman remains were discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville in the years 1845 to 1847, and they were described by Mr. C. Roach Smith in our *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 356, and vol. v, p. 541.

Camden and others would carry Villa Faustini and Iciani to Bury St. Edmund's and Thetford; Horsley prefers Bury St. Edmund's and Ickleton, and the reading of twenty-five

miles instead of thirty-five as the distance from Colchester to the first station. Camden's rendering would alter the direct line of this great military road, to which the name of Ermann Street or the Warrior's Road was given by the successors of the Romans in later times.

By following the road up to Northumbria and the Wall, we arrive at the busy marts of Roman commerce on the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees. We have recently had an interesting account of one of these Roman cities, excavated at South Shields, which affords many points of remarkable interest, not the least of which are two inscribed stones, bearing the initial letters of the fifth cohort of Gauls, and perhaps of the place, TVM, Tunnocelum. The transition from Roman to Romano-Saxon times is well exemplified in this corner of the coast, where Saint Cuthbert lived and the venerable Bede wrote. You will remember how, at the Congress held at Durham, the early Saxon features of Jarrow and Wearmouth were pointed out, some of the work in the buildings being attributed to Benedict Biscop, and must have been in existence in Bede's time. Newcastle, near the Pons Ælii or Hadrian's Bridge over the Tyne, became Monkschester; the station at the Wall was superseded by Tynemouth monastery, and the various *conventus* or associations of Roman municipalities gave place to convents or monastic communities. The interesting history of Northumbria is bound up by the most sacred ties of religion, of marriage, and of self-preservation with East Anglia; and this union was the means of keeping together the Roman *imperium*, which had reason to fortify itself against attacks from the sea, as well as from enemies within the camp. The seventh century commences with the conversion of Redwald by Paulinus, and the endeavours of the King of Kent to promote Roman Christianity throughout the kingdoms on the east coast. We are carried on to the end of the century, and the reign of the wise Alfred of Northumbria, the pupil of Wilfred and the contemporary of Bede, but we must steer our bark to the more southerly latitude of the Wash,[1] like the voyagers in Walter Scott's *Marmion*—

> —— "their vessel skirts the strand
> Of mountainous Northumberland.

[1] *Metaris Æstuarium* of Ptolemy.

Monkwearmouth soon behind them lay,
And Tynemouth Priory and Bay.
Thy tower, proud Bamborough, marked they there:
King Ida's castle huge and square.
Then from the coast they bore away,
And reached the Holy Island's Bay."

We are now in the Holland of England, from which the sea is kept out by sand banks and dykes, the history of which will extend back to Roman times, and may receive much illustration from the works of that nation in Frisia, and their dealings with the inhabitants of that coast, who were as expert as the Britons in defending themselves from their boats, and among their woods and morasses, and probably had to complain, as did the Britons, that they had to work for their hard task-masters in clearing the woods and banking the marshes, in which, amidst stripes and execrations, they were wearing out their hands and their bodies.[1] The great sea walls, known as the Roman banks, extending for one hundred and fifty miles along the old seaboard of the Fenland,[2] will at once occur to us, and the Car Dyke, from Ramsey to Lincoln, with the forts erected at seven places along its course; and at the same time those great dykes in Holland, the *Corbulonis Fossa*, from the Vahalis river to the Rhine; and the *Fossæ Drusianæ*, from one of the forks of the Rhine to the Zuyder Zee.

It is not for me to enter upon the history of the transmutation of the outline of the Norfolk coast by the action of the sea and the science of man, nor to trace the date when the waters of the greater Ouse were made to take the direction of Lynn or the great lake, to the prejudice of Wisbech, which once received its waters.

I will return to the roads of the district, and the ninth *Iter* of Antoninus, from Norwich to London.

	Miles.
To Sitomagus, Dunwich	32
Combretonium, Burgh, near Woodbridge	22
Ad Ausam, Stratford	15
Camulodunum, Colchester	6
Canonum, Kelvedon	9
Cæsaromagus, Chelmsford	12
London	28
	124

The strong Roman forts of Brancaster, Castor near Nor-

[1] Tac., *Agric.* [2] Miller and Skertchley, *The Fenland Past and Present.*

wich, Garianonum, Sitomagus, and Camulodunum, sufficiently guarded the coasts of East Anglia while there was vigour in the Empire of Rome; but the East Anglian kings fared not so well as those who had been protected by the earlier forts, and the breaks in the order of their succession must be attributed to the disturbances of the times. Whether the somewhat mythical King Uffa, said to be the eighth in succession from Woden, and who was called the founder of the kingdom of the East Angles, had anything to do with South Shields in Saxon times, when it was called Caer Uffa, I am unable to determine. At all events King Anna, nephew of Redwald, made a name for himself through his numerous, and, as Bede calls them, glorious offspring. Of his three sons, the eldest became king, the second was slain in battle, and the third, as Bishop of London, founded the abbey of Barking, in Essex; but the daughters exceeded in pious liberality to the church the zeal of their mother Hereswitha, who was sister of Saint Hilda, the foundress of Whitby Abbey. Sexburga married Ercombert, King of Kent, Edelburga became abbess of Barking, Whitberga founded a nunnery at East Dereham, in Norfolk, and Etheldreda was the foundress of the abbey of Ely; she was born about A.D. 630 at Ixning, in Suffolk,[1] and became the first abbess of her own foundation in 673. The second abbess was her sister Sexburga, after she became

[1] I have extracted from Birch's *Fasti Mon. Ævi Saxonici* (London, 1872) the names of religious houses established in these counties before the Conquest:

"Bury St. Edmunds, Suff., Monastery, 630 or 633; Seculars, 925-1020; Benedictines, 1020.

"Cnobbersburgh, or Burgh Castle, Suff., Monastery, 630 (Tan.), 637 (Dugdale).

"Dunwich, or Dommuc, Suff., episcopal see, 630; monks in tenth century.

"Soham, Camb., episcopal see and Monastery, c. 630; destroyed 870.

"Caistor, or Dormanchester, Northamp., Monastery, under an abbess, middle of seventh century; destroyed 1010.

"East Dereham, Norf., Benedictine monks, c. 650.

"Peterborough, or Medeshamsted, Northamp., Abbey A.D. 650 or 655; destroyed 870; refounded 970.

"Ancarig, or Thorney, Camb., Hermitage, 662; Benedictine, 972.

"Croyland, Linc., Benedictine monks, 716-870; restored, 948.

"North Elmham, or Helmham, Norfolk, episcopal see, 673-870, 950-1075.

"Ely, Camb., Benedictine Nunnery, 673-870; Seculars until 970; Benedictine Abbey of monks, 970.

"East Dereham, Norf., Nunnery after 673; destroyed, c. 974.

"Hulme, St. Benedict's, Norf., Benedictine Abbey, 800-870; before 1020.

"Horningsey, Camb., Monastery, destroyed, 870.

"Thetford, St. Mary's, Norf., Secular Canons (Leland).

"Eltesley, Cambr., Nunnery, destroyed *temp.* Conq."

a widow, and this honourable office was held in succession by her daughter Ermenilda and her granddaughter, Saint Werburga.

Let us give these noble dames the credit for using their women's rights to assuage the angry passions and strife which distracted East Anglia, from the time that Redwold had endeavoured to serve two masters, by building an altar to Christ in the same temple where sacrifices to Woden were performed.[1] After the period of the death of the wise Alfred of Northumbria, who encouraged learning and literature, not much importance attaches to the kings of East Anglia till the eighth century. In 749 Beorna or Bernred was the first of the kings of this district who coined money since the pre-Roman times of the Iceni and Trinobantes, of Cunobeline and Boadicea. The coins of the district from and after King Bernred should be studied as the best contemporary history of this kingdom. Ethelred, in 761, who married Leofruna, is chiefly known as being the father of Saint Ethelbert, who again is more honoured by his martyrdom within the palace of Offa of Mercia in 792 than by the actions of his life.

Another saintly king, Edmund,[2] ascended the throne in 855, and paid the penalty of Ragnar Lodbrog's death by suffering martyrdom at Hoxne Wood, in Suffolk, at the hands of Hingwar and Ubba, the Danish hero's sons, who had gained a battle near Thetford in 870. This interesting locality, with its natural temple to Theuth or Mercury, was probably a great rallying point for the followers of Odin, on that famous open mote hall, the Thing-hoe Mount, near the town; and Thetford became afterwards the seat of a Christian bishopric; but in the meantime a fierce retribution of the heathens came upon the forts, the towns, the churches, and the monasteries.

We shall visit two abbeys, Crowland and Thorney, the slaughter of whose inmates is graphically described by Ingulph, and similar scenes of bloodshed took place at the sacred shrines of Ely and Soham, a village bordering on the Fens, and at the entrance of the Isle of Ely. Soham is remarkable as having had a monastery founded there by Felix the Burgundian, who came over to preach Christianity and

[1] Bede, ii. c. 5.

[2] See his life by Abbo Floriacensis, who wrote about A.D. 985.

Roman civilisation at the same time. Flitcham Abbey, near Castle Rising, whose ruined church is now undergoing reparation, is said to owe its origin and its name to the same Felix (Felix-ham). He stationed himself at Felixstow, not far from Siltstowe or Dummoc, or Dunwich, where the first bishopric of these parts was established. The red-book of Eye, which the people there used to swear by, was brought by the monks from Dunwich before the place was swallowed up by the sea. Leland says he saw it written in large Lombardic characters.[1] Brous or Bosa, the bishop 669 to 675, divided the see into two, the one remaining at Dunwich, the other being fixed at North Elmham, where the see of Norfolk remained, with some interruption and irregularities, through the time of the Danish invasions till Herfast, chaplain to William the Conqueror, was made the first bishop of a new see at Thetford.

A direct line of road, called Peddar's Way, communicates with Thetford from the northern forts of Hunstanton and Brancaster. It will be remembered that at Brannodunum had been stationed a squadron of the Dalmatian horse, and at Garianonum another of the Stablesian cavalry, while the commander of these was called the Count of the Maritime Coast in the later times of Honorius, showing how the incursions and communications of the outer Wodenites were becoming obnoxious to Roman rule and government. The warfare was long and sharp, and ceased not till Guthrum, the Danish chief, was converted to Christianity and baptised at Aller. Then were the excesses of the Danes restrained, which are told in such gloomy colours by the Christian historians.

We find Guthrum abiding for a year at Cambridge, and from thence ruling East Anglia, while he gradually extended his sway to Essex. His death is placed in 890, *Sax. Chron.*, and he was succeeded by another Danish chieftain, Eric, 890-904, and East Anglia remained under Danish rule until Edward the elder, son of Alfred of Wessex, defeated the armies of that nation in 921;[2] and after this period it followed the fortunes of the whole kingdom, though it suffered much at the hands of Sweyn and Canute, in revenge for the massacres of St. Bridget's eve.

The intercourse of the Frisians with the coast of East

[1] Leland, *Collect.*, iii, 26. [2] *Sax. Chron.*, 918. Flor. Wigorn.

Anglia had probably been as continuous and of as long standing as that of the southern counties with the opposite coasts of Gaul, and that of our northern counties with the Danes and Norwegians; and except by supposing this intercourse and commercial traffic it is difficult to understand the fraternisation of English and Danes, which was so soon to take effect after Guthrum's conversion, and it is difficult to believe that the change which came over Canute when he took upon himself the championship of the church, was brought about solely by the strains of music which fell upon his ears from the choir of the monks of Ely as the king was rowed in a boat upon one of the rivers which flows by the *Haelig Isle*. Who shall say when, and by whom, those round towers of East Anglia, rudely constructed of flints, rough stones, and mortar, were built? They have been attributed to the Danes of this period. They seem to follow the lines of rivers and of the old roads, and now form towers to churches, which appear to have been built against them. The subject was treated of at our Norwich Congress.[1]

In attempting to trace the roads the name of Ikneld Street occurs, which has been applied to various portions of roads, and has the prefix *Ik*, which is found in so many words in these counties, particularly in the Ikeni—a people who, if Yken really meant oxen, seems to represent a nation living by a traffic in cattle. The flocks of hardy sheep which grazed in Norfolk and Suffolk pastures would furnish meat enough for the primitive inhabitants of the island before they knew of other food, but the invasion of the oxen-men would bring wealth and prosperity, and the necessity there was for changing the pastures of the cattle would cause these cennamanni, or knowing men, as they were also called, to extend their connections across the country to the west, which they appear to have done, finding the wooded highlands of Gloucester and Somersetshire better summer grazing grounds than the marshes of Lincoln, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire. We read in Bede of the Girvii, who dwelt in the southern part of the Isle of Ely. These are represented by Baxter as oxen-men, and it is related that Tonbert, their chief, married Etheldreda, who afterwards conveyed the whole of the Isle of Ely, being the estate of her deceased husband, to the monastery of Ely. These de-

[1] See a paper by Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., in *Journal*, xxi.

rivations of names from supposed ancient British words are always open to suspicion. Gyr in the Anglo-Saxon means a marsh. Surely there could be no better derivation.

The sailors and traders of the rugged coasts of the Baltic and the most inaccessible shores of England seem to have been known under the kindred names of Veneti in the earlier times, Vans, Wends, and afterwards Vandals. Their occupation of this marshy country, and their competition with the cinque ports, and sailors of the marshy lands of Kent, lay open an interesting field of inquiry.

The Ikneld Street is traced from Castor, near Norwich, to Cambridge, passing through the well known Devil's Dyke, on Newmarket Heath. It is seen at a considerable elevation in the parish of Little Wilbraham, and is known as Street Way Hill. It then passes to Royston.

That this country was quite Roman, from after the time of Vespasian's conquest, is proved by the many Roman coins and other remains of the period; and the title of Flavia Cæsariensis, derived from his Gentile name, applied to all the midland district north of the Thames, was given to it not without reason.

There are many Roman roads which I have not referred to, such as the causeway connecting Soham with Ely, and that between Dunwich and Garianonum; and if we take the Ermann Street to be that wide road from Colchester which is marked in some maps as Wool Street, it would proceed to Cambridge by the Gog-Magog Hills, or branch off to the westward to Ickleton and Chesterford. In any case the important stations of Ickleton and Chesterford would require a way south to connect them with Verolamium; and such a road has been discovered by the Hon. R. C. Neville between Hadstock and Bartlow villages, which he says is the most perfect specimen of a Roman way with which he is acquainted. It passes by the Ring Hill, in front of Audley End; and Gwendon Street and Stansted Street were in the line of way.

It is not for me to pursue the many portions of Roman roads which have been investigated by the researches of the Hon. R. C. Neville and Dr. Babington, and I would refer to their published works for an account of them, and for a description of the many antiquities found in this

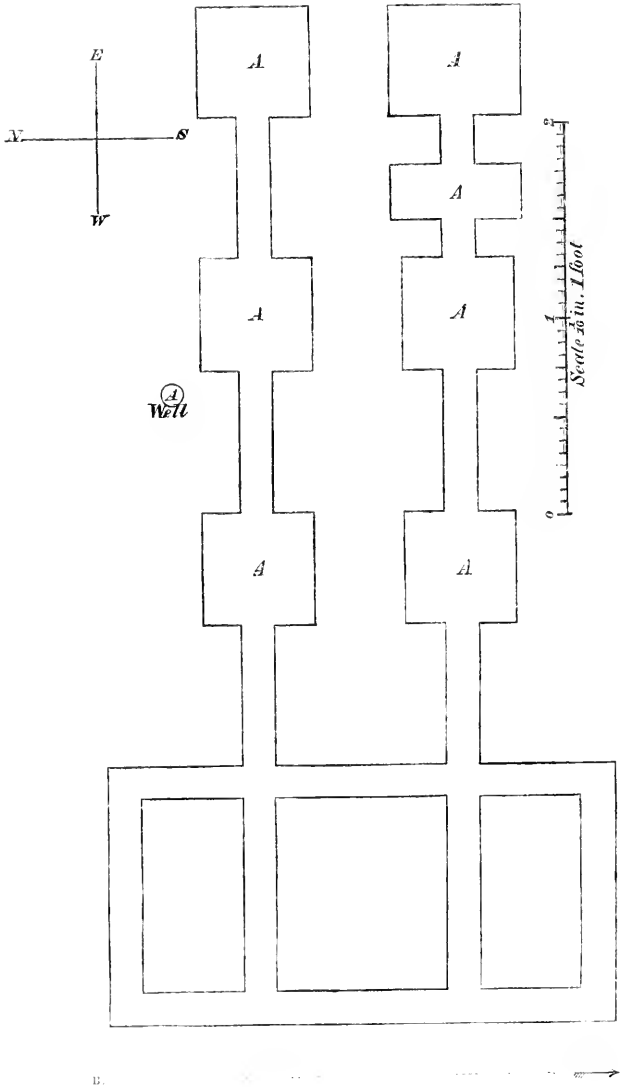
district, which show the complete occupation of East Anglia in Roman and Anglo-Saxon times; and I would further refer to the useful work on *The Fenland Past and Present*, by Messrs. Millar and Skertchley, lately published, to the numerous local works to which they refer, to the transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and to the many antiquities produced and described at the Congress of our Society held at Norwich in 1857, several of which are figured in the *Journal*. My object has been to trace the direction of the military roads at a fixed period, that is, when the *Itinerary* of Antoninus was composed; and afterwards to direct attention to the chronological arrangement of the others, which may be guided by the course of the historical events, and by the importance of the several towns at the period of their development.

ST. GUTHLAC AND CROYLAND.

BY THE REV. CANON MOORE, F.S.A.

St. Guthlac, whose name is so familiar to us as the anchorite, the recluse, the monk, the priest, the saint of Croyland (Crowland *Saxon*), was the son of Penwald, a noble family of Mercia. Their name was Iclings. In my recollection the name was, and probably still is, well known in Croyland as Hickling. The stalwart figure of Old John Hickling, the bargee, rises up at once in the memory of every Croylander who is above fifty years of age. The Iclings were the progenitors of St. Guthlac. Guthlac was his Christian name, given him eight days after his birth, A.D. 673. He was a native of the kingdom of Mercia, therefore most likely a Lincolnshire man, and possibly a Croylander born, which may account for his selecting Croyland as his home. At the age of fifteen he enrolled himself a volunteer, and served an active military life nine years. (No. 1.)[1] He suddenly, to the great regret of his comrades, resigned his captaincy, and became an active servant in the church militant. At the age of twenty-four years he surrendered his commission, his home, his paternal wealth, his worldly prospects, and his companions; entered a monastery, and became a teetotaller. He was tall, handsome, cheerful, mild, patient, and humble, burning with Divine love. After two years' study of theology in the monastery of Hrypadon, or Hreopandune, afterwards called (No. 2) Repton, in Derbyshire, he resolved to become an anchorite. He fell in with an inhabitant of the (No. 2) Fens, named Tatwine, who conducted St. Guthlac in a boat to the obscure and desolate island of Croyland, in the midst of the Fens, the haunt of evil spirits. He landed on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, A.D. 697, just one thousand one hundred and eighty years ago to-morrow. He, with two attendants, took up his permanent residence in this dreary wilderness a few (No. 3) days subsequently.

[1] These numbers refer to the pictures of the Harley Roll, Y. 6, photographs of which were exhibited to the Congress. They will be published by Mr. Birch in his forthcoming *Memorials of St. Guthlac.*



PLAN OF FOUNDATIONS ON SITE OF ST. GUTHLAC'S CELL.

A. Unhewn Stone. Other parts, Concrete. Wrought Stone found thrown in the Well to fill it up.

B. Paved Causeway leading to Crowland Abbey.

From Measurements by Mr. A. S. Cardale.

His house and chapel, which he built for himself, were on what is still called Anchorite or Anchor Church Hill, about a quarter of a mile north-east of the abbey, on the east side of the road to Spalding, and a few hundred yards south of St. James's Bridge. He seems to have at first selected a mound, which had been previously dug into, most likely as a gravel pit, and to have built partly over this pit. He determined henceforth to wear only skins as clothing.

Plan.—Here I have, by the kind assistance of Mr. Canham of this place, the only ground plan of the last portion of the foundations of what has been traditionally supposed to be the anchorite's cell, which was exhumed in 1866, in order to get out the foundation-stones on which it stood.[1] The foundations then exposed consisted of two parallel walls, running east and west, about 14 feet apart and 84 feet in length. On either side, towards the western end, was a room, making the whole width of the western end 42 feet. These foundations consisted of concrete walls, nearly 3 feet thick, with at intervals substantial bases of unhewn stone, more than 8 feet square, three on each side, opposite to each other, about 12 feet apart, with an intermediate base (half the size of the other bases) between the two easternmost bases on the south side. Full two hundred tons of Barnack rag stone were carted away from these foundations at this time. As this operation was carried on by the new proprietor very privately, only a few relics, such as portions of deer's horns, the metal lid of a small cup, came to light. Prior to this act of vandalism, the site was a cultivated mound. In the year 1708 Dr. Stukely says he "saw the remnant of a chapel there, which was then turned into a dwelling house or cottage".[2] He says, moreover, that the ruins of this stone cottage were pulled down about 1720, and the field was known as "Anchor Church Field". Here there is little doubt was the cell of St. Guthlac, and not on the site of this abbey, which was erected full three centuries after his death, to the glory of God, and in honour of St. Bartholomew and St. Guthlac. To this spot then, and not to the site of this abbey, we must attach all the legendary tales of St. Guthlac's torments and temptations and triumphs.

St. Guthlac and the island of Croyland[3] were consecrated

[1] Until this year (1866) this property was in the possession of the Hicklings, who superstitiously protected it.

[2] Gough's *History of Croyland*, p. 104.

[3] P. 75, Goodwin's *Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Guthlac.*

(No. 2) by Bishop Hædda five days before the feast of St. Bartholomew, at harvest time; and in commemoration of this event Croyland fair is held annually by royal charter six days before and six days after the feast of St. Bartholomew.

After fifteen years devoted to his Master's service (No. 7) he joyfully departed, to render up his account to God. Standing by the altar of his church on the last day of his life, he administered the Holy Sacrament to his servant Beccel, exhorting him to a holy life. (No. 8.) By him St. Guthlac sent a message to his sister Pega, then living at Peakirk, five miles westward of Croyland, to have his body, after being wrapped in the winding sheet, which had been sent to him by the abbess Ecgburh, placed in a leaden coffin. His body was so buried, and after twelve months it was exhumed, and placed in a memorable and honourable place in the churchyard, where men from all parts resorted to his tomb to seek the intercession of the holy man. (No. 9.) It is said those who sought it earnestly obtained their desires.

That St. Guthlac led a hermit's selfish and solitary life in a small hut or cell on a lone island in the fenny marshes of Croyland, is abundantly refuted by the earliest account given of him by the monk Felix—a writer who says he had conversed with persons who had visited the saint. The idea is also refuted by the character and station of the visitors whom he entertained. Felix speaks of kings and bishops being received by St. Guthlac, and of their being domiciled in houses upon the island. He also speaks of St. Guthlac's church and his servants.

St. Guthlac must have been a man of great character and ability, or he could not have left the honoured mark he has on the page of history, for he died, a young man, at the age of thirty-nine years.

CASTOR CHURCH.

BY THE REV. J. J. BERESFORD.

I SHALL have the pleasure, with your sanction and desire, to say a few words on the history of the noble building in which we are gathered, and which a modern author, the Rev. Dr. Dibdin, calls the brightest jewel in the crown of the bishopric of Peterborough. This leads me to remark, in the first place, a fact which has a special interest, at any rate for the people of Castor, that for two hundred and eighteen years (1634-1851) it was attached to the bishopric, and held *in commendam* with it.[1] The list of rectors for that time, with the exception of an intruder during the Commonwealth, is a veritable list of the Bishops of Peterborough.

The dedication of the church to St. Kyneburgha is supposed to be unique. She was the third of four daughters of Penda, King of the Mercians. Their names and careers may be found in the Lansdowne MS. 1025. She alone of the four daughters was married, her husband being Alfred, King of Northumbria. She founded a convent here, then called Dormundceastre, and presided over it. The church she built in 650. Here she died, and was buried together with her sister, St. Kyniswitha. In the beginning of the eleventh century their bodies were removed by Abbot Elsinus to Peterborough. The monks used to keep the anniversary of their translation on the 7th of March. A shrine was placed over their bodies at the east end of north aisle. The learned antiquary Mr. Bloxam, one of the greatest authorities in sepulchral lore, who read a paper on the monumental remains of the Cathedral before the Royal Archæological Institute in 1861, was of opinion that the stone now preserved in the new building was a sculptured monument erected over the relics of these saints. It is commonly accounted a memorial of Abbot Hedda, 870. The details of the stone do not warrant so early a date: and it is generally agreed that it is not older than the eleventh century, which would agree with the removal of the bodies by Elsinus, who was abbot from 1005-1055. A ridge in Castor

[1] Act of Parl.

Field is still known as "Lady Connyburrow's Way", an evident corruption of Kyneburgha.

The patronage of the living was in the Convent till its dissolution. It has since been in the Bishop. The Convent was destroyed by Danes in 1010.

The Registers are in excellent order. Earliest dates, v. 1538, Henry VIII. The entries up to 1598 are copied from an older book, attested on each page by the curate and churchwarden. This is done in Latin, with one exception. On left of page is a column for the year; on the right, for year of reigning sovereign. At the end of the book is a list of collections on briefs for the years 1690-1715, which are curious and interesting, *e.g.*, for the French Protestants, 19*s.* 1*d.*; the Vaudois and French refugees in Switzerland, £3 : 6 : $0\frac{3}{4}$; the captives at Machanei, £1 : 2 : 10; Ely and Chester Cathedrals, ...; refugees of Principality of Orange, 11*s.* $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; wives and children of seamen who perished in the great storm, 13*s.* $10\frac{1}{4}d.$ That was the great storm of November 1703, when the first wooden Eddystone Lighthouse, by Winstanley, was swept away, and the unhappy inventor with it. The fleet, just returned from the Mediterranean, suffered great loss, reckoned at 1,500 officers and men.

We have six bells, all inscribed, with plain round discs or else flowers between each word: 1, 2, "Henricus Bagley me fecit, 1700"; 3, 4, "Henry Bagley of Ecton made me"; 5, "'Cantate Domino canticum novum.' Henricus me fecit, 1700." 6,

> "I to the church the living call,
> And to the grave do summon all.

Henry Bagley made me, 1700." In the priest's chamber, adjoining the belfry, is a sturdy box, 3 feet long, once the alms-box. The inventory of church furniture, in 1558, shows how well the church was then supplied.

On the subject of the architecture I say but a few words, as I am anxiously looking forward to a sketch by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, assisted, perhaps, by Mr. Sykes, our local architect, of Milton in this parish. The church is cruciform. Nearly all the details are of great beauty, with the exception of the east window in the chancel; but the Norman work, especially the tower, is by far the richest

work of its date in the neighbourhood, and is probably not surpassed by any parish church in the kingdom.

Date.—This is given on a dedication stone which has been removed from the Norman chancel, and rebuilt into the wall over the priest's door, and is probably accurate; though whether this represents the actual rebuilding of the then existing church, or whether portions of it date from a much earlier period, *cadit quæstio.* A portion of the north wall, outside, close to a remnant of the Norman window, contains apparently courses of Roman tile, which would favour the latter idea. On this I shall be glad to have opinion. The dedication, as it stands, is as follows: XV° KL MAI DEDICATIO HVI' ECL'E A.D. MC.XXIIII. Free from abbreviation, this would read, "Quinto decimo kalendas Maias dedicatio hujus ecclesiæ anno Domini MCXXIIII"; or *Anglicè*,—the dedication of this church was on the 17th of April 1124. Mr. Paley remarks that this date cannot be relied upon, because the last figures are cut by a late hand, and are incised instead of standing in relief. But we have collateral evidence to upset this decision, as in Gunton and in the Lansdowne MS. this extract from the *Chronicle* is given in Latin,—1124. In this year the church of Castor was solemnly consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln (Alexander); and it is added that about the same time he dedicated afresh the restored church of the Burgh of St. Peter.

Special objects of notice.—One or two points inside and out must be observed. 1. Part of a window in what was the west wall of the south transept. The arch which was opened from the aisle into the transept, cut through part only of one of the transept windows, and enough of it remains to show the character of the windows throughout the Norman church. As may be seen, they were small and round-headed, with double billet-moulding all round. A remnant of a larger window outside the nave has been already alluded to.

2. The massive south door with inscription, "Ricardus Bebe Ecclesiæ de Castre fecit." No rector of this name occurs in the registers of the bishops or elsewhere.

3. The stone screen, restored, which held the image and shrine of St. Kyneburga. The whole composition was the reredos behind the altar of the north aisle. Below is a double aumbry, where relics may have been preserved.

4. The fresco of north-west wall. Paintings found in four

other churches, Etton, Orton, Peakirk, and Haely, have the colours the same in all. Artis believed them to have been executed by the same artist.

Outside.—1. Dedication-stone over priest's door; 2, stone over south porch; 3, old font concealed in Artis' tomb; 4, stone coffins, south and north, and lids; 5, ram's head on south-east wall,—the rebus of Ramsey; 6, remnant of Norman window; 7, course of Roman tile; 8, the lepers' door.

I must ask your indulgence for this ill-digested and most imperfect sketch, but I am the last man in the diocese to give the history of a church. I would also express my regret at the disorder in which you find this grand building. It would have been very different if I had had means. I allude to organ, etc. I have been congratulated often upon being instituted to a church in perfect restoration. I confess I have more often wished I had found it rejoicing in its good old eighteenth century family pews, and that I might have revelled in restoring it after my own ideas. I am very fond of Nature's beauties, and few things are more beautiful than a grand oak forest; but I do not wish to see it carted into a temple of worship. Far be it from me to reflect on the able and excellent architect, the late Mr. Blower, who restored this church and the cathedral of the burgh of St. Peter de Mortuis.

It only remains for me, but it is the pleasantest part of my office, to thank the British Archæological Association, through those members who are present here to-day, for their kindness, and the honour they have done us by their visit to-day. I beg to thank them in the name of Castor, of neighbouring residents, and myself. I would express my hope that they have been gratified, and will feel repaid by their visit: and that their explorations and researches may throw fresh light on this most intensely interesting spot; and that the result of your investigations to-day may be given to us in print, and be a lasting memorial of the value of the Association.

ON OLDEN MONEY-BAGS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

MAN in his primordial state had few wants and requirements beyond those that his own hands could supply; but, as population increased, as the human race became extended and divided into families, tribes, and nations, those wants and requirements augmented. Diverse labours could no longer be confined to one individual, but were parcelled out among the many. All could not for ever be hunters and tillers of the soil; all could not toil in the mine and work at the forge; all could not be artificers in wood or metal and makers of raiment. Civilisation demanded and enforced a division of occupations and handicrafts. The ruler and the ruled had different duties to fulfil, different desires to gratify, different needs to be provided for. The chief gave protection to the serf, the serf repaid his lord with the produce of his skill. The vitalising milk was exchanged for the destructive dart, the death-dealing spear for the life-supporting food, the living kine for the clothing pelts, the sweet honey for the bitter but health-restoring herb. And so, as time rolled on, and humanity multiplied, and spread far and wide, from the lofty table land to the sheltered vale, from the forest to the open plain, from the fenced city to the scattered village, *barter* became a necessary part of social existence; at first rude and capricious, then more defined and systematic, governed by laws of custom, if not by laws of state, until a recognised medium of exchange was established in shells and seeds, jewels and fixed weights of metal. At length, somewhere between seven hundred and eight hundred years before the Christian era, a coinage of electrum was devised in Lydia, and a knowledge and employment of money gradually spreading eastward and westward, wrought, in the progress of ages, a vast change in political affairs and in domestic life, habits, and arrangements. Wealth was no longer represented solely by flocks and herds, broad acres and well-stored granaries, troops of slaves and costly trinkets, but rather by heaps of silver

drachmæ and golden staters, for the storage and safe keeping of which means of course were at once required and provided. Nummular riches, like those of Pythius of Lydia, or of the Romans, Crassus and Lucullus, could not be hidden in a hollow cane, as was the gold of Archetimus of Erythrea by the crafty Cydius, as related by Stobæus. Great bags, huge earthen vessels, and massive *arcæ* or strong boxes were employed for the hoards of money possessed by the affluent citizens of antiquity, who cared not to entrust their savings to the mercy of the *argentarii* and *mensarii*.

The earliest repository for money was in all probability a bag, the use of which for such a purpose is alluded to by both Greek and Latin authors. Catullus[1] jokes about his own *sacculus*, or little money-bag, when addressing Fabullus. And Juvenal,[2] when descanting on avarice, speaks of the *sacculus* swelling to the very brim with cash. The *sacculus* is introduced in a mural painting, discovered at Pompeii, and where it appears as a moderate-sized bag of ordinary make, furnished with a looped cord a short distance below the mouth, by which it is drawn together, in the manner of a lady's reticule; its employment for monetary purposes being indicated by the coins which lie near it. When the *sacculus* is mentioned it is frequently intended to convey the idea of small means, whilst the presence of the *saccus*, or great money-bag, gives the notion of the *millionnaire*, the man of enormous wealth, as is evident from the writings of Horace.[3] The *saccus* is very clearly shown on a tablet exhumed at Rome, and which, from a brief inscription on it, had once served as a street direction, pointing the way to the *ærarium* or public treasury. The body of the bag is globose, as if stuffed full of money, and on it are graved the words VIATOR AD AERARIUM. The neck seems to be surrounded by a case of cloth or leather, tied tight round the middle, so as to frill out both above and below. Another *saccus* is probably exhibited in a Pompeian painting, but it differs in contour from the one just described, for instead of the body being rotund, it widens from the neck downwards, reminding us of the old-fashioned pockets formerly worn by elderly ladies beneath their gowns. As depicted, the mouth of this bag falls on one side, and seems to be closed with a *lorum* or thong, tied some distance below

[1] xiii, 7. [2] *Sat.* xiv, 138. [3] *Sat.* i. 1, 70; ii, 3, 149.

the opening. Piles of money are placed right and left of this ample receptacle. Of still larger dimensions than the great *saccus* was the leathern *follis*, of which mention is made by Juvenal.[1] And we gather from Vegetius[2] that this gigantic bag was especially adopted in the army, to hold the pay of the soldiers. The *aluta*, *bulga*, *balantion*, or *crumena*, *funda*, and *pasceolus*, were also bags of leather used for the carriage of money by the classic ancients, but they partook more of the character of large purses than of store-bags, though perfectly distinct from the *marsupium* or true *porte-monnaie*.

Strange as it may seem, we appear to know less about the money-bags of the Middle Ages than we do of those of more remote times. But we may be certain that they were extensively employed by opulent persons of every rank and occupation, and that, as a rule, they were made of much greater length than breadth, and rounded off at bottom, so that there should be no corners for the coins to lurk in. The painting by Quintin Matsys of the so-called misers, now at Windsor Castle, presents to view a money-bag of very peculiar aspect and construction. It is placed near the edge of the table, at which the two old men are seated, and seems to consist of four good-sized globular receptacles, united to a central stock, which serves as a handle, by which the group may be lifted, and surrounding which is a quatrefoil flap, forming the covering to the several pouches, one of the latter having a little purse attached to its exterior. Matsys probably executed this famous picture towards the end of the fifteenth century. One of the mural paintings in Carpenters' Hall, engraved in this *Journal*, i, 281, represents King Josiah ordering the repair of the temple, and in which scene are introduced three figures, holding well-charged bags of money, which may be described as little sacks, rounded at bottom, and secured about the neck. The subjects in Carpenters' Hall were painted towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII, but the bags in question are of a type found in classic designs, and such as were in vogue in this country and abroad through many centuries.

Early money-bags are now so rarely met with that a notice of the discovery of a seventeenth century example is worthy of record. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug. 1838,

[1] *Sat.* xiv, 2 1. [2] *De Re Militari*, ii, 20.

p. 181, gives an account of the finding of a hidden treasure in pulling down an old house in St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Secreted in the brickwork of the chimney was a bag containing one hundred and fifty-eight silver coins of various sizes and dates, issued during the reigns of Edward VI, Philip and Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. The bag is described as of wash leather, and "as fresh in colour and appearance as when it was first deposited in the place in which it must have been concealed for near two hundred years. Inside the bag is a small pocket, probably intended as a receptacle for gold."

The money-bag I now produce, which was in the possession of my family at least as far back as the days of Charles II, certainly bears in some points a likeness to the one described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. It is formed of a strip of stout white leather, 7 ins. wide, folded so as to have a solid bottom, and sewed up the sides, thus making a strong receptacle for cash, of more than $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in depth. The upper edge is what the heralds would call *invecked*, and a little below it are twenty-eight perpendicular slits, through which pass two thongs knotted together at their ends, and by which the mouth of the bag is closed; and there are also a couple of tabs by which it is drawn open. Attached to the interior of the bag is a little pouch with closing thong, such as occurs in the Rochester specimen. This fine and rare old example may be compared with the great red purse in the arms of Conrad, Count of Wittenberg, as given in Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*, ed. 1724, p. 302.

Money-bags occupy a prominent position in the following little poem, entitled—

THE MISER.

"The miser quakes at the casement's creak,
And the tread of the hungry mouse;
For many a bag of gold hath he,
And he fears there are thieves in the house.

"He starts from his pallet on the floor,
Of scanty straw and rags;
And he kneels beside his much-loved chest,
Well stored with money-bags.

"He counts them over and over anew,
By the moon's pale flickering light.
He packs them again in the olden chest,
And exclaims, 'Ah! They be all right.'

"Once more he creeps to his pallet of straw,
And covers himself with his rags;
But his rest is shaken—he cannot sleep,
For the thoughts of his money-bags.

"The half-starved wretch cares for nought but gold;
'Tis his theme from morn until night;
And he craves and prays for 'one more bag'
Of the dross so precious, so bright.

"Grant me, kind heaven, enough for need;
O! I ask, I seek for no more;
And grant me that peace which thou canst give—
Let the miser his gold adore."

In W. Kent's illustration to Gay's *Fable of the Miser and Plutus*, the strong box filled with money-bags is very conspicuous. But the grandest display of money-bags to be seen in modern times occurs on the lottery puffs of the first quarter of the present century, their precious contents being indicated by the thousands of pounds worked on their fronts.

The spread of banking establishments and adoption of cheque books have greatly diminished the need and the employment of domestic money-bags of any notable dimensions, and it may be mentioned that those used in the Bank of England are no longer, as of yore, made of leather, but of canvas.

In inviting attention to the subject of olden money-bags, it is earnestly hoped that no distressing thoughts nor sad forebodings may be engendered thereby, and that not one who reads or listens to this disquisition will, on waking from their next slumber, have occasion to exclaim with Shakspere's Shylock—

"There is some ill abrewing towards my rest,
For I did dream of money-bags to-night."

RECENT ROMAN REMAINS FROM CANTERBURY.

BY JOHN BRENT, F.S.A.

THE obscurity which conceals the outlines of Roman Canterbury, the difficulty we find, owing to the fact that there is scarcely the slightest evidence above, and very few remains beneath, the surface of the soil to indicate the shape or extent of Durovernum, render doubly acceptable any new discovery which tends in the slightest degree to enlarge our knowledge, or even confirm our speculations in respect of the Roman occupiers of the chief city of East Kent.

I am not going dogmatically to assert the fact that a few months since a water mill, discovered west-south-west of St. Dunstan's Street, and at about a quarter of a mile from the west gate of the city itself, was of Roman origin. The structure had not been situated on the river Stour, or rather that branch of it called the "Queen's river", and which, before the erection of a bridge, almost washed the base of the towers, but on a stream or open spring, about the width of a marsh ditch, which flowed from the rising ground by Whitehall, and fell into and was lost in the river itself. Last year, in the construction of a large public swimming bath some 120 yards long and 75 yards wide, the "silver spring" was so far utilised that its waters were appropriated for the bath, by permitting it to run in at one end of the reservoir and to flow out at the other, whence it found its way at a little distance into the Stour. In making this extensive bath, the labourers discovered in the channel of the spring the remains of a water mill, the dam, the pilings, and the mill stones. Below the dam there was a quantity of small well washed pebbles, indicating the rapid flow and fall of water, as in a mill course. Herein were found a large number of Roman remains and antiquarian relics, bronze coins, and a few silver ones, *styli inscriptorii*, fishing hooks (I produce one of copper), brass fibulæ of very humble type, bone pins, needles, and bodkins, the heads squared or cut into facets, an iron key somewhat of Anglo-Saxon type, but the shank was composed of two pieces of iron, the lower part, into which the upper part was

inserted, being much thicker, and a very perfect ligula of copper. Fragments of Roman pottery, Samian, and Upchurch ware were discovered. All these lay below the present level of the bottom of the spring. Here also were the piling, planks, and mill stones, all beneath the water, their very existence unexpected and unrecorded. These larger articles, such as the mill stones, were broken up and hurriedly buried under the cemented bottom of the bath as the work proceeded, and no person, that is, no competent judge, had an opportunity of seeing them before they were covered over.

Some of the smaller objects I have described are in my possession, but a great part of the work had been done before I was aware of the discovery that had been made, and consequently many things were found which I could not even see before they were dispersed. Three finger rings were amongst the relics found, one of which, the best, I now produce. It is a ring, with a silver boss and an intaglio, on which is engraved a figure in a strange attitude and a he-goat. Another ring was of iron, with an intaglio on a raised oval stone of blueish colour. The design is a boy holding a ball in one hand and some implement, perhaps a racket, in the other. The third ring had a blueish white stone or bit of solid glass only as the bezel, and was unengraved. Amongst the coins found were three or four silver denarii, one being of Valentinianus and one of Antoninus, and first, second, or third brasses of Augustus Cæsar, Vespasian, Antoninus, Victorinus, Gordian, Gallienus, Tetricus, Probus, Quintillus, Allectus, Maximianus, Posthumus, Claudin, Trajanus, Carausius, etc. I produce some of these, thus ranging from Augustus Cæsar down to Valentinianus I, some of the coins being of white metal.

I do not assume that all the relics dug up under the channel of the spring or this part of it, which seemed to indicate the locality of the millpool, were Roman; some of them, such as iron hooks and nails, were of a later period.

In Mr. Lee's *Isca Silurum* similar pins, fibula, rings, and a fishing-hook, are figured at Plates 30, 31, 34, and 35, as of Roman origin. Now the question is, what was this ancient mill? There was previously no indication of its existence, no record, history, or tradition, respecting it. There were at one time, as mentioned by Somner and other

authorities, many mills on the two branches of the river in and near Canterbury; but the sites of most of these have been identified. They were situated in the river streams, not on this spring, which lay along the Westgate level, rising near Whitehall; and the probability is that as there was such a number of mills, most of them had little fall, some being merely float-mills; that is, the wheel not damming up the water, but merely turning with the force of the stream. Somner certainly mentions a mill called "Shepescote milne" (as I interpret it, Steep Shot Mill), a mill comparatively with a steep fall, for we say "overshot" or "undershot" mill to this day. But as this mill lay north of Canterbury, beyond the Westgate, it could not be the mill recently discovered. The spring which supplied our water-mill came out from the hill at Whitehall; the eminence in question being the site of a Roman encampment, and is laid down as such in the Ordnance Map. Only a few months since, within this encampment, on ground overlooking the mill-course, were found two rare coins, being *aurei* of Gallienus and Valerian, and valued respectively by the British Museum at £8 and £14 (Oct. 1876). They are now in the possession of the owner of the land, Mr. Gipps of Howlets.

The Romans, then, were in close occupation by the mill. But how came all these Roman remains in the water in a space of ground exceedingly limited, and this little brook filled with relics? These are questions I cannot answer, nor say why so many things of a sort were found together. If we are to assume the mill was not Roman, but mediæval, the difficulty is not solved. How came all these Roman *styli*, pins, finger-rings, and money, lying in the Silver Spring?

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRACES OF THE ROMANS AND SAXONS IN THE FEN DISTRICT OF THE ISLE OF ELY.

BY MR. S. H. MILLER.

(FROM NOTES BY MR. MARSHALL FISHER OF ELY.)

THIS district forms a part of the large tract of flat land, formerly known as the "Great Level of the Fens", which extended into six counties, the whole being estimated to contain about 400,000 acres. The Isle of Ely constitutes the northern division of the county of Cambridge, and the northern portion of the Bedford level, and it includes several important places, such as Ely, Chatteris, March, Wisbech, and numerous villages, in many of which Roman antiquities have been found; and it is believed that the Isle of Ely may vie with many districts of greater celebrity, in the number and variety of its antiquarian remains, but it is to be regretted that hitherto nothing like a systematic inquiry has been made in the district.

The early history of these Fens will perhaps be ever involved in obscurity, and the most rigid investigations might terminate in conjecture. The whole great level seems to have been one vast bay, subject to inundation from natural causes, and most writers seem to concur in the opinion that no attempts were made to drain these Fens by the Britons. The state of these Fens at the period of the arrival of the Romans may be considered as one vast wild morass, daily subjected to inundation, only comparatively small and detached portions forming islands, upon the larger of which the city of Ely and the villages of Thetford, Stretham, Wilburton, Headdenham, Sutton, Mepal, Witcham, Wentworth, and Witchford now stand. Another large island was situated a few miles north-west of Ely, upon which the town of March and the villages of Wimblington and Doddington also now stand. There were also numerous small islands throughout the district.

The Romans, being in possession of Britain for nearly five hundred years, would no doubt exert themselves to effect a change and improve the country. There are many banks

or mounds of earth, still called Roman banks, to be found in various parts of the great level, and also the very remarkable Roman road through the Fens, extending from Denver, in Norfolk, by way of March, to Peterborough; it was 60 feet wide and composed of gravel 3 feet deep. In Dugdale's time this road was stated to be covered with moor from 3 to 5 feet in thickness. This road can now be traced, and between March and Peterborough there is a portion on the surface, and it is almost as hard as granite.

After the drainage of the Fens by the Bedford Level Corporation, this body took for its pains, out of the Isle of Ely, in divers places, nearly 55,000 acres, and the remainder of the various commons and fens were allotted and divided into small pieces among the owners of commonable houses in the respective towns and villages. In one of these small divisions, containing about thirteen acres, situated a few miles north-west of Ely, was ploughed up part of the *pewter* articles and *pottery*[1] in subsequent years. When the nature of the crop upon the land would permit of it, further searches were made, and other portions found. The soil is chiefly black peat or moor, the antiquities being about 18 inches deep or more; below the antiquities there was about 3 feet also of peat, then a sort of clay 2 feet, and then peat again, it is believed, for several feet. The pewter articles were found about twenty-five yards south of the pottery, at the same depth, some in a slanting direction, others quite flat.

It may be considered uncertain whether the articles were placed regularly on a grass surface, or whether they had been thrown overboard into the water when the fens were inundated; the former supposition seems the most probable.

Mr. Babington, of St. John's College, Cambridge, has, in a pamphlet published by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, collected together the records of the places where Roman coins and other remains have been found, and he also notices the great Fen road before referred to.

In the formation of the Ely and Peterborough Railway, and the St. Ives and Wisbech Railway, large quantities of Roman pottery were found, and there are several records of other findings of coins and antiquities at March, Chatteris,

[1] See Mr. Lewis's paper on the same. Three found by him were of the same character.

Wimblington, Doddington, in the neighbourhood of the railways. It was not far from these railways that these pewter antiquities and pottery in Mr. M. Fisher's collection were found. A more exact account of the locality cannot now be given.

It may be here observed that there are three other places, not mentioned in Mr. Babington's pamphlet, where coins and other Roman remains have been found, namely, at Ely, Wentworth, and Coveney. I have heard a statement that some years since a number of pewter dishes was dug up in making a drain in Over fen, immediately on the border of the isle near Earith, and that on the dishes bones were found. A gentleman now living at Ely has told me that he believes a part of one or more of these dishes is now used as an adjusting weight to balance scales. I hope to be able to reclaim these portions and to ascertain whether the metal is of the same kind as the dishes now exhibited. I have not been able to find in any records more than two or three accounts of similar metal antiquities being discovered.

In the *Proceedings* of the Archæological Institute, in the year 1851, it is stated that some chargers and plates of pewter were found in draining Whittlesea Mere, on the borders of the Isle of Ely. And at the Norwich meeting of the Institute (1847) a leaden bottle with two handles and several other vessels of lead were exhibited, which had been dug up in Reeves fen, in Upwell, also in the Fen district. Mr. Franks stated at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, in January 1870, that similar dishes were in the British Museum, part of them having been found at Icklingham (at the extreme east margin of the fens), and others at Sutton, about six miles west of Ely. With reference to the corroded state of the metal articles, there is a statement in the *Proceedings* of the Institute at Norwich for 1847, that the lead of Sir Thos. Browne's coffin was found crumbled into dust. This was after a period only of about one hundred and fifty-eight years.

King Ethelbert, according to Bentham's *History*, about A.D.604, at the instance of Augustine, is said to have founded a church at Ely (then a part of the kingdom of the East Angles) to the honour of the Virgin Mary, in a place called Cratendune, about a mile distant from the present city. But the reality of a church founded at Ely so early has been

called in question, and two objections made to it in respect of its seeming inconsistency in point of time, both with St. Augustine's decease and the conversion of the East Angles; for the year assigned in one account is the eleventh after Augustine's arrival, *i.e.*, A.D. 607, whereas Augustine had been dead three years, and the East Angles were not converted until near thirty years after that time, in the reign of Sigebert. In answer to this, it is to be remarked that the date above fixed for the building of that church at Ely or Cratendune is not found in the original work of Thomas, a monk of Ely, where the time is expressed in indefinite terms thus: "In primitivâ nascentis fidei et Christianitatis," etc. "In the first dawn of Christianity among the Saxons," etc. We meet with it only in the abridgment published by Wharton, in which the writer, probably another monk of Ely, has varied from the original in assigning the year 607; and therefore that no great stress can be laid on that point. The credibility of the fact must depend on the original, which fixes it in the reign of Ethelbert, and whilst Augustine was living, according to which it could not be later than A.D. 604, in which year that saint died. Queen Etheldreda, on her arrival at Ely, at first designed to have repaired the old church of King Ethelbert's foundation, then in ruins, which was situated at Cratendune, about a mile distant from the present city, and to dedicate it, as it had formerly been, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to have built a monastery there. But before this design had proceeded far a more eligible situation was made choice of, an eminence nearer to the river, as fitter for her purpose, and in this place the foundations of her church were laid, and the monastery began to be built. It was not long after that the inhabitants of Cratendune followed her example, by deserting it, and began building the present city on the ground near, adjoining to the monastery. In Bentham's *History* there is the following note, p. 51. The name of the old town is still preserved in a field about a mile south of the present city, called "Craten dune field", but the exact situation of it is hardly discoverable at this time. We are told, however, that there have been found upon the place utensils of iron, coins of various kings, and other indications of its having been formerly inhabited. It is recorded that Etheldreda began her buildings in Ely in the year 673.

CASTLE ACRE PRIORY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

FEW circumstances in the history of monastic dwellings are more instructive than those relating to the alien foundations which were at one time so numerous in England. They indicate the close connection between the Normans in England and the Continent, the esteem, as may be natural, in which the older religious houses were held by the Normans; the capability of the foreign establishments to meet the demands for monks to occupy the new foundations; and, lastly, the indifference with which the transmission of the revenues out of England into a foreign country was viewed by the respective founders.

The history of the introduction of the Cluniac order into England by W. de Warrene is well attested, and need not be repeated here. He founded the first house at Lewes, so early as 1077, and after the acquisition of the vast number of manors, which are recorded in detail by Blomfield, he founded a similar establishment here at Castle Acre, in or before 1085,[1] making it subject to Lewes, as Lewes was subject to Cluny. The order was very popular on the Continent, as is attested by the long roll of important houses owning to its rule, and in England it attained a certain amount of favour, which was at its height in the reign of Henry II. The essentially foreign nature of the order, however, prevented its enlisting the sympathies of Englishmen, who must have viewed with natural repugnance the dependent condition of the monks, however admirable may have been their rule and their devotion. At first, at any rate, both officers and monks were foreigners. The priors were not elected by the monks, but were appointed abroad. They could not receive the profession of novices in England; they could not determine any quarrels; they were obliged to cross the seas to refer almost every matter to their superiors; they were sometimes run into debt; and, lastly, the great bulk of their revenues had to be delivered.

[1] This is the date of the death of Gunhilda. Earl Warrene died 1089.

The prior of Lewes was accounted at first high chamberlain to the Abbey of Cluny, and afterwards he held the office of vicar-general for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.[1] The whole of the houses, even then, if not actually subject to, could be visited by, Cluny or by either of the two other great Cluniac establishments, Charité sur Loire or St. Martin des Champs, at Paris. This state of things, so foreign to English sentiment, continued for about three hundred years, with doubtless some efforts for its amelioration. Bromholm, a daughter of Castle Acre, threw off the yoke in 1290, and Castle Acre that of Lewes 47 Edward III. Other houses followed, but according to Tanner it was not until 1457 that the Cluniacs in England were free from subjection. Stevens states the cutting off of obedience to Cluny was as early as Henry V, since some of the priors then took out new foundation charters, and united themselves to the other orders.[2]

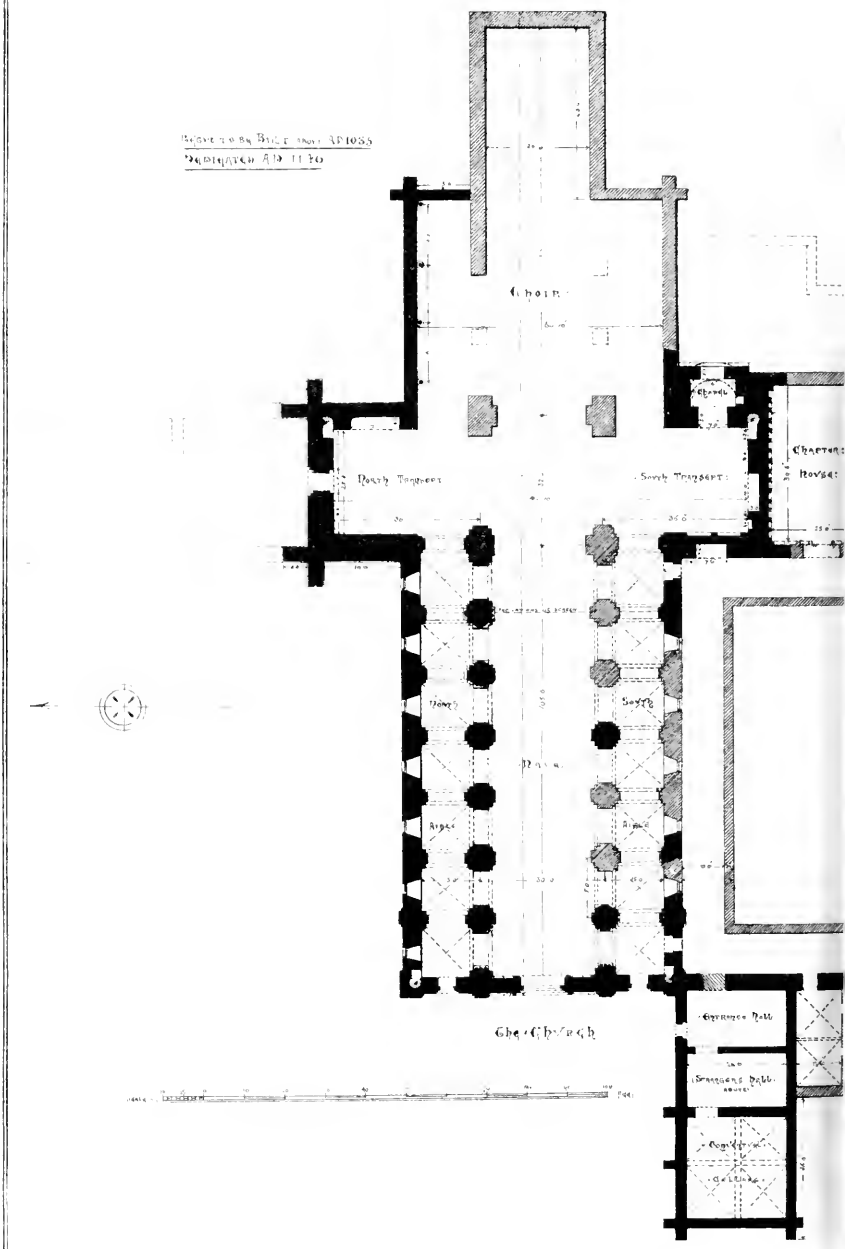
It will be noted that at Castle Acre the subscribers to the deed of surrender describe themselves as Cluniacs. The popularity of the order waned on the introduction of that of the Cistercians, and I can find no reference to the foundation of a priory later than that of Stevensholm, a small cell to Castle Acre, in 1222. Dugdale speaks of the number of houses in England as forty-two, exclusive of cells, but the list only mentions thirty-two by name. The geographical distribution of these is curious. Wales has none, some are sparsely scattered through the English counties, but through the influence of Castle Acre, which is undoubtedly to be considered the second house of the order, East Anglia was their stronghold. Out of the thirty-two which Dugdale names, four are in Norfolk, and one cell, while one is in Suffolk, and one cell.[3]

[1] Brother Benedict, Chamberlain of Lewes, was by the Prior of that house appointed Prior of Castle Acre, and set over the monks without their election. The foreign wars brought amelioration. The seizure of the revenues, as alien priories, was an intolerable grievance ; but we may reasonably conclude, from the evidence we possess, that the foreign element within, like the Norman influence without, had died out to a large extent. The monks, as Englishmen, objected to the tribute being sent abroad. Cluny received about £2,000 a year from England,—a large sum for this period. The laws affecting alien houses were then passed, giving them power to become denizen, and they were not slow to avail themselves of the privileges.

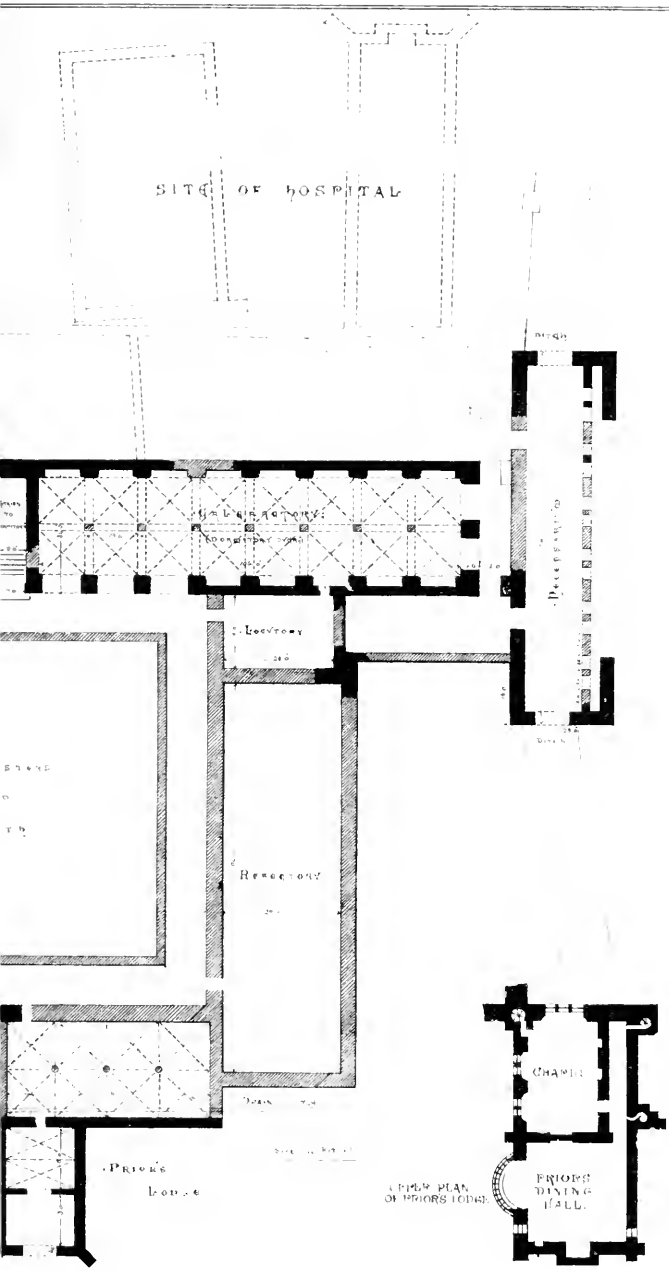
[2] See the relation of the mission of the three Cluniac monks for restitution of their claims over English houses to Henry VI.

[3] Norfolk had, in addition, the anomaly of a house of Austin nuns at Wigenhale, which was subject to Cluniac Castle Acre.





Edw.d Freeman, Mitre Mews, Piccadilly.


SITE OF HOSPITAL
Refectory
Prior's Lodge
UPPER PLAN OF PRIORS LODGE
CHAPEL
PRIORS DINING HALL



The design of the Cluniac churches, so excellently shown upon the plan of Castle Acre (here given by the courtesy of Mr. E. P. Wilkins, who prepared it for his work upon this Priory[1]), demands a passing notice on account of their peculiarities. From the foreign origin and the constant communication with the continental houses of this order, we may expect, and we find, a large amount of French influence. The home of the order, the church of Cluny, has a group of chapels around the semicircular choir. The eastern transepts are in the form of chapels of greater length than breadth, terminating in eastern apses and two western towers. These eastern chapels and the undeveloped transepts are reproduced in the smaller church of Lewes priory, which, as we have seen, was the first house of this order founded in England. Here, at Castle Acre, the second house founded in England, we find English influence in the square east end, but this is not original. The foreign element is observable in the peculiar transepts as at Cluny. They are parallelograms, terminating in semi-circular apses.[2] The two western towers are common alike to Cluniac and Benedictine churches.[3] Bromholm has the developed north aisle of later date, where probably was the Lady Chapel. Thetford has the same peculiarity, and with the apses to the transepts, and the same general plan as at Castle Acre. These resemble, by the peculiar large northern chapels later in date than the main fabrics, the celebrated Cluniac church of St. Martin des Champs of Paris, and their presence so defined in this group of buildings, and not elsewhere in England, is most probably a French peculiarity, introduced from that building.

These examples of the introduction of foreign arrangements may be of interest, but they are not of constant occurrence; for instance, the priory of Wenlock closely resembles an English Benedictine church. The transepts there are well defined, and with aisles. There has been a central and probably two western towers. The Lady Chapel is at the east end, as here at Castle Acre, but we may con-

[1] See *Journal*, 1878, p. 421.

[2] This peculiarity may be traced also in the transepts of Tewkesbury (Benedictine). See Mr. Blashill's plan in the Journal.

[3] I am not aware of the existence, in England, of the peculiar position of the steeple observed in some of the foreign houses. On the Continent it is frequently, but not always, on one side of the building.

jecture that here the termination was in a group of apses, as at Lewes and Cluny alike.

The examples quoted above afford evidence that in the plan of their churches as much diversity is to be noticed in England as there is abroad.

To turn to the remains before us. The church was dedicated to God, St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Paul, but the foundation was first within the castle.[1] The site of the present church was only given by the second Earl Warrenne, and, according to Blomfield, the new church was dedicated by Bishop Turbus in 1146, in the lifetime of the third Earl, who died 1148.[2] Considering that the buildings must have been erected before consecration, and that this ceremony did not always immediately follow the completion, we may reasonably assign the Norman portion of the building to a period between say 1134 and 1146. The architecture well corresponds with this period.

[1] The dedications of the Cluniac churches were not always alike. Thus, of those connected with Castle Acre, Bromholm was dedicated to God, St. Mary, and St. Andrew; Massingham, to St. Mary and St. Nicholas; Stevesholm, to St. Mary and St. Giles; Mendham, to St. Mary alone.

[2] Bloom gives a plate of a supposed date which he gravely reads as 1084, forgetting that this would, indeed, be a very early instance of Arabic numerals. He asserts that they are on the original plaster.

RESTORMEL.

BY DR. T. Q. COUCH.

Restormel has no mention in the *Domesday Book*, as its eastern neighbours, Dunhevet and Trematon have ; nor has even the old contiguous stannary town of Lostwithiel a place in that great survey of England, though we find many of the neighbouring manors mentioned. Indeed the name of this town indicates to the Celtic scholar that *lios, llys* (a place or residence), and *gwyddel* (of the woods), point to its once having been a simple and well-wooded village, where people dwelt who lived a wild and venatic life, in contradistinction, says Mr. Fenton, to the Gâl, who lived on cultivated ground.

The castle of Restormel, in the remotest times of which I have any record, belonged to the Dinans, or, as they were afterwards called, Cardinans, an opulent and important family in Cornwall and Devon. About four or five miles to the north-east of this ruin are still to be seen the remains of their home. It has been suggested that the first Robert de Cardinham, when he became possessed of the large property acquired by marriage with the heiress of Fitzwilliam, may have built a castle there, and adopted the prefix "Caer". The fact that *Domesday* does not mention this property of the Cardinans may add some weight to the conjecture. This Robert de Cardinan was probably the largest landowner in Cornwall, holding seventy-one knights' fees. Traces of the Dinans or Dinhams are freely scattered over this county, as at Dinham, in St. Minver, Dinham's Bridge, at St. Kew, and Tredinham, in Lanivet, where, on the repairing of the church a few years since, some tiles bearing their arms were discovered. Isolda de Cardinan, *circa* 1257, heiress of this baronial family, married Thomas de Tracy, and endowed him with this castle (Restormel) and other great possessions. Among the documents of the Arundell family is one dated at Restormel, by which this De Tracy surrendered the castle and the barony of Cardinham to Ralph Arundell, to be held for Simon de Montfort. Here ends the history of the Dinans, as far as this castle is concerned. In or about the year 1259 Isolda, in her widow-

hood, conveyed her manor of Cardinan and other property to Oliver de Dinan, probably a relation.

Soon after this, Restormel became the property of the Earls of Cornwall. The thirteenth century was, as we know, a troublous time, and it would be almost impossible to trace the castle's history here. The astute and grasping Richard, King of the Romans, somewhat remarkable for his skill in arms, but still more for his rapid advancement in wealth and honours, obtained from his pusillanimous brother and sovereign, Henry III, this castle, with the stanneries and mines of the county and other large gifts, for the service of two knights' fees. I cannot find that this Richard ever dwelt here. The custody of the place was entrusted to successive governors, among whom we find the names of Thomas de la Hyde, William de Botreaux, and John de Carminow, two of them well known Cornish families, and the last-named intimately connected with these parts.

Henry, eldest son of Richard, rightful heir to the earldom and possessor of this castle, was slain by Guy de Montfort, son of the great Earl Simon, in revenge for his father's death. Edmund, a younger brother, succeeded, who, according to William of Worcester, sometimes resided here, but, dying without lawful issue soon after, transferred the earldom to his nearest kinsman, King Edward I. This monarch's incapable son, Edward II, bestowed this property on his gallant, but thriftless and audacious, favourite, Piers Gaveston, the Gascon. But after his pursuit and murder by the "black dog of Arden", the castle, with its revenues, became the property of John of Eltham, a younger brother of Edward III. This monarch erected Cornwall into a dukedom, and there is ample proof that Edward, the Black Prince, and first Duke of Cornwall visited this castle twice. Since that time the title and large possessions annexed to it are settled on the first begotten son of the reigning monarch from the time of his birth. So early as 1337 an interesting official survey describes Restormel as much out of repair. There then existed a hall, a chapel, three chambers, and as many upper chambers within the gate, without the gate another hall and a chapel, two chambers, and five upper chambers, besides the kitchen, etc. This we must compare with our present survey. Leland speaks of the base-court in his time as "sore defaced and

the castle unroofed", and this, with the evidence of the 1337 survey, cannot be set aside, though I fail, after much search, to discover any of those outworks which we associate with a Norman or even Plantagenet castle, and therefore suppose that in the building of Restormel House, below, both the base-court and the exterior chapel of Trinity may have been destroyed.

Carew, in the time of Elizabeth, deplores its ruined condition, and grieves that in time of secure peace, and under protection of its princes, it should be more wronged by the spoliation of time and weather than by the hand of the enemy. Norden's eloquent lament I cannot but repeat: "The whole castle beginneth to mourn, and to wring out hard stones for teares, that shee that was imbraced, visited, and delighted with greate princes, is now desolate, forsaken, and forlorn. The cannon needes not batter, nor the pioneer to undermine, nor powder to blow up this so famous a pyle, for time and tirrannie hath wrought her desolation; her water pypes of lead, manie and of great use, are cutt up, the coveringe lead gone, the planchings rotten, the walls fallen downe, the fayre and large chymnye pieces, and all that would yeld monie or serve for use are converted to private men's purposes, and there remayneth a forlorne show of honor, not contentinge anie compassionate eye to behold the lingrynge decayes. Men greyve to see the dying delayes of any brute creature, so may we mourne to see so stately a pyle so long a fallinge. If it be of no use the carcase would make some profit, therefore if it deserve let her fall be no longer delayed, els will it dropp peace-meale downe, and her now profitable reliques will then serve to little or no use."

In 1644 its old walls suffered from the fierce fight which was waged round it during the first campaign of the great revolutionary war, when Charles in person, on the Bradock Downs, on the opposite bank of the Fowey, faced Essex at Lostwithiel. Constant encounters took place between them, and these old walls sheltered a party of the Parliament. After sharp skirmishing at Bodmin, Lanhydrock, and Resprin Bridge, Sir Richard Grenville marched to the aid of the king. Richard Symonds, in his interesting but partisan account of these transactions, tells us that Sir Richard Grenville on the 20th of August 1644, with seven hundred

men, "pelted the rogues from their hedges, from Lanhydrock to Lostwithiel and Restormel, which castle he surprised and took, with thirty of the rebels and divers barrels of beef". Major Smyth, who did most gallantly on the king's side, was shot in the encounter; "yet living" says the antiquarian journalist in his record of the day.

This was the last brunt which Restormel suffered. In later and much happier times it has been visited by Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who in the *Leaves* from her *Journal* thus records her visit on September 8, 1846. "At last we came to one field where was no road whatever, but we went down the hill quite safely, and got out of the carriage at the top of another hill, where, surrounded by woods, stands a circular ruin, covered with ivy, of the old castle of Restormel, belonging to the Duchy of Cornwall, and in which the last Earl of Cornwall lived in the thirteenth century. It was very picturesque from this point." Later on it was visited by its owner, the present Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall.

Restormel is built on a natural knoll of the hill, which was much modified by the necessary excavations of the deep moat which surrounds the keep. It is circular, and consists of two concentric walls, divided by radiating partitions, the lower rooms apparently for the domestic requirements, the upper were the state apartments. Staircases led to the battlements, from which a fine outlook was obtained. After our survey, let me ask you to go further with our friend Mr. Stokes in his graceful and airy castle building, where—

> "The hall is roofed once more, the stars
> Are turned to lamps, the mullion bars
> Are hung with Norman tapestry,
> And to the sound of minstrelsy
> Many a gorgeous-vested knight
> And many a lady rarely dight,
> Over the tesselated floor
> The mazes of the dance explore."
>
> *Restormel.* A Legend of Piers Gaveston.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF STAMFORD.

BY THE REV. CHARLES NEVINSON, M.A.

The origin of the town of Stamford must, in the absence of authentic records, be a matter of conjecture; but the question is, is there any base upon which conjecture may be built? One important fact meets us at the outset. A little to the west of the town the Roman road known as "Ermine Street" crosses the river Welland (near the site now called "The Nuns' Farm"), in its course from Ceastor (Durobrivæ) to the camp at Great Casterton. Now it would seem probable that so important a point would be distinguished by an appropriate name. If there were such a name, what was it? If it were other than the present name, Stamford—or, as it was anciently written, Staundeford (Stanford),—it has been wholly lost. It has been suggested, indeed, that the name may have been derived from the Celtic compound *Ys tan fford*, signifying extended, expanded, continued ford; but it must be stated that there are no traces of any earlier town or village having existed on the spot. Time would soon sweep away all vestiges of the frail dwellings of the Britons, if such existed; and with the important town of Durobrivæ about nine miles to the south, and the fortified camp, and perhaps the town of Causennæ at Great Casterton, two miles to the north, it seems scarcely probable that the Romans would have a permanent settlement here. At all events we have none of the usual evidences, such as foundations, pavements, and hypocausts, to show. All that we can boast of is a Roman urn, said to have been found in Water Street in the earlier part of the last century, a large stone coffin containing fragments of pottery, portions of a glass lachrymatory, a bone pin, and human bones (discovered October 1868, on a farm at Tinwell, about half a mile to the west of the Roman road), and a tesselated pavement of coarse workmanship, with portions of walls, ridge-tiles, red stucco, and a denarius of Valerian, laid bare a few months later. These relics probably indicate the detached villa residence and the burial-place of some one connected with Causennæ.

The name Gausennæ is naturally associated with the stream called Gwash, upon which it stood, and which falls into the Welland about a mile below Stamford. But it may be observed that at Great Casterton, the supposed site of Gausennæ, no traces of a town, nothing beyond the usual accompaniments of a camp, have been discovered. If that town were situated here, we must suppose that the dwellings were of a too unsubstantial character to withstand the ravages of time.

On the north-western border of the county, between the villages of Market Overton and Thistleton, on the western branch of Ermine Street, that runs to Nottingham, and not far from the *source* of the Gwash, numerous remains of Roman art, coins, and various implements of domestic use, indicative of the existence of a Romano-British settlement, have been from time to time dug up.

To return to Stamford. If the Celtic hypothesis be rejected, we must fall back upon the usually received Saxon origin of the name, *Stean*, that is, Stony Ford; and it may be observed that at the point where the Roman road crosses the river, the bed is stony or pebbly.

If the Saxons, then, were the founders of our town, to what period of their occupation may we trace its beginning? It is recorded by our local historians that the Picts and Scots, after ravaging all the country to the northward, and destroying, among other places, the town of Gausennæ, were met and overthrown near the present site of Stamford by Vortigern and his Saxon allies, who, having come from Kent by sea, and sailed up the Nene, had landed at Horsey (Horsa's isle), near Peterborough. Vortigern, it is alleged, in his gratitude for this deliverance, bestowed lands in the neighbourhood upon Hengist; and hence it is not improbable that that leader, desirous of securing his new possessions, built a town here for a portion of his followers, and so became the founder of Stamford.

That there was an early Saxon settlement here may be inferred from the fact that in 1854 a Saxon cemetery was discovered in a cutting connected with the Stamford and Essendine Railway, where the workmen employed came upon traces of a grave containing an urn and other articles, a little to the north of the spot at which the line is crossed by the Uffington road; and I have since been informed by

the foreman of the limeworks there, that human remains are still occasionally turned up.

In 658, if not before, the Saxons of Stamford were brought under the influence of the Christian religion. Three years earlier, Oswy, King of Northumbria, had defeated and slain Penda the pagan King of Mercia, and bestowed the government of this part of the conquered province upon Penda's son Peada, who had married his daughter. In the above named year Oswy bestowed upon Wilfrid, the friend and instructor of his son Alchfrid, lands at Stamford sufficient for the maintenance of ten families,—that is, one hundred monks; and upon this site Wilfrid founded the Priory of St. Leonard, giving it as a cell to the monastery of Lindisfarne, in gratitude for the education which he had received in that house; and thus on the removal of the monks of Lindisfarne to Durham, St. Leonard's became an appendage of the new foundation, which exercised patronage over it and its dependent churches. The lands attached to this Priory formed a manor within the manor of Stamford, and as belonging to the Monastery of Durham, were known even down to recent times as "The Manor of Cuthbert's Fee". The foundation of this house was coeval with that of Medeshamsted; but as the progress of the latter was delayed by the murder of its founder, Peada, St. Leonard's was probably completed first, and was (as Peck remarks) "the earliest religious house not only in Stamford, but also in all the surrounding district". The buildings were probably destroyed by the Danes in their devastating inroads; but the Priory was refounded and rebuilt about 1082 by William I and Kairliph, Bishop of Durham, the structure which remains being probably a portion of the work which they began. It was part of the nave of the church. The western front is of a later date, being of the Transition period; but as we proceed eastward the details gradually present an earlier character, until we come to a portion of an arch that may be assigned to the date above given. At a later period St. Leonard's passed from St. Cuthbert to St. Guthlac, being exchanged for the cell of Coldingham with the Abbey of Croyland.

In 870 Stamford had become a town of sufficient importance to furnish a contingent of young men, distinguished for their prowess, to the Saxon army that encountered the

Danes in the glorious but fatal fight at Trekingham, where they all perished in defence of their faith and country. The town soon after fell into the hands of the Danes, and with Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham was one of the five principal cities of their kingdom. They are said to have erected a castle here, probably on the site where the castle mound now stands, and to have destroyed it again in 911, when they were compelled by King Edward the elder to evacuate the town. Restored by Edward's sister, Ethelfleda, the castle again passed into the hands of the Danes; but in 922 Edward, having defeated their forces on Wittering Heath, caused another fortress to be erected on the south bank of the river, near the ford (where the Nun's Farm now stands) to prevent further incursions to the southward, and at length compelled them to retire from both the town and the castle. Edward's successor, Athelstane, granted the privilege of a mint at "Stamford beyond the bridge", to the abbot of Peterborough, who was lord of the manor, and this privilege was subsequently confirmed by King Edgar and others.

In the protracted struggles that followed between the Danes and the Saxons, Stamford experienced a frequent change of masters; but owing probably to a large admixture of Danish blood amongst its inhabitants, and their consequent leaning to the Danish cause, it escaped much of the suffering inflicted by that people on other districts.

At the period of the Norman conquest we find Stamford described in the *Domesday Book* in the following terms: "The king's borough of Stanford paid tax in King Edward's time for twelve hundreds and a half towards paying the army, navy, and danegeld. There are six wards there, five in Lincolnshire and the sixth in Hantonshire, which is beyond the bridge. But, nevertheless, that ward paid all customs or dues with the rest, except gabel and toll, which the abbot of Burgh had and hath." The part of the town in Lincolnshire is further described. "In these five wards, in the time of King Edward, were one hundred forty and one mansions. In Stanford, in the time of King Edward, were twelve lagemen, who had within their own houses sac and soc, and over their own men, except the tax and heriots, and the forfeiture of their bodies when it amounted to forty ounces of silver, and except felons' goods. They

have the same privilege still, but there are only nine of them. One of them has seventeen mansions." Of the mansions here mentioned five are described as "lying waste, on account of the building of the castle", showing that the castle was at that time being repaired and enlarged. There were six churches then in existence, viz., St. Leonard's, St. Peter's, St. Mary at the Bridge, St. Mary Bennewerk, All Saints, north of the river, and All Saints south, in Water Street.

From this period the building of religious houses and churches in Stamford was rapidly carried on. In 1109 Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, sent three of his monks to Great Wridthorpe, the manor of which had been given to his abbey by King Edred in 947, to collect alms for the rebuilding of his church, and also to preach against the Jews, who had settled in large numbers in the adjoining town, and formed a wealthy and influential community. Between 1133 and 1147 the church of St. Martin was erected in "Stamford beyond the bridge" by Martin de Vecti, abbot of Peterborough, and given to his abbey. But in 1156 it was transferred by his successor, William de Waterville, to the nunnery of Great St. Michael, which he had recently founded at Little Wridthorpe, on the site of the castle erected by Edward the elder. In 1170 the church of St. Andrew, the site of which is now unknown, was given to this nunnery, as was also that of St. Clement (which stood in Scotgate) in the reign of King John. In 1174 the hospital of St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas of Canterbury, for the performance of Divine service, and the reception and entertainment of poor travellers, was erected by Brand de Fossato, a wealthy monk of Peterborough. The buildings stood at the south end of the bridge, on the site of the present Burghley almshouse, and a small portion of them, consisting of a water arch and a pilaster buttress above it, is still in existence.

In a charter of Richard I, mention is made of the hospitals of the Holy Sepulchre and St. Giles, which were also on the south side of the river, the former to the south of the present George Hotel, and the latter further up the hill, beyond the gate of the town. Portions of a church, a large apartment with a moulded mantelpiece, and a vaulted passage, are still to be seen in a house adjoining the George.

They were part of the hospital of the Holy Sepulchre, or of the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which appears to have been connected with it. To the Norman period belonged the original church of St. Michael, in High Street, and part of that of St. Paul. It is also noteworthy that in 1192 the name of Roger Bacon appears as witness to a deed of mortgage, relating to an estate at Stamford.

The reign of Henry III witnessed great additions to the architectural wealth of the town. In its earlier years the church of St. George was erected, and those of St. Mary and All Saints were rebuilt. There was at the same time a rapid growth of religious foundations. The Lincoln registers show that a convent for nuns of the order of St. Augustine was in existence at Great Wridthorpe in 1224. This house, having been devastated by a plague in 1349, was, five years later, united with all its possessions, its dependent parish church, and its one remaining sister, to St. Michael's nunnery at Little Wridthorpe.

In 1230 the priory and hospital of St. Mary, at Newstead, on the Gwash, a little below Stamford, was founded by William de Albini, third Earl of Arundel and Lord of Uffington, who was buried there in 1236. About the same time the monastery of the Dominicans or Black Friars was erected by William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, to the south-east of the town, and later on in the same reign, and near together in date as in site, arose the monasteries of the Carmelites or White Friars, and the Minorites or Grey Friars. The latter was situated immediately to the east of the town, just outside St. Paul's Gate, and was noted as the burialplace of the Fair Maid of Kent, widow of the Black Prince, who by her will directed that her body should be interred by that of her first husband, Sir Thomas Holand. The White Friars stood still further to the east, on the site of the present infirmary, and was celebrated for the numbers of learned men who were members of its community. Henry de Hanna, warden of the house, and second provincial general of the order in England, was buried here in 1299. It on several occasions supplied lodging to the first three Edwards on their journeys to the north, and the last of the three held a council within its walls, when he confirmed the privileges of Newstead Priory. It was probably in commemoration of one of his visits that the entrance

gateway, which is still in existence, was erected. It bears on a shield the combined arms of England and France, which that monarch was the first to use. To complete the corona of religious influence and architectural adornment the monastery of the Augustine Friars was erected about 1380 on the west side of the town, just beyond West or St. Peter's Gate. "One Flemynge, a very rich man of the town of Stenefordе, in Lincolnshire, was the first founder, an archideacon of Richemont was the performer of it."[1]

The buildings, and especially the churches of these monasteries, are described as being of a very handsome character, and when we think of Stamford as girdled about with these noble structures and enriched within by the steeples of her numerous parish churches, dominated by the majestic pile of St. Mary's, we cannot but feel that her aspect at this period was one of unusual grandeur. There were in existence at this time, in addition to those which have been already mentioned, the churches of St. Stephen, Trinity, St. Michael Cornstal, and St. John.

Another important feature in Stamford life was the schools maintained by the several monasteries of the town and neighbourhood. The Carmelite or white friars had their school in St. George's parish, on the south-east side of the church, where lectures were given by the most learned men of the day. The beautiful gateway of the Geometric period, which stands on the south side of St. Paul's Street, and is now known as Brasenose Gate, was the entrance to a college which may have belonged to the neighbouring monastery of the grey friars. It was occupied and renamed afterwards by the students who seceded from Oxford. Sempringham Hall, situated in St. Peter's Street, was founded and endowed in 1292 by Robert Lutterel, rector of Irnham, in this county, and given to the priory of Sempringham—a gift which was confirmed in 1303 by John D'Alderby, Bishop of Lincoln; while the educational provisions of the black friars and the abbeys of Val Dieu, in Grimsthorpe Park, and Peterborough, are attested by the names of Black, Vaudey, and Peterborough halls. These schools were designed for the training and instruction of novices and younger monks; and that they were no mere grammar schools, in the ordinary sense of the term, but

[1] Leland, as quoted by Blore.

partook somewhat of a university character, is shown by the eminent learning of their instructors, and the subject-matter of the books put forth for their benefit.

With such educational appliances at hand it is not surprising that the discontented Oxford students should choose Stamford for their place of retreat. The first body came in November 1333, and was followed by others in May, June, and July of the next year. They seem to have occupied chiefly the school in St. Paul's Street, to which they gave the name of Brasenose College, from an ancient hall so designated in the city of Oxford. They petitioned Edward III for licence to remain, but through the jealous intervention of the authorities at Oxford, their request was refused, and they were ordered to disperse. As for some time they paid no regard to the royal commands, the sheriff of the county was ordered in 1335 to proceed to Stamford with an armed force, and to seize and imprison the offenders and to confiscate their goods. They were finally sent back to Oxford, and as a precaution against further offences of the same kind the authorities of the university imposed the following oath upon all candidates for degrees: "Jurabis quod non leges nec audies Stamfordiæ tanquam in universitate, studio, vel collegio generali."

Stamford continued after this to be the abode of learned men; but whether the suppression of the embryo university involved that of the monastic schools also does not appear. At the dissolution of the monasteries, however, if not before, these would necessarily come to an end.

Nor was the town in the meantime unknown to the political world. It was frequently visited by the reigning monarchs, was on several occasions chosen as the place of meeting for parliaments, councils, and other assemblies, and was always represented by two burgesses in the parliaments held at Westminster and elsewhere. The manor was the property of the Crown, but was bestowed by Henry II, c. 1170, upon Richard de Humez, his constable in Normandy. On its forfeiture by Richard's son, William, it was given by John to William de Warenne, in compensation for the loss of his possessions in Normandy. It was in the time of this earl that the far-famed custom of the Stamford bull-running, which was kept up through so many centuries (down almost to the middle of the present) took its rise. The castle had

been twice unsuccessfully attacked in Stephen's time by Prince Henry, but on the third attack was surrendered to him by the garrison, whom the king was unable to assist. It seems to have been abandoned at an early period, both as a residence and as a fortress ; for in the inquisition made in the fourteenth year of Edward III, 1341, its condition is thus described : "Est ibidem (Stamford) unum castrum vetus cujus muri omnino sunt dirupti et decasi. In quo castro sunt una turris vetus, una aula magna, una camera cum selaria, una capella, unus turriculus, unus domus pro carcere. Quæ domus nihil valent per annum ultra reprisas. Situs castri continet duas acras terræ, et vocatur manerium." In the reign of Richard III the materials were given to the Carmelite friars for the repair of their buildings. The existing remains are a portion of the hall, consisting of three arches of Early English blank arcading, a small Early English postern on the south side, and portions of the outer walls on this and the west sides.

In the 37th year of Edward III, 1363, the manor was bestowed upon Edmund Langley, afterwards Duke of York, and thus in the wars of the Roses the town became attached to the fortunes of the house of York. In consequence of this connection it suffered a heavy calamity, for it was attacked in 1461 by the Lancastrian army, under Sir Andrew Trollope, in its march from the north to St. Alban's, and, like so many other towns, pillaged and partly burnt. All the churches that stood outside the town or near the walls were destroyed, and the churches of St. Mary Bennewerk, St. Peter, St. Michael Cornstal, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Stephen, Trinity, and All Saints "beyond the bridge", from this time disappear from the scene. The church of St. Martin was also destroyed, but rebuilt a few years later under the direction of Bishop Russell. The church of St. John had been rebuilt and completed in 1451. The town on this occasion lost all its old records and charters, and, according to Camden, "never afterwards recovered its ancient dignity". A melancholy record of these troubles was brought to light in October 1867. Some workmen, in making a drain at the back of a house at the east end of St. George's Church, and not far from the site of one of the gates, dug up a large earthen jar filled with coins of the several kings prior to this date. The owner, no doubt

alarmed at the approach of the Lancastrian army, had hastily buried his treasure in the earth, but had not survived to reclaim it.

The town had sufficiently recovered in 1470 to give substantial aid to Edward IV in the battle of Horne or Loosecoat Field, in recognition of which service it received permission to bear the royal arms, quartered with those of Warenne. Nor were the wealth and munificence of the inhabitants exhausted. In addition to the rebuilding of the church of St. Martin, we find All Saints Church enlarged at this period by the addition of a clerestory, new windows, a north aisle, and the present noble steeple. This was the work of William Browne, merchant of the Staple of Calais, or some other member of his family, whilst the same William erected his almshouse in Broad Street, and, after maintaining it during his lifetime, provided for its endowment at his death.

Another severe blow was inflicted on the architectural splendour of Stamford by the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent Reformation. Whatever light those events may have brought to the religious life of the town, it is certain that their tendency was to diminish greatly the beauty of its external aspect. The noble fabrics from which the monks and nuns had been ejected were abandoned to decay or the hand of the spoiler, to be utilised in the erection of buildings which would ill supply their place, whilst some of the churches, being impoverished by the confiscation of their endowments, were removed or converted to other uses. Most of the sites of these buildings, together with their estates, passed into the hands of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, who was appointed by his appreciative sovereign lord of the manor of Stamford, in recognition of his eminent services to the country. The erection of the noble pile of Burghley House, surrounded by its extensive and well-timbered park, is some compensation to the town for the loss of its former glories. It has been honoured on several occasions with visits by Queen Elizabeth and other sovereigns; but in the lapse of years, while retaining much of its venerable mediæval appearance, it has settled down to the level of an ordinary country town.

THE APPELLATION KYMRY.

BY THE REV. DR. MARGOLIOUTH, VICAR OF LITTLE LINFORD, BUCKS.

"Thus from a mixture of all kinds began
That het'rogeneous thing, an Englishman.
* * * *
"Fate jumbled them together,—God knows how;
Whate'er they were, they're true-born English now."

MANY a serious truth is now and then enunciated in a stinging satire. Daniel Defoe has, unwittingly may be, indited the two distichs which I have just quoted. They, however, have an important bearing on the problem which I am about to submit to the present Congress. This bearing will appear patent in the course of my propounding my proposition. As the Congress this year is held in Wales, the subject which naturally suggests itself to one interested in the archæology of nomenclature is the problem, Whence the appellation Kymry? With all due deference and diffidence I purpose to advance a few suggestions which may aid forward its solution.

I would premise by stating a fact which may serve as a postulate, that we are now-a-days in a far better position to answer such a question, especially in this country, than were our predecessors of former centuries. The archæological treasures from almost every country under heaven, which have been accumulated since the beginning of this century in the British Museum (the eighth and greatest wonder in the world), furnish the students of such questions as those which I venture to bring before you with tenable arguments in discussing or propounding these questions.

To a sober-minded thinker and student of historical developments there seems something startling in a certain coincidence which appears to me at least to deserve more consideration than being dismissed with a pretentious shrug or a flippant and supercilious remark. Just at the time when searching inquiries are being made and discussed as to whence came the ancestors of the "true-born English now", just at the time that the minds of many in this country are being aroused to analyse that "mixture of all kinds" which

produced "that het'rogeneous thing, an Englishman", just at the same time should the researches of the learned be directed to the archæology of the East and to ancient Oriental lore. The results of those researches do much towards the analysis alluded to. Let the problem I propose serve as an illustration.

Taliesin, known as the prince of the Druid Bards, who flourished in the sixth century of our era, left on record in one of his poems, *Angar Cryndawd*, the following asseveration, "My lore has been declared in Hebrew, in the Hebraic tongue".[1] At last year's Congress I adduced examples of positive archaic Hebraisms in the now obsolete Cornish religious language. I traced the incorporation of whole Hebrew sentences from some portions of Sacred Writ, as well as from the early Jewish liturgies, into the religious exercises of Cornishmen through several ages. This time I propose as a question the origin of the most archaic word in the *so-called* Gælic or Welsh language, in which the term *Kymry* has retained its prominency to the present time. Whence its origin or appellation?

It is a striking feature, both in the history of the sacred race and in that of the sacred tongue, that neither the one nor the other is destructible. The destiny of the Hebrew language, as that of the Hebrew people, has been to be sifted—using an inspired figure of speech—"among all nations, as corn is sifted in a sieve", yet was not the least grain to fall upon the earth. I should not be permitted to indulge in analytical processes in the various provinces and domains of ethnology and philology, or to invite you to my ethnological and philological laboratories and bid you behold the "mixture of all kinds" which Fate jumbled together—which I put in my various crucibles—and then bring you face to face with scions of that race, of whom it was Divinely foretold that it should become "thousands of myriads" or "a fulness of nations", and with words coined in that mint, whence came the richest gifts to the patriarchs and prophets in primæval days. I eschew all these disquisitions at present. I simply confine myself just now to the time-honoured appellation Kymry.

The appellation Kymry is no more "true-born English" than is the term Gæl or *Welsh*. The nomenclature of both owes its true birth to a parentage and a country far more

[1] Davies' *Mythology of the British Druids*, p. 573.

ancient than those which are called British or English, whatever those terms may mean—whether what we call Gælic, Keltic, Kymry, or English. All those languages known by the nomenclature which I have just enumerated, as we have them now, consist of a "jumble" and "mixture of all kinds". But those two terms Gæl (which became Wæl and then *Welsh*) and Kymry (which by the Greeks became *Kimmerioi*, amongst the Teutons *Kimbri*, and Latinised into *Cambria*) are of purely Hebrew birth. It is interesting to note that both those terms are now convertible with reference to the cluster of provinces, in one of which we are now met together, which faces St. George's Channel. Gæl—the same as Gær in the Hebrew language, in which the L and R frequently interchange—means *stranger* or *foreigner*—a term by which the overbearing Saxon invaders nicknamed the early settlers on the island now familiar to us as Great Britain. Kymro, in the same language, means a priest of an idolatrous system. Analyses of Oriental archæological fragments now in the British Museum led me to conclude that the term Kymro—priest of an idolatrous system—was closely allied to the name Omri, the notorious King of Israel, who consummated the idolatrous system amongst the Ten Tribes, who seceded from the house of Jacob.

One of the curiosities in the great National Museum consists of an interesting obelisk of black basalt, of about 5 feet in height. It was discovered by Mr. Layard in one of the mounds amongst the ruins of ancient Nineveh. The obelisk is covered on all sides with inscriptions, which, when deciphered, bring to light some memoranda in the history of Shalmaneser II, son of Assur-natsir-pul, who reigned over Assyria B.C. 858 to 823. Amongst the various memoranda is found the following: "The tribute of Yahua ab-il Khumry (that is Jehu, the son of Omri, note incidentally the origin of the *Kymric* term AP for son), silver, gold, vessels, goblets, and pitchers, and other things, all of gold have I received". The late Dr. Hincks—one of the most accomplished *palæographers* of this century—aptly remarked, "The title 'son of Omri' is equivalent to the 'king of Samaria', Samaria being the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, which Omri built, and which was known to the Assyrians as Beth Omri, the house of Omri". The latter appellation, Beth Omri, may be seen in the British Museum.

in the third volume, page 10, of *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, which records the conquest of Samaria by Tiglath-Pileser, and of the deportation of the Ten Tribes by him.

In the first volume of those *Western Asiatic Inscriptions*, p. 47, there is one of the time of Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib (B.C. 680 to 667), which speaks of a certain Tuispa, a leader of the Kymry, a roving warrior, whose native land was far away in the province Khubusina. Anent this, I would quote one more inscription at present in reference to my proposed problem, also from the archives of the British Museum. The inscription is on a hexagonal prism of baked clay, one of Mr. Layard's finds in the vicinity of ancient Nineveh. Its purport is that in the reign of Esarhaddon the Kimmerians (evidently an adaptation of Khumrym, which the Greeks converted into *Kimmerioi*) were under the rulership of one Tuispa, a nomadic warrior.

I think that I have demonstrated on a former occasion that there were traces in the archaic Cornish language, now obsolete, which proved an early intercourse between the primæval inhabitants of this island and the scions of the Hebrew tribes, prior to the disruption of the kingdom which was consolidated by Solomon. Might it not be proposed as probable, if not more so, that the strong Israelitish sound Kymry argued that the earliest priests—the Druid bards as they are styled—who conducted the religious worship of this country were supplied by idolatrous Israel, the followers of Khymry Omri.

Rabbi David Kimchi, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the most learned Hebrew grammarians and commentators of his time, gives as a reason for the term Kymry, because those priests were robed in black vestments, instead of being "arrayed in white linen", as were the priests of the Orthodox Church at Jerusalem. Those interested in the etymology of the term may consult that rabbi's comments on 2 Kings xxiii, 5; Hosea x, 5; and Zephaniah i, 4. Such as make the archæology of ecclesiastical vestments an absorbing question, may set their wits to work out the following problem: Whence the origin of the garb of the so-called "black friars" of the middle ages? or, what suggested the modern black preaching gown?

I showed in my paper read at Bodmin that some of the dispersed of Judah found their way to this island not long after the conquest of Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar. It is pro-

bable that about the same time some of the captive Israelites, with some of the teachers of their religious system, had also found their way hither from the regions of Halah and Habor. If so, I should think it a problem well worth considering whether the dispersed of Judah, who were previously domiciled in this island, did not, by way of disparagement, describe the new comers and their teachers by the *soubriquet* Kymary Omri, that is, the idolatrous priests and followers of Omri. Hence the term Kymry. Some Hebrew learner might propose as a difficulty that the masculine plural form of the sacred tongue required the word under disquisition to read Kymrim or Kymarim. So it would if it stood by itself. But I hold that the appellation was originally employed in *regimen* with Omri, when, according to the genius of the Hebrew language, it would become apocapate and stand Kymry or Kymaray. I am aware that a *y* at the end of a noun in the Welsh language is the characteristic of the plural in that language; but I would submit, diffidently and deferentially, might not the very theme of my proposed problem have been the basis of that plural form in the Kymric language? Anyhow, what did Taliesin, the king or prince of Druid bards, as he was called, mean by his grand assertion, "My lore has been declared in Hebrew, in the Hebraic tongue."

I would conclude the propounding of my problem with a suggestive sentence from Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i, p. 94. Thus writes that trustworthy historian and learned ethnologist: "It is peculiarly interesting for us to consider the immigration of the Cymry, the Goths, and the Saxons, because, from its branches, not only our own immediate ancestors, but also those of the most celebrated nations of modern Europe have unquestionably descended." This sentence does indeed suggest a momentous consideration, the discussion of which I must reserve for a future occasion. Before I sit down, however, I cannot resist the impulsive desire to quote the concluding sentence from a letter which I have recently received from a cherished friend, who is both witty and wise. It is the following: "When the high priest, with the Urim and Thummim, stands up, perhaps we may all be pronounced Israelites." I consider this clever satire—for I suppose the epigram was intended as a satire—contains an important truth of no mean significance.

Proceedings of the Congress.

Wednesday, August 21, 1878.

At eight o'clock about a hundred members assembled at the Rose and Crown Hotel, and proceeded on a visit to the Marshland churches. These churches were admirable examples of Norman and Early English work, detached towers, and that marvellous minuteness of detail for which these churches are celebrated. In every village through which they passed, the parishioners turned out in large numbers, their curiosity being evidently much excited.

The first church visited was that of Walsoken, and directly the company commenced to enter the edifice by the west door, the bells rang forth a merry peal: in fact, so heartily was this given that the top of the spire became loosened, and with the weathercock oscillated somewhat alarmingly. The party was met by the Rev. J. Young, the rector, who piloted them round, and pointed out the chief objects of interest. Every one was struck with the excellent condition in which the fabric was kept. The tower and spire are part Early English and part Decorated. The Norman interior is distinguished by the varied mouldings of rich frets and zigzags of its low arches, resting on piers round and angular alternately. The chancel-arch is a fine example of Norman or Transitional; pointed, but with rich Norman mouldings. There is a Norman piscina in the chancel, and also a mural monument erected by Archbishop Herring, who was educated at Wisbech Grammar School, to the memory of his parents. The church contains a large amount of rich wood screen-work of Perpendicular character. The old rood-screen, which is of great beauty, and is of the fifteenth century, has been removed from the chancel-arch to the south chapel. The Perpendicular octagonal font, bearing the date 1545, has on seven of its sides sculptured imagery of the Catholic sacraments, baptism being repeated in order to fill in the eighth side. On the wall of the north aisle, near to the east end, is a monument of the fourteenth century, representing two hands clasping a heart. The exterior of the church presents some very fine features. There is an elegant florcated

cross over the entrance to the south porch, and the sanctus bell-turret remains in good order.

The company having assembled at the entrance to the chancel, the Rev. J. Young gave them a cordial welcome. He said, as time was short, he would not comment upon the various interesting points of the building, but would leave that to others who knew more about the history of these churches than himself. He believed that the original church was built shortly after the Norman conquest, and it then consisted of nave, side-arches, and chancel. It was supposed that there were then no porches to the nave, but two to the chancel. The east window was modern. The tower was built in or about the twelfth century, and the south porch in 1720. There were one or two portions of the church which had not been investigated of late years, and perhaps the archæologists present would be able to throw some light upon them. He exhibited the Register of the church, which commenced in 1558.

Mr. Loftus Brock observed that a remark of his on Tuesday, with respect to the way in which certain features were repeated in various churches, had a great exemplification here. The Norman arches were like those in the conventual church at Ely, and the western tower was a copy of the western tower of that Cathedral. Its four angle-turrets, which were undoubtedly intended to surround a spire, were just such as those which existed at Sutton St. Mary. He was glad that the general fabric had been kept in good repair, and it was seldom that they saw a church in such fine condition. On the exterior were indications that the church had formerly a high-pitched roof, and when the visitors passed outside they would clearly see where it was. Before the erection of the clerestory there was evidently an open-timbered roof. This he believed was of the fifteenth century. The chancel-arch had been cut through to admit of the staircase to the rood-loft. The blocking up of the clerestory of the chancel was somewhat curious, and an event which was not often found, and it was certainly one of the leading features in the church. He did not believe that the original nave had a clerestory. The church had a very large north chantry, but this had been reduced to its present proportions. It had a flanked wooden roof, to which he would assign the same date as the nave. The screens to the two chapels were of great beauty. The tower was Early English, the arches of the nave Norman, and the clerestory of the early part of the fifteenth century. The chancel was remarkable for its series of nine stalls, which indicated either that the parish was one of considerable size, so as to command a good choir, or that there was some guild in connection with the church. His own opinion favoured the latter hypothesis.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam, F.S.A., directed attention to the handsome font

of the fifteenth century. The fine piscina showed that there was a rood-loft altar.

The party then returned to their carriages, and drove to West Walton Church, which, in marked contrast to that of Walsoken, is in a dilapidated condition; but it was satisfactory to find that steps were being taken to restore it. It is a very fine specimen of the Early English style, the shell having been left unfinished, and afterwards completed by Perpendicular additions. The bell-tower is on the south side, some twenty or thirty yards from the main building. The church has a fine oaken roof. The aisles are remarkable for their great width, and in fact the whole fabric is spacious. Singularly enough, there is only a small number of pews. The nave-piers are exceedingly beautiful, and have detached and banded shafts of Purbeck marble. There are some finely wrought capitals and niches in the choir; and these exhibit in perfection all the characteristics of the style, the toothed ornament, nail-head, and others. The clerestory has a splendid arcading. The font is of later date, but not so ornate as that at Walsoken. In the east corner of the north aisle is the monument of a Prior of Ely; and near to the west end is a record of an inundation by the sea.

Mr. Brock, in describing this building, said they were all prepared to find there something beautiful, for it had the reputation of being one of the most grand of all the Marshland churches. He for one was certainly of that opinion. It would be impossible to find in any village an Early English church, of the middle of the thirteenth century, containing finer points. The unusual features of the cluster of banded Purbeck shafts around the piers, they might search for in many churches in vain. The west entrance exhibited quite a combination of skill. The body of the church seemed to be of one date, the early part of the thirteenth century. Two arches in the chancel had been blocked up to form the chantry chapel. The east end of the chancel had had a beautiful arcading to the right and left of it; and there had, no doubt, been a much better east window than the present one. The church was peculiar rather than handsome. It seemed to have been extended about the period of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The window in the west end agreed with those in the aisles. The high-pitched roof had been replaced by one of the fifteenth century, and the roofs of the churches at West Walton and Walpole were very much alike. They might notice the indifference which had been displayed by the devisers of the present roof in fitting it to the walls. Some of the beams were not resting on the walls at all, others passed through the windows, whilst others seemed to be well fixed. The roof appeared to be in such decay that he was sure it would give a great deal of trouble to the restorer. Of the detached tower there were only a few other similar examples in all England, and it well deserved the

high praise that was given to it. He might repeat his remark that the steeple had been designed from the west tower of Ely Cathedral. They did not see the spire of lead, but they saw four pinnacles and a parapet of later date. His own idea was that the church underwent considerable alterations in the fifteenth century.

Mr. A. Peckover said there was a well known legend to the effect that during the early days of that church, the Fenmen were very wicked, and the Evil Spirit hired a number of people to carry the tower away. They got it well on to their shoulders, but could not get it over the churchyard wall; and they ran round and round with it until they found themselves unable to get it out of consecrated ground at all, and so they left it at the gate.

Mr. Bloxam said the church contained only one sculptural monument, which was very much mutilated, and was said to be one of the abbots of Ely. It appeared to be of the period when the church was built, and it was to the memory of a person who had a good deal to do with the building of the church in the thirteenth century. The figure wore the alb, the stole, and the chasuble. With regard to the detached tower, in this part of Norfolk there were a good many of them. His theory of which was, that being built in a marshy country, the settlement of the tower might have been so great as to pull the church about, and therefore it was erected at some distance. Mr. Bloxam directed attention to a fine Early English window in the south aisle. The interior of the building was very much better than the exterior, which showed how it had been knocked about in what one might call "Carpenter's Gothic".

The next place of visit was Walpole St. Peter's, where there are some remains not only of the Roman bank, but of the antiquities of the period of Roman occupation. The church is perhaps one of the grandest Perpendicular churches in Norfolk. The south porch is a fine example of this style, and is enriched with tracery, coats of arms, and niche work, the roof being elaborately grained. There is a fine Elizabethan font, with magnificent carved oak canopy, and inscribed under the foot is the legend, "Thynk and thank". The building is of about the year 1300. The chancel is really a lanthorn of glass, the narrow spaces between the windows being occupied by handsome niches. The front of the stall desks has the original painting of saints. The nave is fitted with fine oak benches, the original seats being placed in the south aisle. The more modern pews date 1637. There is a Georgian screen at the west end, bearing date 1828. In the vestry is an ancient Communion table, measuring 4½ ft. by 11 ft. The altar is raised to a great height, and is approached by a flight of seven stone steps, and exteriorly it is found that this covers the singular arrangement of a vaulted bridle way beneath the eastern portion of the chancel.

It is said that this was constructed in consequence of a dispute which occurred between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities as to a right of way. Neither party would give way, and, rather than suffer defeat, the founders of the church decided to arch over the footway. The roof of the arch is beautifully groined, with fine bosses. On the outer wall, at the junction of the chancel and the north aisle, is the figure of a satyr, supposed by the country people to represent the mythic marshland hero, Hickathrift; and there are two circular holes opposite to each other in the north and south walls of the chancel, which tradition says were made by a ball kicked through by the giant himself.

Mr. Brock said it was very possible that the names of the parishes through which they have passed that day might have excited some curiosity. In the names of Walsoken, Walton, and Walpole the prefix syllable "Wal" was striking; and the ancient Roman bank upon which they had just been driving gave them the reason for it. The Saxons gave the name Wal to places where the Romans had made banks. In choosing the road over which they had come that day, they had taken the three churches in their chronological order. They had the Norman at Walsoken and the Early English at West Walton; and they were now prepared for the Perpendicular, which was exemplified in Walpole Church. The arches were in good condition; he could not say much as to the roof. Like all other old churches, this had its peculiarities. The tower was the only portion which was of a different date, and it had been remarked by a friend of his that that was the only portion remaining of the old church. It opened up a curious thought—why a church should have been so completely removed within one hundred years after the building of the tower; for he was of opinion that the tower was built about 1350, and 1450 was the time when the whole work was finished. He called special attention to the passage under the east end. At Sevenoaks there was a similar passage under the west end of the church. The pillars and arches were part of the original church, but they had probably been rebuilt, since their capitals and bases, and probably the clerestory, were of earlier date. The north door was very magnificent—a piece of carved oak, of elegant design, but in bad repair. The octagonal font was a fine piece of Jacobean or Elizabethan work. The screen was curious—probably more curious than beautiful. It was of rather modern date, and showed that the congregations were too small for the place, and it was made to divide the part used from that which was not. The parvise from the west entrance would, he was sure, come in for its share of admiration, and the arms upon it would be found interesting.

Mr. Bloxam observed that portions of the original rood screen had been preserved and placed in the back of the stalls leading to the chancel. In the vestry in the south aisle they would find one of the

largest Communion tables that they ever saw. He had no doubt that it was used in 1643, when the communicants were accustomed to sit round the table. There were no monumental effigies in the church. On the north side there was what was designated a Roman effigy, but he did not think that it was so, but rather was of opinion that it belonged to mediæval times.

Mr. Peckover read an article on the Walpole family, and referred to the legend in regard to Tom Hickathrift, who probably commenced the embanking of that district. It was stated that St. Godric formerly preached to the people in these parts, but they would not listen to him. He went three times to Rome, and the last time he was so determined to take his mother with him that he carried her all the way on his back. On another occasion he mortified his body by wearing out three iron shirts. He afterwards went to Durham, and there found his bed in the river.

Leaving Walpole St. Peter, the party drove by way of Walpole St. Andrew, but there was no time for inspecting the church, and then onwards to Terrington, where Roman remains have been found; but here the cruciform Perpendicular church in process of restoration, with its tabernacle work on the font cover, painted so well, attracted the most attention. At this place, we were told, Baron Feagle, a Netherland refugee, entertained the Prince of Orange when Holland was overrun by the French. Here were born Dr. Walter Terrington and John Collier, Archbishop of Armagh in the fourteenth century. Some of the visitors had an opportunity of inspecting the site of the disaster which befell King John when he made his last journey across the Wash. The edifice is of the Perpendicular period, and of unusual size, being the largest of all the Marshland churches. It consists of a nave, with aisles, central lantern, short transepts, chancel, and detached tower. The clerestory is very lofty and light. Between each window runs up a shaft, on which has been a figure surmounted by a rich canopy. At the ends of the transept are the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, which for style one visitor remarked were almost unique of their kind. The visit was hurried, and for want of time no description was given as at the other churches visited. During the works of restoration some antiquities are said to have been found, and amongst them a piece of stonework with Anglo-Saxon interlaced patterns.

Resuming the carriages, the company drove to Lynn, and from thence took train to Swaffham. Upon arriving at this place they sat down to a capital luncheon served by Miss Clowes at the Crown Hotel.

A visit was next paid to the fine Perpendicular church. The double hammer-beam roof and corbels were much admired, as indeed were all parts of the church. Mr. Rolfe, the organist, treated the visitors to a selection of music, and they departed with pleasing recollections of their brief visit to the building.

The archæologists were then conveyed by omnibuses to Castleacre, arriving at three o'clock, and at once proceeded to the remains of the ancient castle. The frowning walls and strong gateways gave a somewhat Continental aspect to the small town, and long before these towers were built our Saxon forefathers had found here both a home and a grave. Immense flints had made the bulwarks of the Norman founders, and we might almost imagine William of Warrene proclaiming his title again by his sword. For the Norman keep is still formidable, even in its outlines, and the memories of the De Warrenes, the Fitzalans, the Howards, the Greshams, the Cecils, still linger round the spot. The Cokes remind us of the intriguing days of the first Stuart, and it is something to remember that the present owner, the Earl of Leicester, traces his descent from the intriguing, if able, lawyer who lived in the reign of James I.

Having made a brief inspection of the ruins, the members seated themselves in groups on the sloping ground within the walls, and

Mr. Loftus Brock read a paper on the castle, which will be inserted in a future part of the *Journal*. The description and story of the castle have been so often published, particularly by Mr. Harrod, that Mr. Brock only gave a brief description of the shell keep and outer wards. He, however, mentioned a theory with respect to the earthworks, which many persons would be inclined to dispute. The great rectangular enclosure was assumed to be Roman. The mound on which the shell keep was erected was probably added to by the Normans, when they adapted these buildings to the formidable site they found made to their hands. Mr. Brock, however, inclined to consider that the mounds outside the fortifications were the work of the Saxons, and he quoted the testimony of Mr. G. T. Clark in the *Builder*, in support of this theory. It must not, however, be forgotten that the accumulative testimony is against the theory that the Saxons were builders of earthworks, and many of the instances adduced as sites of Saxon fortresses and Norman castles had an older origin, and belonged to an age as old as the Roman occupation, if they were not the prior work of the earliest occupants of the land.

A short conversation followed, and the general feeling was in favour of the ideas enunciated by the speaker.

The party next proceeded to the priory ruins, which were very greatly admired, Mr. Loftus Brock describing the building, and also read the paper on Castleacre Priory, which has been already printed in the *Journal* at pp. 150-154.

Mr. Brock and Mr. Bloxam acted as guides over the ruins, and gave brief descriptions of the various portions. Mr. Brock, referring to the thick layer of earth which was supposed to be covering the original floors of the priory, said Nature was preserving under her feet what

future archæologists would have to discover, and he trusted that the Earl of Leicester might be induced to excavate the earth and reveal the ancient floors.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Loftus Brock, and said he hoped that members of the Association would ask Lord Leicester to do as Lord Dungannon and Mr. W. E. W. Wynne had done in their respective cases, and open up the at present hidden parts of the building.

Mr. Morgan, V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, seconded the vote of thanks, which was cordially passed.

Returning to the conveyances, the company drove back to Swaffham, where tea was served at the Rose and Crown Inn. A special train then proceeded to Wisbech with the party. Those members who had been spending a quiet day in the town, however, assembled at the council chamber, where papers were read by Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., C.E., on "Ancient Reclamations in the English Fenlands", which will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Honorary Secretary*, read a paper on the "Manuscripts relating to St. Guthlac", which will also find a future place in the *Journal*.

Thursday, August 22, 1878.

On Thursday the members, leaving Wisbech by special train at 9.30 for Lynn, proceeded to inspect various objects of antiquity. Perhaps there were but few who remembered Lynn in connection with Lytton's famous novel, or the wonderfully pathetic poem of *Eugene Aram*, which ranks high amongst the works of Hood; yet as many stood before the modern front of the old Grammar School, which yet bears the same tablet as

> "When two stern-faced men came out of Lynn,
> Through the cold and heavy mist,
> And Eugene Aram walked between
> With gyves upon his wrist".

The brisk and active appearance of Lynn was hardly suggestive of romance. But a day which began with the famous old seaport of Lynn, with its memories of King John, and ended with Sandringham, shows the tendency of modern archæology to deviate from science into enjoyment. Still Lynn was a lesson in old municipal records, relics, and fortifications, wondrous old doorways, Yorkist gateways, and Tudor work.

The ancient and curious Corporation charters and records were exhibited in the Assembly Room, and were described by Mr. W. de G. Birch, who described one by one the chief municipal records,

and pointed out that one was of John, Bishop of Norwich, and dated from the far-off year 1200, that the others were duplicate charters dating from the time of King John to the reign of Philip and Mary, with good seals, but required some further attention to prevent them being torn and destroyed. Taken as a series, the collection of original documents preserved among the archives of the Corporation is very instructive both to the local historian and to the student of English municipal progress, which is so plainly illustrated by these deeds.

At the Guildhall the Corporation plate was exhibited, including King John's cup, and what is generally designated the "Mayor's Chain", the maces, and the sword. It was suggested that the cup was not of the date of King John's reign, and that the enamelling with which it is ornamented was not then known. It was further hinted that the cup had been so often repaired and altered, that little remained of the original.

Mr. Bloxam, however, thought it a most beautiful specimen of ancient plate, though he did not endorse the current opinion as to its age. He thought he could go into one of the churches of Lynn, and point to the beautiful brass that was placed to the memory of the man who gave the cup to Lynn.

Mr. Lambert, F.S.A., said the maces were remarkably fine. As to the sword, a man named Payne figured in the time of James II as a sword-cutler; and that which they now beheld was of so excellent a character, that he fancied it was made by Payne, but it might have been made in the time of Charles II.

Mr. Beloe, of Lynn, observed that the Mayor's chain was artificially formed of two or three of the old minstrels' silver chains, which had been recently linked together and gilded.

The town gates, the remains of the walls, were visited, and particularly the Lady Chapel at Redmount, which was a small chapel in the form of a Greek cross, with rich tracery, piscina, sedilia, and reredos, enclosed in a Perpendicular octagonal building situated on a mound on the site of the town walls. A belief, strongly corroborated by the present state of the building, was expressed that the building was once the receptacle of the bones of some saint whose fame was spread over the land, and pious worshippers from very great distances came to Lynn for the purpose of worship. The evidence which seemed to be the strongest in corroboration of this belief, was the gallery or the walk round the chapel, going in one way, and being able to come out another. The ruin was very much admired, and hopes were expressed that nothing would occur to render it necessary ever to spoil its picturesque appearance. Beneath was the residence of the priest, and below all a crypt with piscina and sedile of somewhat peculiar construction, yet analogous to the chapel. The chapel was briefly de-

scribed, and its Early English insertions into the buttresses pointed out, and a paper upon it promised for a future part of the *Journal*.

At St. Margaret's Church the wondrous arcades of Bishop Lozinga, in the south-western tower, with its many clustered pillared piers, was pointed out as a rich example of the period of transition Norman. The north-western tower (for the western front of the church has two towers, like a cathedral) had been rebuilt at a later period, and abutted on a butcher's shambles, which was built on the site of a beautiful chapel destroyed when the tower fell in 1741. Near the entrance at the western end of the church is a monument,—

> "Here lies poor Sparks who hopes to be forgiven,—
> Mercy, not found on earth, abounds in Heaven",

a testimony to a bygone politician, which some think necessary to keep alive. The Branche brass is well known as the "Peacock Feast", and has been excellently figured by Cotman and others. The Early English choir, the later nave, the decorated screen, the wonderful library of early printed books and rare missals, are amongst the legitimate treasures of St. Margaret's Church. The stalls may not be so interesting, and the details so remarkable, as many other churches, but as an example of a merchant's church (and merchants' marks abound in it everywhere) it is instructive; and the variety of Carolean carving reminds one of Dartmouth Church.

Mr. Bloxam called attention to the fine monumental brasses now placed beneath the south-west tower.

Mr. Brock compared the Early English architecture in the chancel with the poor modern arches in the nave, and also referred to the old lantern-tower which had been destroyed, and which was identical in form with that at Ely. The beautiful screen-work in the chancel was of the date 1350, and was worthy of a great amount of care in its preservation, for it was seldom that such good work was to be found. He did not quite think that the recent restoration had been carried out with good taste. From what he could learn there was formerly a beautiful Jacobean screen separating the chancel from the nave, but it had now been ruthlessly chopped in half, and stowed away almost out of sight. He noted the heavy dwarf wall which had been substituted, and said that the screen ought to be restored to its place, for it was part of the history of the church, and had an interest which no new structure could possess. A quantity of panelling in the chancel, bearing a long record of old charities, had also been removed. It was said to have been too dark in colour, and not in harmony with other woodwork. He did not think there was much in such an objection, and a little cleaning and gilding might have altered the aspect of the whole. He regretted that such a clean sweep had been made of all the fittings of a more recent date than the Reformation. The Church had no

occasion to be ashamed of her work during the last three hundred years. He was glad to find that the pulpit, or part of it, had been retained, and he hoped it would be permitted to remain. He called attention to the curious triforium in the chancel, which is rudely imitated in the arches of the modern nave.

At St. Nicholas, which is a complete Perpendicular parish chapel without chancel-arch, the members saw a church for divine worship built at one time, and its lofty arcade and clerestory gave it a noble appearance, while its fine west window and skilfully contrived west doorway gave infinite variety and light. The remains of a canopied sedile and a Continental hood-moulding to the sacristy gave a somewhat foreign tone to the whole. The monuments here were not interesting. Many have been removed, and those mural tablets that remain are of the Jacobean period. The porch has a fine panelled front and roof beneath the parvise. In the yard adjoining is an altar-tomb, panelled, of the fifteenth century. The wood-work was excellent, and of a good Perpendicular type, bold and effective.

The octagonal tower of the Greyfriars Church was described by the Rev. J. B. Slight, Master of the Grammar School, who related the appearance of it some time ago, when surrounded with thatched hovels, which had been since demolished by the Corporation. Some little time back the brickwork became very bad; but the Corporation had had it pointed, and there was every hope that the relic would be spared to the town for many years to come.

The South Gates were also visited, and then the party went to Bridge Street to inspect the very old house known by the name of the "Greenland Fishery".

The somewhat quaint Town Hall with its dais and chequered front, the wondrous old doorways of all ages, all attracted attention; and the memories of Thoresby, an old mayor, of Charles I and John, pervaded the town; for many remembered that thrilling story of the French prisoner who escaped from hence during the Napoleon wars. Each street and house seemed to have a history; but much of this was overlooked in the desire to visit Castle Rising and the popular Sandringham.

A very acceptable luncheon was served by Mr. Marshall at the Globe Hotel, to the party of about one hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen, who then proceeded in various carriages to Castle Rising. With the impression of the quaint, Dutch-like Custom House, and the relics of the extensive mediæval fortifications at Lynn, yet fresh on the mind, it was strange to pass on to the mighty earthworks and the ancient port of Castle Rising. This once famous place (its Mayor claiming priority over all others in the county of Norfolk) is now shorn of its pride and importance. Parliament no longer receives its repre-

sentatives, and the remorseless Municipal Reform Act deprived it of its mayor. It was a strange, old-world place, and the ancient Bedeswomen looked like so many Mother Shiptons, in their red cloaks and peaked hats of the fashion of the period when James Stuart sat upon the English throne. The Howard badge recalled the time when a Howard was Earl of Northampton. There was, however, barely time to glance at the wayside cross and the quaint yet beautiful west front of the church of St. Lawrence. Originally the design of the church was cruciform; but there are no early transepts, though the central tower remains. The nave is late Norman with rich mouldings, ornaments, and twisted pillars. The arcade and gallery round the tower are peculiar, though they are not uncommon. At Crowland and Tewkesbury there are similar examples. The tower was surmounted by a saddleback-roof, which some of the local critics, who prefer the old parapet, regard as an innovation.

It is, however, in the old castle that the great interest centres. The great earthworks strike the skilled eye as belonging to the pre-Roman inhabitants of the islands. The mound and wards on which William D'Albini erected his Norman castle in the reign of Red William are so similar to those recognised as British as to leave no doubt that they belonged to this older period, though the exigencies of mediæval military necessities somewhat changed the outline in places. We passed onward through the late Norman gatehouse, and gazed on the young trees planted by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and wondered if they ever thought of the widowed Isabella—the she-wolf of France—the unhappy and austere relict of the weak Edward II, the first Prince of Wales, who here found a solitary home after the capture of Mortimer in Nottingham Castle, and his subsequent execution in the month of November, in the fourth year of the reign of her son. For twenty-three years Isabella lived on with no queenly honours, on sufferance, and, it is hoped, in repentance. It is strange to be told as one looks around, that one of the old lords had a successful suit with the burghers of Lynn ere Isabella came here to live, for tolls and port dues. It was far pleasanter to remark on its connection with the Howards, and to know that a Howard still is owner of the place. When the first Howard obtained possession, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, there was a garrison in the earthworks, which, like the picturesque ivy, threatened the walls with ruin and destruction. The conies had increased to such an extent, and had undermined the earthen ramparts until the whole fabric was threatened with destruction. A few adventurers ascended the keep, and spoke highly, not only of the view, but of the skill displayed by the Norman builders of the place. Mr. E. P. L. Brock described the ruins, and his description will be printed hereafter.

With a long lingering look behind, the party started for Sandringham, by gracious permission of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, stopping, however, at Babingley for an inspection of the old cross. At Sandringham, Mr. Beck, jun., and a large party of ladies and gentlemen, met the Association, and at once proceeded to show them over the entire estate. After tea, which was kindly and liberally dispensed, Sandringham House was thrown open, and Mr. Beck led the party through all the principal rooms, explaining the various objects of interest as the party went on. There was nothing in the house to suggest royal surroundings or obtrusive grandeur. In the hall little chairs spoke of children's visits. On the walls was the birthplace of the Princess—a Danish street, the portrait of her father and mother, and Borlase's picture of the Prince, Princess, and two of the royal children. A Jacobean morion, a few bells, claymore and highland targets hung on the walls, and around them were many objects presented to the Prince on different occasions. Here and there a suggestive picture or portrait caught the eye.

"After passing the garden corridor," writes one who was with the Association, we "came to the family room, with its choice pieces of china and pottery, and crayon pictures of deerstalking in the Highlands. One felt inclined to linger here, but the crowd of anxious sightseers pressed onward to the ante-room, in which there were more modern pictures, including the famous sledge ride of the Prince with the Emperor of Russia, with a red sunset glare over the snow. The great drawing-room came next, with its choicely-worked ceilings, exquisite statuary, and glimpses of park and garden, fan-like palms, and English flowers. In the dining-room there was a goodly company of smiling faces on the panels. There was the daughter of England and her German husband, the Prince's sisters, and the Duke of Connaught. In another panel was a representation of the Prince himself, in the uniform of the 10th Hussars. In the long gallery, filled with arms and weapons, quaint figures of animals, spoils of the chase, arranged in framed glass cabinets, caught the eye on every side as we passed onward to the bowling alley, the smoking room, and the billiard room, which, with the gun-room, terminate this wing of the house. We passed from hence to the garden terraces, and wandered to see the dogs and the birds, the ferns and the alpine gardens. Some wandered by the miniature lake, and revelled in the view of the park, the old oaks, and newer beeches. Yet one could not repress a feeling of sadness when the picture rose up of the anxious groups who hung in anxious sorrow round the lawn when the royal master of the house was struggling with what was at one time believed to be a fatal illness. The memory of this clings to the place, and it was the whispered talk of many as they passed along the avenue which led to the church,

where a marble cross marks the grave of the groom who succumbed to the disease which his master conquered."

A visit was also made to the church, the rector being present, and explaining the objects around. At the back of the royal pews the windows are now removed, so that memorial windows may be inserted, one to the memory of the late Rev. L. L. Onslow, and the other to the late General Grey, the much respected equerry to his Royal Highness.

The return journey was made by carriages and by rail, Wisbech being reached at 8.45 p.m.

It may be easily seen from the foregoing that to-day's excursion was somewhat a long one, the party not arriving at Wisbech till nearly nine p.m. After partaking of some refreshment the members adjourned to the library of the museum, when two papers were read before a good audience, the Rev. Canon Scott being in the chair. The first paper was by Mr. S. H. Miller, the joint author of *The Fenland*, on "Traces of the Romans and Saxons in the Fen District of the Isle of Ely." During his remarks he referred to the extensive collection by Mr. Marshall Fisher of antiquities taken from the Fen district, of pottery, both Roman and Saxon, implements, and various other objects of interest, and explained that the collection would be open for view for the period of one week. This paper has been printed at pp. 147-150.

The Ven. Archdeacon Emery of Ely said he could assure the company if they would visit Mr. Marshall Fisher's private collection they would be repaid for their trouble, and he asked the lecturer to communicate with Mr. Fisher, with the object of keeping the museum open longer than a week.

Mr. J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Reminiscences of an old Scholar of King's Lynn Grammar School on the Archæology of the Wash." The reader of this paper reviewed his early school years at King's Lynn, he having for three years passed his holidays in solitary rambles in the old fortifications and ancient nooks of the town. The Red Mount, Castle Rising, the Chapel to the Virgin, a resting-place for pilgrims to Walsingham, the embankments, the regalia, the Mayor's sword, the archives of the "Feast of Reconciliation" (a court to arrange disputes amicably), the old tower in the school grounds with its terrible gargoyles, all influenced, all gave a bias to his mind towards archæology, which during his subsequent life at Cambridge (where he encountered Erasmus' room and Samuel Pepys' mementoes), and his travels in India and Asia, had never left him. He wished now to turn his observations to good account, not for his own advantage, but on much broader grounds. The question of the antiquity of earthworks and embankments was one lately prominently brought forward, though indirectly, by French geographers, who were carefully examining the coast of France and the loss of territory occa-

sioned by tides and currents. He had during the week drawn the attention of the British Association at Dublin to these matters. They were most important, and involved the question of some of the largest expenditure in this country. Not only had England to a great extent reclaimed immense tracts of land at Whittlesea and other meres, or inland seas, but she had wisely maintained those embankments which protected such territories, many of which had been made by Britons long before the advent of the Roman power in this country. Even some hopelessly lost territory, as it appeared to be, had been reclaimed at Port Madoc in Wales, and other places, where tradition said ancient sluices and dykes had once existed, and had been destroyed. The grand example of loss and gain by want of attention even to already constructed works was exhibited in the inundation from the bursting of the Middle Level Sluice in 1862. Sufficient credit was not given to the early constructors of such works,—a notable example existing in France. In the department called the Morbihan was a large inland sea, which gave the name to the department. From his own observations on the coast further to the west, near Brest, Dr. Phené had come to the conclusion that the early inhabitants had been in the habit of so protecting their country before the time of Cæsar. That conqueror's destruction of the industrious and wealthy people occupying the Morbihan district caused these works to be neglected, and many square miles of land were now subject to the Atlantic, from the neglect of such works. Cæsar's statement that there were only estuaries in his time, just like the estuaries now in the Wash, showed this to be so. Now the estuaries have become an inland sea, containing upwards of three hundred islands, many with large towns or burghs upon them, many with the remains—tumuli and lithic monuments of the people Cæsar destroyed. That country abounded in traditions of destroyed dykes and consequent inundations. The tracing of such embankments of early British make would be most instructive, interesting, and, he thought, remunerative; they might even find some remains of the treasure of King John lost there that would be interesting, but that was a small item compared to the value of such a survey. In conclusion, Dr. Phené exhibited relics he had collected from such researches, from Asia to the British Islands, including examples of Phœnician, Roman, Assyrian, and other antique art, among which was a bronze head of a cow found in Ireland, having on it the emblems of Astarte, and in all other respects agreeing with the head found by Dr. Schliemann at Mykenæ, and considered by the finder to be the representation of Hera. The paper was illustrated by diagrams and photographs, and will appear hereafter.

Mr. Edmund B. Ferrey's paper, entitled "Notes on Symbolism in Mediæval Architecture", was unavoidably postponed.

Proceedings of the Association.

Wednesday, March 19, 1879.

H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., V.P., in the Chair.

The Rev. H. C. M. Barton, B.A., Curate of Andover, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned

To the Society, for the "Archæologia Cambrensis", Fourth Series, No. 37. Jan. 1879.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the fund set on foot for the exploration of the site of *Durobrivæ*, near Castor, in Northamptonshire, was being subscribed to favourably, and it was hoped that excavations would before long be commenced. All discoveries would be laid before the meetings.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, announced that the Annual Congress would take place this year at Great Yarmouth, during the month of August. Further particulars relating to the arrangements and excursions will be found on the fourth page of the wrapper of the current part of the *Journal*.

Mr. Brock exhibited a small vessel of metal-foil, in shape resembling a pomegranate, conjectured to have been used for a laboratory bottle; a collection of fragments of Samian and mediæval *fictilia* from recent London excavations; and an elegant German goblet engraved with floriated devices enclosing twelve oval medallions which contain figures of the twelve apostles, each with his customary emblem.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of Samian and miscellaneous fragments of pottery from London diggings.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a Moorish saucer of coarse, bluish-white glazed ware, ornamented with frets and arabesques, found about five years ago at Hampton Court, and thought to be connected with the residence there of Charles II's court, with which Moorish art was fashionable; a bronzed plaster-cast figure of a cavalier; and an Italian white glazed fayence figure of the Madonna and Holy Child, of the seventeenth century. Mr. Mayhew also described some further

discoveries at Lincoln, in relation to the account of Roman remains given in his paper on the subject.

Mr. Wright and Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., attributed the figure of the cavalier to a very modern age; but Mr. Mayhew, while offering no opinion as to its age, declared that he was present when it was exhumed.

Mrs. Claggett exhibited a Dutch metal snuffbox of the seventeenth century, engraved with the figures of a ship in full sail, and an uncertain subject. The following inscription was engraved upon the box:

"Ick sal den laut *ff* wys bewaren
Gaat gij geenst Na Vigos Varen."

The Chairman read a paper on "Thimbles", and illustrated his remarks by the exhibition of a series of ancient specimens arranged chronologically; the collection being supplemented by a seventeenth century chatelaine of silver gilt, chased and burnished, containing a fine example of thimble.

In the discussion which ensued, Messrs. Way, Wright, Mayhew, Adams, and Blashill, took part.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited a rubbing of an inscribed stone lately found at Bath, and read the following note upon it:

Monumental Stone found in Bath in February 1879.

BY THE REV. PREBENDARY H. M. SCARTH, V.P., F.S.A.

In the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. xxxii, p. 246, will be found an account of the ancient *cloacæ* of the Roman city lately explored. The account is given by Mr. Mann, who is conducting the improvements in the drainage of the modern baths for the Corporation. Through his kindness I was informed, in February last, of the discovery of an inscribed stone, and of a considerable length of leaden pipe which had just been found. I lost no time in going to see these recent discoveries, and also of descending, through the openings made at different points, to the level of the Roman city, and following the course of the Roman drain laid open.

The level of the ancient Roman street is reached at about 16 feet below the modern pavement; and in the course of the street a gutter can be traced running from west to east. It is cut in blocks of freestone, and the width of the channel is 1 foot 2 inches, and the form semicircular. Steps running up from the level of the street also remain *in situ*; and the foundation-stones of buildings, fastened together with iron clamps, which still remain. These are covered with a *débris* of black mud, and decayed mortar and ruined walling, and remains of Roman brick and tiles, some very good specimens of which have been

obtained. The leaden pipe which I have mentioned is about 5 feet long, and bent at one end, which was found projecting into the gutter. It is composed of a sheet of lead of the ordinary thickness, rolled together, and the joining covered with a strip of lead about an inch broad, which runs along the whole length, and keeps the extremities united. The junction is very clumsy, but seems to have answered its purpose. No lettering is found upon the pipe.[1]

A small portion of a fluted column has been found, with other remains of small and large shafts, which together with the flue-tiles and cut stone have been taken to the Museum of the Literary and Scientific Institution. A small terra-cotta lamp has also been found.

The inscribed stone was found built into a wall on some premises near York Street. The letters were found covered with mortar, which was carefully removed; but the upper portion of the stone, which had once a moulded capping and a triangular termination, had been cut away, and the lower part broken off, so as to destroy the lettering of the third line. I send a rubbing of the stone, as well as a squeeze, from which you will see that the reading is Q. POMPEIVS ANICETVS ..... From what remains it seems to be the top portion of a monumental stone to Quintus Pompeius Anicetus. The remainder is quite uncertain. The name Pompeius occurs five times in inscriptions found in Britain. Thus we have in Hübner's *Inscrip. Brit. Lat.*, No. 671,—COH . VII . ⊳ POMP . III. ; and on the *Malpas Tablets* ("Tabella posterior", No. 1193), Q. POMPEI HOMERI ; also on a stone in the front wall of Chollerton Vicarage, Northumberland : D POMP. RVFI.;[2] and at Moresby in Cumberland : DEO SILVAN[O] COH. II. LING... CVI . PRAEES... G. POMPEIVS M[F]... SATVRNIN[VS..];[3] also a stone found at Piersbridge, co. Durham, supposed to be part of an altar to the Dolichene Jupiter, by Pompeius Cornutus.[4]

I am not without hope that other inscriptions may be found, or that the remaining portion of the present may be discovered, as the examination of the ancient drains is carried out. The present stone is now placed, with the other Roman remains, in the Museum of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution.

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded a very accurately measured plan of the

[1] Leaden pipes not unfrequently bear inscriptions by which the date of their construction, or their being so placed, can be ascertained. Thus a leaden pipe now placed against a wall of the Tablinum on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, has this inscription—

IMP . DOMITIANI CAESAR AVG SVB CVRA
EVTYCHIL . PROC . PECHYMNVS . CAESAR . N SER.

Another has the words IVLIAE . AVG. ; perhaps the daughter of Titus. Another, L. PESCENIVS . EROS.; perhaps freedman of Pescenius Niger, the rival of Severus.

[2] See Bruce's *Lapid.*, p. 74, No. 145.

[3] See Hübner's *I. B. L.*, No. 359.

[4] Ibid., No. 419.

city of Bath, showing the latest excavations and discoveries; a sketch, in sepia, of an ancient bridge, conjectured to be the old bridge at Bewdley; and a small sketch of an unusually designed squint in Warblington Church, near Havant, between the chancel and a chapel now used as a vestry. It is fitted with a wooden shutter for occasional use.

Mr. Way exhibited two rubbings of inscribed stones in the north corner of the Clock Room of St. George's Church in the Borough of Southwark. The one is as follows, in Gothic minuscule, or black letter: "Edwardus d'ns de Halting (?) me fieri fecit: anno d'ni mi[ll]esimo cccexxx°viij." The other reads, "Hæc requies mea in s'c'l'm s'c'li hic habitabo q'm elegi ea'." For "Hæc requies mea in seculum seculi; hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam."[1]

Wednesday, April 2, 1879.

H. S. Cuming, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Associates:

Rev. F. W. Beynon, Sutton Colefield, near Birmingham.
Rear-Admiral F. S. Tremlett, Belle Vue, Tunbridge Wells.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the donors for the following presents to the library:—

To the Society, for "Collections relating to Montgomeryshire", part xxiv, April 1879, vol. xii, 1.
" " for *Archæological Journal*, No. 141, 1879.
" " for "Sussex Archæological Collections", vol. xxix, 1879.
To the Author, for "Collectanea Antiqua", vol. vii, part 2, 1879. By C. Roach Smith, Esq., F.S.A.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited fragments of *fictilia* of the Roman period, found in the Borough, among them being part of a large *dolium*, part of a *cadus*, a flange tile, and water bottles; also a perforated flint of the prehistoric age; a piece of British pottery of the fourth century, and a piece of metal capping of mediæval art.

The Chairman exhibited an *étui*, in illustration of the specimen brought forward on the previous day of meeting.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a large and comprehensive collection of Greek and Etruscan pottery of various periods, towards the illustration of the coming paper.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, V.P., read a paper on the "Tomb at Palestrina", and exhibited a large series of plates of Etruscan antiquities, from the works of Micali and others.

[1] Psalm cxxxi, 14.

Mr. J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A., exhibited a very extensive collection of diagrams of miscellaneous antiquities and natural curiosities in reference to the paper, and discussed several of the points referred to by Mr. Morgan at great length.

The Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth, F.S.A., V.P., forwarded a facsimile of some sixteenth century sacred music scratched on a broken slate tile, found at the Court Garden, Mudgeley, in March last. He also reported the progress of the work of excavation being carried out by Mr. Sydenham Hervey on the site of King Alfred's palace as follows: "Several more walls have been found, and the arrangement of the building may therefore be eventually made out. These walls are all laid down on a plan as soon as uncovered. The well has been found and cleaned out. It is about 20 ft. deep, and faced with stone. Several coins have been found, one of Edward and one of Richard."

Mr. Compton read the following useful abstract of the "Ancient Monuments' Bill":—

"*Sec.* 1.—This section defines monuments to mean any British, Celtic, Roman, Danish, or Saxon work, structure, or remains, and the site thereof.

"*Sec.* 2.—The Act appoints a commission, consisting of the Enclosure Commissioners for England and Wales and the Trustees of the British Museum, to be a corporation under the style of 'The National Monuments' Commission', with capacity to take and hold lands in mortmain.

"*Sec.* 3.—The Act may be applied by the commissioners to the monuments specified in the first schedule to the Act, and also to any monument which in the opinion of the commissioners is of sufficient national interest to be worthy of preservation, and which is not situate in any park, garden, or pleasure ground. The Act shall be applied by serving a notice in form given on the occupier of the site of the monument, the person to whom rent is paid, and the clerk of the peace or sheriff's clerk for the county in which the monument is situate.

"*Sec.* 5.—Owners or occupiers of a monument to which the Act has been applied may serve a requisition on the commissioners, requiring them to consent to their dealing with it in manner described or to purchase the monument, or some part thereof, or to exercise a power of restraint, and the commissioners are within three months from the service of the requisition to take one of the prescribed courses; and in case the commissioners do not within the three months signify their agreement to purchase or exercise power of restraint, they are to be deemed as giving their consent to the monument being dealt with as proposed.

"*Sec.* 6.—If any person injures or permits injury to a monument, contrary to the provisions of the Act, power to restrain is given to the commissioners for so long as the estate or occupation of such person continue.

"*Sec.* 7.—The commissioners may acquire by agreement of the persons entitled their estate in a monument. The words 'site of the monument' shall include any area surrounded by or parts of a monument.

"*Sec.* 8.—The penalties relating to malicious injuries by the 24 and 25 V., c. 97, sec. 52, are imposed on persons destroying or injuring a monument vested in the commissioners, or over which they have a power of restraint.

"*Sec.* 10.—The provisions of the Defence Act 1860, shall apply to ascertain any compensation in respect of the acquisition by the commissioners of a monument or power of restraint.

"*Sec.* 11.—The commissioners may employ such persons, and incur such expenses for the purposes of the Act as the Treasury may allow, to be paid out of the moneys provided by Parliament.

"*Sec.* 13.—The commissioners shall report from time to time to Parliament as to the condition of the monuments vested in them, or in respect of which they have powers of restraint, and the monuments transferred by them to any local authority.

"*Sec.* 16.—When any corporation or persons in the execution of any power for the public benefit propose to injure a monument to which this Act has been applied, or a power of restraint in respect of which is vested in the commissioners, they shall, six weeks at least before so doing, serve a notice in writing on the commissioners, specifying the nature of the proposed injury, and it shall be lawful in the case of a monument situate in England or Scotland for one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and in Ireland for the Lord Lieutenant, to inquire concerning the nature and necessity of the proposed injury, and at his discretion prohibit the injury, either altogether or in part.

"*Sec.* 18.—The Act is not to apply to any monument on any land held in right of the Duchy of Cornwall without the consent of the Duke of Cornwall."

Wednesday, April 16.

H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot., in the Chair.

The following Associates were duly elected:

J. F. Moore, West Coker, Yeovil, in succession to his brother, the late Mr. John Moore.

Edmund H. Harvey Combe, Mayor of Yarmouth, Ferry Side, Southtown, Yarmouth.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the following donors for gifts to the library:

To the Earl of Leicester, for "The Holkham Bust of Thucydides, a Study in Greek Iconography", by Adolf Michaelis. Cambridge. Folio. 1878.

To Henry Phillips, Jun., of 428 Library Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A., for "Notes upon the Coins and Medals exhibited at the Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia." Philadelphia, 1879.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, etc., described the proposed excursions to places of antiquarian and historical interest, likely to be made during the forthcoming Congress at Yarmouth.

Mr. F. P. L. Prock, F.S.A., exhibited a fragment of marble carving

in shape of a rosette, from a doorway probably destroyed during the fire of London. It was found at London Wall.

Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., of Canterbury, exhibited three Hungarian bronze celts from Buda Pesth, and a series of Kentish remains, and read the following:

Notes on some Antiquities of Kent.

BY J. BRENT, ESQ., F.S.A.

I exhibit this evening, before the Association, seven bronze celts. The three smaller ones I have brought merely as examples. I will dismiss them by saying they are Hungarian, and I obtained them from Mr. Kranz of Buda Pesth. All the other bronze objects are from Canterbury or its neighbourhood. The looped paalstab, which is peculiar from the lower edge of the blade being rounded, either from design or by being subsequently ground, was found in brick clay at Tyler Hill, near Canterbury, a few years since. I could not learn that any other remains were found with it. There is a smaller socketed celt from the Martyrs' Field, Canterbury, in the possession of Mr. John Evans. The next object is a socketed celt which has been lately brought to Whitstable, dredged up at, or near, the Pan Shoal. It exhibits signs of marine deposit upon it, and is another example of the number of objects for the antiquary which this remarkable shoal is continually yielding. The two chisel-shaped bronze weapons or tools were found, some few months since, in a hop-garden at Chislet Park Farm in the parish of Chislet.

Some workmen, not belonging to the district, were employed on extensive drainage work, when the labourers came upon a hoard of these bronze implements. No value seemed to have been attached to them, nor was there any competent person at hand to examine them. Some were thrown away as useless. Five only, as far as I could learn, were preserved, and these were sold to an old rag and bone man who happened to be in the neighbourhood with his cart and donkey. He bought them as waste metal, and Mr. Parry of Canterbury, who has a taste for antiquarian objects, purchased them for a trifle, and has permitted me this evening to exhibit them. The scutcheon-like patterns in the centre of each object are, I think, rather worthy of note.

It is certainly a curious fact that these bronze implements are often found in hoards, although occasionally, as in the examples I exhibit to-night, they occurred singly, and isolated; that is, without any other relics being associated with them, to give a clue to their nationality. In hoards, however, they are much more frequently discovered; sometimes with the original moulds, and with lumps of metal and fragments of broken implements, as if gathered together for recasting.

The Museum at Dover exhibits two of these collections, one consisting of forty objects, whole or fragmentary, found in a field at Buckland, adjoining Dover, in 1877, in a place called "Old Park". They lay bound altogether, without any other relics, except the bronze handle of a sword or dagger. They vary in size, one being only about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long.

In the Isle of Harty, Mr. John Evans, F.R.S., obtained in 1873 what he denominated "the stock in trade of a founder of the bronze period". They were bronze celts, some of them in the very moulds in which they were cast. Mr. H. B. Mackeson, J.P., of Hythe, obtained a collection of bronze weapons found in making the branch railway between Hythe and Sandgate, about the same year. Some time previous to this the brickfields at Sittingbourne yielded to Mr. Vallance (July 16, 1828) a bronze gouge and four socketed celts, much resembling the celt from the Pan Shoal. These are also now in the Museum at Dover. They are noted in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 101, whereiu Mr. C. R. Smith informs us these celts were found in an urn, together with thirty pounds' weight of bronze or bell-metal. Another urn, close by, contained a bronze dagger about 12 inches long, and six bronze rings, which, as some of them were $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, could not be called finger-rings. A skeleton lay about 12 feet below the surface of the soil. These Sittingbourne brickfields, from which our Associate Mr. George Payne has obtained so many interesting objects of antiquity, seem a rich depository for British, Norman, and Anglo-Saxon relics,—nay, even for neolithic flint implements; and point out the circumstances how one entirely different nationality adopted the graveyards of their predecessors, preserving inviolate the deposits they had made therein. The two urns at Sittingbourne were found abont three feet apart.

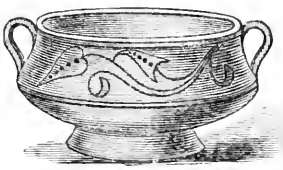
There are also in the Dover Museum the casts of three moulds found near Chidbury Hill, Nottinghamshire, for making these celts. The moulds are stated to have been composed of granite. Mr. Bateman, in his *Ten Years' Diggings*, speaks of a bronze axe-shaped celt and a bronze dagger found in a tumulus with a skeleton, interred twelve feet deep, beneath large slabs of stone. This, I think, points directly to a British, Celtic, or Belgic origin: it is at least pre-Roman. The same writer alludes also, at p. 220, to a celt found with the skull of a wolf in the Wolds, near Scampstone, in 1850. Camden refers to several specimens. Mr. Allies, in his *Antiquities and Folk-Lore of Worcestershire*, gives a drawing of a fragment (p. 18) of what he calls "an ancient British bronze celt". Abbé Cochet, in *La Seine Inférieure*, p. 269, describes two examples of bronze celts which the finder, M. Gremer, attributed to the commencement of the Gaulish epoch. In *Isca Silurum*, Plate 43, specimens are given of bronze celts from Monmouth-

shire, one being of the paalstab type. All are more or less ornamented.

Mr. Bryan Faussett, however, in the numerous excavations he made in Kent, does not seem to have ever come upon one of these bronze objects. Douglas, in that admirable work of his, the *Nenia Britannica*, which has laid the foundation of so much that is sound and valuable in antiquarian knowledge, does not, I think, give a single example of these bronze implements, although he alludes to swords and daggers, and spear heads of brass, or probably of bronze. At All Hallows, in Hoo, near Strood, Kent, several of these bronze celts were lately found in an earthen vessel about 2 feet below the surface of the ground. There were also some lumps of copper with the other objects.

Dr. Thurnham, in his paper "On Ancient British Barrows" (1843, vols. 1 and 2), which may be entitled a second and enlarged edition of Sir R. C. Colt Hoare's work on *Ancient Wiltshire*, gives examples of these implements. A socketed celt, found with silver British coins, probably of the first century, accompanied an unburnt body at Came, near Shaftesbury. Dr. Thurnham seems inclined to attribute these objects to a late Celtic period "of bronze and iron transition". This is a nicety of distinction I do not exactly understand. No doubt one people continued to use bronze to a later period than a people of a higher civilisation did, who at an earlier era had been able to manipulate iron. The people who used these bronze weapons undoubtedly for the most part performed their funeral rites by inhumation, only one or two solitary instances have occurred in which the celt has been found with the burnt ashes of a body. They are undoubtedly pre-Roman, and whether of late or early Celtic, if there be such a distinction, they constituted some of the implements of an ancient people inhabiting these islands, and in some instances they might have been contemporaneous with the use of neolithic stone implements. I have myself found worked flint flakes in the sunburnt British urn.

The next object to which I wish to call the Society's attention is a very elegant specimen of Castor or Durobrivian ware, dredged up off the Pan Shoal very lately by a Whitstable fisherman named Uden. It is unique as regards the locality from which it came, and I think, from its shape and elegance, very rare as a specimen of Roman pottery.



With the exception of a *mortarium* of black clay, this is the only instance I know of any earthen vessels being found otherwise than of Samian ware on the Pan Shoal. I produce another piece of pottery from the bay at Whitstable, and here I beg to note that this coast has been remarkable for Roman and other remains. There is

in an inn at Whitstable an alabaster bust from the sea, which I should decidedly pronounce to be of Roman origin. About twelve months since a fisherman near Margate sands dredged up a leaden box, containing about twenty gold nobles of the reign of James I and his successor, King Charles. This of course was the produce from a wreck.

The last object with which I shall trouble you is a paten or cover of a cup, found at Canterbury quite recently. It is supposed to have come out of one of the conventual buildings, some of which have been undergoing repairs and some annihilation. The central figure represents our Lord's ascension. The figures around the rim seem to illustrate or refer to our Lord's passion. They are twelve in number. Angels, for they are winged. One bears the spear, another the sponge. The ladder, the sword, the pillar, the rending of the garments are all represented. One seems to preside over a lanthorn. It is a curious object. The substance appears to be of copper, the top or outer covering seems deficient. I should be inclined to attribute it to a Flemish or German origin.

Mr. Walter Myers exhibited a variety of celts and miscellaneous objects of antiquity collected by him during recent journeys in the east of Europe and Africa. Among them were a large series of terra cotta heads, broken from statuettes of deities of the Roman, Græco-Roman, and Cypriote styles of art. He also showed a large photograph of an aqueduct in Algiers, built of brick, with Gothic arches, lately demolished.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., described a collection of antiquities exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Maynard of Dorking, and collected by Mrs. Maynard in Cyprus during the progress of the excavations carried on by her brother, Consul Lang, the greater part of the results of which are now preserved in the British Museum. Among the objects shown on this occasion was a very fine glass bottle of Phœnician art, very delicately formed, Greek and Roman lamps, heads and torsi of statuettes, bronze deities, and miscellaneous pottery of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Phœnician origin. These two collections of Mr. Myers and Mr. Maynard illustrated each other in a very instructive manner as they lay in juxtaposition on the table. It is seldom that so copious an exhibition of relics from ancient sites has been placed before the Association.

Notes on the History and Antiquities of Cyprus.

BY GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

According to Syrian annals, consulted by Menander, Cyprus, the famous island home of Aphrodite and abode of Love, seems to have been colonised at a very early period by the Phœnicians; and if we may trace the same authority further, was subject to the Syrians in the

time of Solomon. The date of the establishment of the Greek cities in the island is unknown, and must probably remain so, although there can be no doubt that the Grecians at a later period than the above took the soil as well as the trade of Cyprus from the Phœnicians. Under Amasis, Cyprus became subject to the Egyptian throne, and he probably sent over African colonists. When the Persians under Cambyses invaded the island, it surrendered to him, and, according to Herodotus, contributed a squadron to the expedition. It remained a part of the Persian empire, and was, with Phœnicia and Palestine, the fifth satropy in the arrangement made by Darius. During the Ionian revolt the whole island, except Amathus, threw off the Persian yoke. They were, however, attacked by the Persians by land and sea, and ultimately defeated, their leader, Onesilus, being slain. After the overthrow of the Persians at Salamis, a Grecian fleet was sent to the island, and again reduced the greater part of it. The best period of the history of the island belongs to the time of Evagoras, King of Salamis, when the manners and customs of the Hellenes were largely introduced, and thus materially improved the character of Cyprus, and gave an impetus to its arts and sciences. According to Diodorus, Cyprus again became a tributary to Persia, after a son of Evagoras had succeeded to him, Nicocles. It so remained till the battle of Issus, when the several states declared for Alexander, and seized the Macedonian fleet with one hundred and twenty ships at the siege of Tyre.

When the empire of Alexander came to an end, Cyprus fell with Egypt to the lot of Ptolemy. Demetrius invaded the island with a powerful fleet and army, defeated Ptolemy's brother, Menelaus, and imprisoned him in Salamis, and then besieged him by land and water. Ptolemy hastened to his succour with one hundred and forty ships, and after a fight of considerable length, one of the most celebrated in ancient history, occurring B.C. 306, the whole of the island became the spoil of Demetrius. Again, B.C. 295, Ptolemy recovered Cyprus, and from that time it became an integral part of the Egyptian monarchy. It thus remained for many years, and on the decline and fall of Egypt, Cyprus, with Cyrenaica, Cyrene, the most important Hellenic colony in Africa, were the only foreign possessions attached to the Crown. Polycrates, an Argive, about B.C. 217 was governor of Cyprus, and secured by his fidelity the island to Ptolemy Epiphanes, the infant son and successor of Philopater.

On the division of the monarchy between the brothers, Ptolemy Philometor and Euergetes, the latter, in contravention of the arrangement, wanted to take Cyprus as his share, and B.C. 154 went to Rome to seek assistance from the senate. The Romans gave him only five legates, but no army, so that on his return to Cyprus he was soon defeated by his brother, and shut up in Lapethus, where he surrendered

on condition he should have the kingdom of Cyrene; and as the Romans in no further way interfered, the condition was fulfilled. From this time the island remained under Egyptian rule, and had varying fortunes with its kings, until after Cleopatra and Alexander reigned in Egypt, B.C. 107-89. A brother of Lathyrus, when he was recalled by the Alexandrians, invaded the island, in hope of becoming its sovereign. He was, however, defeated in battle by Chareas and then slain. While Ptolemy Auletes occupied the throne of Egypt, another Ptolemy, his younger brother, was King of Cyprus, and he obtained from the Romans the complimentary title of their friend. In B.C. 58, Clodius, who had a personal enmity to the king, proposed to deprive him of his throne, and confiscate his treasures to the State. A "rogation" was brought forward by the Tribune that Cato should be the man to execute this gross act of injustice, and he accepted the disgraceful mission; but, half ashamed of the transaction, despatched a friend from Rhodes to deliver the decree, and to hold out to the injured king the promise of an honourable compensation in the priesthood of the Paphean Aphrodite, but Ptolemy preferred to die rather than accede to the proposition, and Cyprus became a Roman province, the fatal treasures of the unhappy monarch being added to those of the State. The island was annexed to Cilicia, but had a quæstor of its own, and its own courts for the administration of justice. In B.C. 47 it was given by Cæsar to Arsinoë and Ptolemy, the sister and brother of Cleopatra, and after the battle of Actium, at the division of the provinces between the emperor and the senate, B.C. 27, it was made an Imperial province. Mark Antony afterwards presented it to the children of Cleopatra. After it was an Imperial province, in B.C. 22, it was again given to the senate, and was from that time governed by Proprætors with the title of pro-consul, with a legatus and quæstor. The pro-consul resided at Paphos. From the Acts of the Apostles we learn, 13 c., 4-12 v., that a considerable portion of the inhabitants were of Jewish extraction, and in the fatal insurrection of the reign of Hadrian they are said to have massacred 240,000 of the Grecian population, and so obtained temporary possession of the island.

Under the Byzantine emperors it was ruled over by a consularis, and the capital was transferred from Paphos to Salamis or Constantia. In A.D. 648 Moawiyah, the general of Othman, invaded the island, which capitulated, the Saracen agreeing to share the revenues with the Greek emperor. In A.D. 803-806 it fell into the hands of the famous Haroun al Rashid, but was afterwards restored to the empire by the conquests of Nicephorus II. Isaac Angelus lost the island where Alexis Comnenus had made himself independent, but was deprived of his conquest by our Richard Cœur de Lion, A.D. 1191, who subsequently ceded it to the Templars, but eventually resumed the sovereignty. In 1192 he

gave it King Guido of Jerusalem. After this the island was never again united to the Byzantine Empire.

The Cypriotes never developed the nobler features of Hellenic culture and civilisation, the Oriental character predominated. The worship and religion had but little connection with the graceful mythology of Greece, but was rather a deification of the generative powers of Nature, as common to the Phœnicians, mixed up with orgiastic rites from Phrygia. The goddess, who was evidently the same as the Semitic Astarte, was worshipped under the form of a rude conical stone. The exuberance of Nature served to stifle every higher feeling in sensual enjoyment, and hence in all modern allusions to the island, in poetry or fiction, the name of Cyprus becomes the synonym, as it were, of an abode of love, and ever recurring pleasures.

In the last work of Aristotle on the "Politics", a description of the constitution of Cyprus was given, and Theophrastus had composed a treatise on the same subject. Thus it is evident that the island must have possessed considerable interest in those days, otherwise such men would never have thought it worth their while to investigate the matters connected with its history and condition.

The mountains contained copper, the *aes Cyprum* of the Romans. The precious stones of the island were famous in ancient times, they were the "adamas vergens in aerium colorem", according to Pliny, (but whether this was the diamond remains doubtful, as it is thought Pliny was unacquainted with that gem), the smaragdos or emerald, the "chalcosmaragdos turbida aereis venis", possibly our malachite or red jasper, pædoras, opal, "achates" agate, and the famous burning stony matter called asbestos. The land is described by Strabo and Pliny as flowing with milk and honey, oil and wine, and the exquisite fragrance of its flowers made it a favourite theme of the poets.

Several of the antiquities exhibited were pointed out as illustrating these remarks upon the history and mythology of Cyprus.

The Chairman read a paper on "Easter Eggs", and illustrated it with an exhibition of several interesting specimens. The paper will be inserted in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., read a paper by Mr. G. W. Dymond on "The Hurlers", a megalithic antiquity of Cornwall. Some very carefully prepared plans accompanied this paper, which will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1879.

T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Chairman read the following Report and balance-sheet, which were unanimously adopted:

Treasurer's Report for the Year ending 31 Dec. 1878.

The balance-sheet for the year 1878, which I have the honour of presenting to the Meeting, will tell its own tale; and I would it had been a more flattering one. It will show at least that we have not been sparing in the outlay upon the *Journal* in 1878, with its 554 pages and thirty-seven illustrations; and we should be sorry to limit its copiousness either in the present or future years, unless forced to do so by defection of subscribers.

Our number of Associates, though somewhat less than in the previous list, shows no falling off in the annually paying members; but, on the contrary, an increase. But it has been considered desirable to strike off the names of many members whose subscriptions had been long in arrear, and the printing of whose names from year to year was calculated to mislead us. We have had to sell out the small amount invested, and bring it into the account, and of course have been unable to invest the half-amount of life-compositions and entrance-fees received during the year; but we have cleared off the remainder of the debt of £30 due for the *Index* printing account. The receipts from the Congress at Wisbech have realised a sum of £82 5*s*., which is larger than that of last year; but as this is always a fluctuating item, we should endeavour to get an accession of members, by which the income of the Association may be made more certain. The coming Congress at Great Yarmouth will be a good opportunity for individual exertions in recruiting our ranks by finding good archæologists to join us.

I have to thank the members of this Association for their earnest co-operation in forwarding its objects, and adding to its funds; and in this we are particularly indebted to the Honorary Local Secretaries of the Wisbech Congress for the part they took in managing the financial department there. Let us hope for an equally successful meeting this year at Great Yarmouth, and a continuation of those researches in the north-eastern part of East Anglia which were begun last year in the

north-western. We may accept our Excursion Secretary's (Mr. George Wright) anticipations in this respect as likely to conduce to their fulfilment.

The ballot for the officers and Council for the ensuing session was then taken, and after the lapse of the usual period allowed for consideration of the list, the following noblemen and gentlemen were declared duly elected:

President.

[THE LORD WAVENEY.]

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—The Duke of Norfolk, E.M.; The Duke of Cleveland, K.G.; The Marquis of Hertford; The Earl of Carnarvon; The Earl of Dartmouth; The Earl of Hardwicke; The Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, The Lord Houghton, D.C.L.; Sir Chas. H. Rouse Boughton, Bart.; Sir W. C. Medlycott, Bart., D.C.L.; James Heywood, F.R.S., F.S.A.; Kirkman D. Hodgson, M.P.; George Tomline, F.S.A.; Sir W. W. Wynne; Bart., M.P.

The Earl of Effingham
Sir H. W. Peek, Bart., M.P.
H. Syer Cuming, F.S.A. Scot.
John Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A.
A. W. Franks, M.A., F.S.A.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rev. S. M. Mayhew, M.A., F.S.A.
T. Morgan, F.S.A.
J. O. H. Phillipps, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*
Rev. Prebendary Scarth, M.A.
Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A.
C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.
E. M. Thompson

John Walter, M.P.

Treasurer.

Thomas Morgan, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretaries.

Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L.
E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A.

Palæographer.

E. M. Thompson.

Curator and Librarian.

George R. Wright, F.S.A. (with a seat at the Council).

Draughtsman.

G. F. Teniswood, F.S.A.

Council.

George G. Adams, F.S.A.
George Ade
Thomas Blashill
Cecil Brent, F.S.A.
C. H. Compton
William Henry Cope
T. F. Dillon Croker, F.S.A.
R. Horman Fisher
J. W. Grover
Wentworth Huyshe
J. T. Mould
Geo. Patrick
J. S. Phené, LL.D., F.S.A.
Rev. Alexander Taylor, M.A.
Stephen I. Tucker, *Rouge Croix.*
J. Whitmore.

Auditors.

R. E. Way
Dr. T. J. Woodhouse.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DEC. 1878.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Annual subscriptions and donations £283 10 0			
Life-compositions and entrance-fees . 29 13 0			
	313	3	0
Sale of the Index	1	5	6
Sale of publications	39	15	0
Balance, receipts of the Wisbech Congress .	82	5	0
Two half-yearly dividends on investment £1 8 4			
Investment sold out, producing . 45 14 9			
	47	3	1
Balance due to the Treasurer	56	0	1
	£539	11	8

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

George Patrick
Thomas James Woodhouse } *Auditors.*

May 2nd, 1879.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Balance over-drawn from last year . . .	31	17	4
Printing and publishing *Journal* . . .	275	13	0
Illustrations to the same	75	15	1
Paid T. Richards, balance of his bill for printing the Index	30	0	0
Miscellaneous printing and advertising . .	34	3	6
Delivery of *Journals* and Index	20	14	2
Rent for 1878, and clerk's salary	58	4	6
Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	12	12	7
Insurance of books at 32 Sackville Street . .	0	11	6
	£539	11	8

While the ballot was being taken, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following:

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1878.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual General Meeting held this day, their Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year, 1878.

1. By a comparison of the numbers of Associates in the current part of the *Journal*, dated March 31, 1879, with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of 447 names is shown against a similar total of 473 names for 1877, and 440 for 1876. This falling off of 26 names is believed to be due to the fact that several Associates who were in arrear for a considerable time with their subscriptions, have been removed from the list, which perhaps now more faithfully represents the true financial strength of the Association. We have elected, during the period under consideration, several gentlemen of well known antiquarian and literary eminence; and we confidently trust we are correct in assuming that the British Archæological Association will continue to increase its intellectual strength at the satisfactory rate of progress which has been so evident of late.

2. Biographical notices of the Associates whom we have lost by death, have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to the Editor for the purpose. These will be found in that part of the *Journal* which is devoted to that object.

3. During 1878, seventy-two complete works, or parts of works, have been presented to the rapidly increasing library of the Association. An inspection of the state of the books has been made by a subcommittee of members of the Council ordered to examine and report upon their condition; but the Honorary Secretaries have, as before, still to deplore the fact that no improvement has yet been adopted so as to render this valuable and extensive collection of archæological works of reference available. On the contrary, it would appear that the library is likely to be seriously deteriorated in condition, owing to the unsuitability of the only place of storage for the books which the Association is able to obtain for the temporary location of this library; and the Honorary Secretaries desire to impress upon the Associates at this, the General Meeting, the urgent necessity of providing a suitable depository of the library of books, pamphlets, and drawings, now unfortunately in so deplorable a condition.

4. Forty of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Llangollen, or during the progress of the session in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year. The Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no falling off in

material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, seeing that they have in hand several valuable contributions to British and foreign archæology from the pens of Associates and others. These papers, as far as the very limited space at the command of the Editor will permit, will be inserted in the forthcoming numbers of the *Journal*. And the Honorary Secretaries here desire to point out that a large sum of money is annually expended on the production of the *Journal*, whereby a very large proportion of the annual subscription is returned to the Associates. They also would remind the local members of the Council and Associates generally, that no opportunity ought to be lost of laying before the meetings, from time to time, early accounts and notices of fresh discoveries and interesting researches, thereby assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archæology, and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the Association.

5. With respect to the portions devoted to headings of "Antiquarian Intelligence", it has been found that a useful medium of communicating new and important matters of recent origin has been in this way set on foot; and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly thank all who have therein assisted them by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries.

W. de G. Birch, E. P. L. Brock } *Hon. Secs.*

This Report was unanimously adopted; and the following resolutions were proposed, seconded, and carried by acclamation:

1. That the cordial thanks of the Association be given to the President for the past year, the Most Noble the Earl of Hardwicke, for the kind and generous manner in which he fulfilled the duties of the office.

2. That the thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents for their valuable services and attention to the welfare and interests of the Society during the past year.

3. That the thanks of the Association be accorded to the honorary officers and Members of Council for the excellent manner in which the business of the Society has been conducted under their unfailing superintendence.

4. That the thanks of the Association be tendered to all those who by contributions of papers and intelligence, and by exhibitions and descriptions of antiquities, have so eminently co-operated in the promotion of the true objects of the Society.

5. That the thanks of the meeting be cordially given to the Local Secretaries of the Wisbech Congress for the very warm manner in which they undertook to work for and welcome the Association on the occasion of the Annual Congress in that town.

6. That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Auditors of accounts for the current year.

The Chairman then read the following:

Remarks on the Present Session.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

I propose briefly to pass in review some of the topics of our present session, among which Roman antiquities seem to hold the first place, the objects unearthed having led to several important deductions. Thus the discovery at Bath of a Roman *cloaca*, which served to drain the city of Aquæ Solis, is another instance of Roman engineering skill, and of the solidity of their work. This may be compared with the solid arch of hewn stone which formed the water duct at Newgate Street, London, brought to our notice by Mr. Brock in 1875,[1] and the drainage work lately discovered at Bath by Mr. Mann, of which Mr. J. T. Irvine gave us an account.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth has sent us another inscription from Bath to add to the many antiquities of the pentagonal castrum of the Roman city there, with its temple, forum, and streets, of which, thanks to the researches of Mr. Scarth and Mr. Irvine, we seem to know more than of any other in Roman Britain. The excavations at South Shields and at Templeborough have given us the plan of two long buildings, with porticoes of four columns, which have been compared by Mr. Brock with two other similar buildings at High Rochester and Bird-Oswald, and were probably used for similar purposes, whatever these may have been. At South Shields a thick layer of wood ashes covered the remains exhumed, except in the forum, and this indicates how the town was destroyed, like so many others, as pointed out by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell; and the burial ground outside the walls at the south-west has been traced.

We have had an account by Mr. W. T. Watkin of the Roman station at Caergwrle, with a walled castrum to protect it, and as the name of *Sandonium* has been found on a pig of lead here, and this name is found in the *Ravennas* to lie between Caer Hun and Chester, the circumstance, coupled with the mineral wealth of the neighbourhood, seems to support Mr. Watkin's supposition that Sandonium is Caergwrle. Another Roman fort in North Wales has been pointed out to us at Aberglaslyn, and illustrated with a plan by Mr. J. W. Grover, and this lies on the great road, which is a continuation of Watling Street, from Uriconium to Segontium, near Carnarvon.

In comparing the Roman walled castra which still exist above ground, such as Pevensey, Porchester, and Richborough, well known

[1] *Journal*, vol. xxxv.

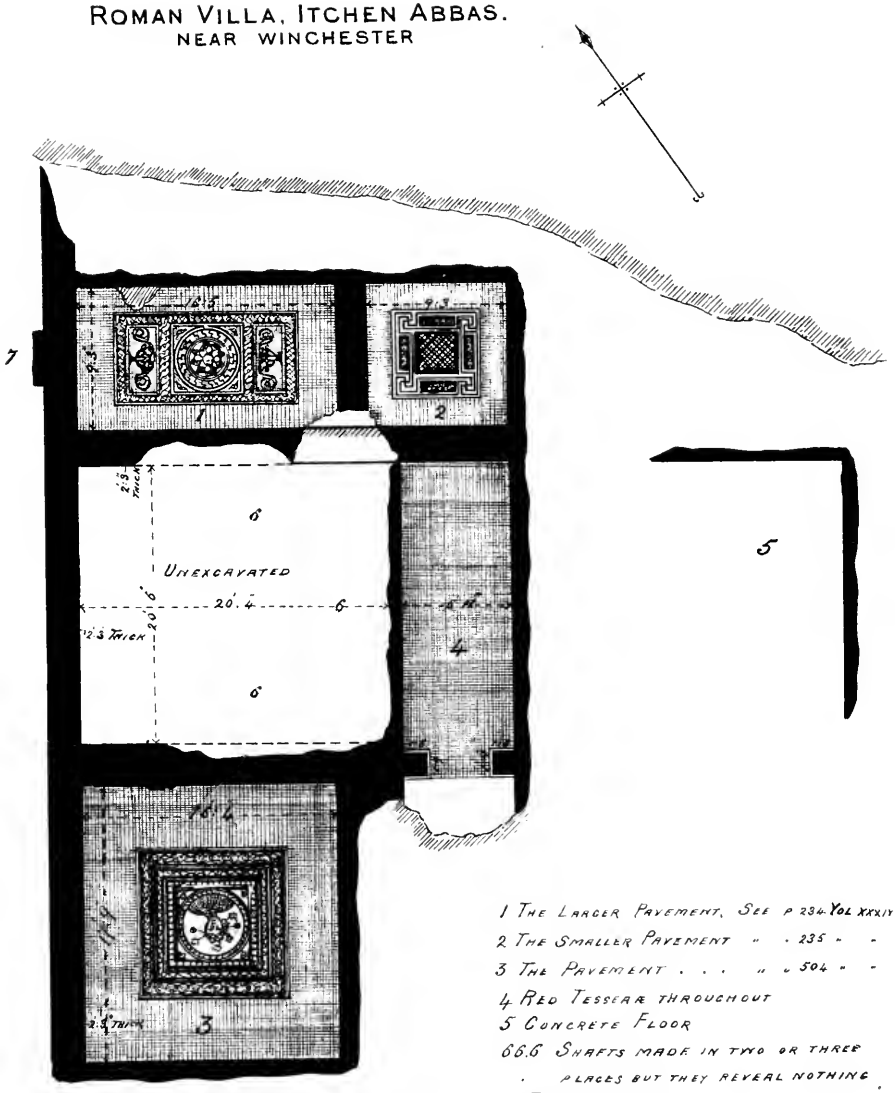
by the descriptions of Mr. C. Roach Smith, Mr. Thos. Wright, and others, I have been struck with the resemblance to these of a Roman castrum at Senlis, in France, visited by the French Archæological Society in 1877, and figured in the report of their forty-fourth Congress, held there in that year. Each side is strengthened by three strong bastions of solid masonry, as in our forts, and the work, like our own, indicates an early period of the Roman dominion. The coins found in the amphitheatre there give the following proportions as an index to the chronology useful for comparison of contemporaneous history. Forty-nine coins of the higher empire up to Gallienus, eighteen of Gallienus, five Salonina, twenty-seven Posthumus, twenty-three Victorinus, twelve Claudius Gothicus, two Quintillus, forty-six Tetricus. Therefore one hundred and thirty-three coins struck between A.D. 250 and 273. After Tetricus there are only forty-nine, and even these include thirty-one of one reign, that of Constantine.

As to the two remarkable stone monuments, on each of which is a female seated figure, the one found at South Shields, the other at Carlisle, which have been described to us by Mr. Birch and Mr. Brock, through the kindness of Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields and Mr. Nelson of Carlisle, the inscriptions on the former, in Latin and Palmyrene, have led to valuable discussions for solving the two difficulties in the Latin version, that is, the grammatical and the epigraphic in the second letter of the inscription. Might I hazard a guess that the ablative case is used, because Barates makes a dedication by or for his wife, or in her name (though an unusual form) to the Dii Manes or to the goddess Nehalennia, whose figure on other monuments bears much resemblance to this. The figure may be one of the many representations of the Idœa Mater Beltis or Isis, the goddess Earth. "Of many names yet of one form, Mother Earth."[1] As to the second monument referred to, the fan in the hand of the figure may be the "mystica vannus Iacchi", the winnowing fan, emblematic of Bacchus, who is the representative of the creative or regenerative principle, in nature of which Mother Earth receives and fertilises the seeds. Mr. C. Roach Smith considers that there is a pigeon in the lap of the figure.

Passing to Roman villas, Mr. R. Mann has brought to our notice one at Tracey Park, near Bath, having an area of 332 ft. by 264 ft., and with an earthen rampart around it, which defines its extent; and we have had three good drawings of the pavements of that villa at Itchen Abbas, near Winchester, sent us by the Rev. C. Collier. This leads me to remark how little we know of the plans and arrangements of Roman villas in this country, and how much of what we know is at variance with the descriptions of Roman villas in Italy by Varro,

[1] *Prom. Vinc.*, v. 210.

ROMAN VILLA, ITCHEN ABBAS.
NEAR WINCHESTER



1 THE LARGER PAVEMENT. SEE P 234. VOL XXXIV
2 THE SMALLER PAVEMENT " . 235 " "
3 THE PAVEMENT . . . " " 504 " "
4 RED TESSERÆ THROUGHOUT
5 CONCRETE FLOOR
6.6.6 SHAFTS MADE IN TWO OR THREE PLACES BUT THEY REVEAL NOTHING
7 THE PRÆFURNIUM
8.8 BASES OF STONE COLUMNS

FEET 10 5 0 10 20 FEET

GROUND PLAN

J. Colson delt

Pliny, Vitruvius, and other classical authors, as well as with the plans which still stand *in situ* in the neighbourhood of Pompeii, and in that city itself.

We could hardly expect that in distant Britain we should find villas like that of Lucullus at Baiæ, or that of the Gordians, on the road to Prænestе, which had no less than two hundred columns in one peristyle, or that of Augustus, on the Flaminian way, or, the grandest of all, that of Hadrian, near Tivoli, which was rather a town than a villa, having within itself a *lyceum*, an *academy*, a *prytaneum*, a *canopus*, a *pœcile*, and a *tempe;* where, to complete all, was formed underground a model, according to the Imperial mind, of the *Elysian fields*, which he expected to occupy in the next world. We read of some Roman establishments where as many as two thousand slaves, each having a small separate apartment, were located under one roof. It would be curious to ascertain the arrangements made in Britain for the slave population and their numbers. Out of some one hundred villas in Britain small portions only have been uncovered. That at Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, described and illustrated by Lysons and by T. Wright,[1] being the largest, gives us the best idea of a general plan, and it covers the large area of 550 ft. by 300 ft.; but this villa in many respects resembles in construction what we know of a Greek house, the first portion with a quadrangle answering to the *andronitis* or men's apartments, having on the right a suite of rooms connected with baths, and on the left a set of rooms and long gallery, perhaps for walking and conversation, then beyond is another division of the house, which may be the *gunæikitis* or women's apartments, heated with an elaborate hypocaust, and beyond still is a large room 50 ft. square, which answers to the workroom where the women were engaged in spinning and weaving. This room had a fine mosaic pavement. The conjecture I have hazarded rests, however, on no very solid foundation, and it is to be hoped that now excavations are more systematically made than heretofore, the subject will also be more critically discussed and investigated. I may here express a hope that Mr. Brock's labours, which he has entered upon for carrying out the excavations at Castor, in Northamptonshire, will be continued with the same spirit in which they have been begun, and which will insure the success of the undertaking.

We have had an interesting paper by our late Treasurer, Mr. Gordon Hills, on the measurements of Ptolemy, as applied to the identification of places in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, as regards the southern counties of England. The subject may be expected to elicit many opinions hereafter, both from the importance of the subject and the many

[1] *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, ed. 1879, pp. 229-240.

changes in the accepted location of places which are proposed by Mr. Hills and worked out with much care and ingenuity. It is to be feared that the accuracy of Ptolemy, however much to be depended on in measures of latitude, for which he had ample data, can hardly be so trustworthy for observations in longitude, much more difficult to arrive at, when neither telescopes nor electricity had been discovered, unless the portable chronometers of the ancients were better instruments than we take them to have been. The distances therefore of Ptolemy along the south coast would be less reliable than those given for the eastern and western. Indeed the large compensations and exceptions which have to be made in Ptolemy's figures, as shown us by Mr. Hills, are reasons for cautiously accepting theories founded upon them, unless they are supported by other evidence.

The Roman tesseræ and pieces of Samian ware he exhibited, found under the floor of the cathedral of Chichester, are an earnest of further discoveries there and on other parts of the site of that important Roman city, where excavations would probably be as successful as those at Lincoln (*Lindum*), of which the Rev. Mr. Mayhew, who devoted much time to visit and revisit last autumn, has given us more than one report.

Mr. J. Brent's specimens of British bronze celts, found near Canterbury, and other Kentish antiquities exhibited by him, show what may be done by digging and research.

I will not attempt to anticipate the description of the many and miscellaneous objects and varied subjects of the papers brought before us at our evening meetings, but in connection with early antiquities I cannot refrain from a reference to the extensive collection of fictile ware exhibited by Mr. Brock, in which were seen some of the earliest forms of *lecythi*, *cylices*, *alabastra*, etc., from Cyprus and Etruria down to the later painted ware of Nola, and many fragments of Samian, coarse ware, and pavements, found from time to time in London.

We had an interesting collection from Cyprus, exhibited by the Rev. Mr. Maynard of Dorking; and on the same evening when they were exhibited, Mr. Myers, recently returned from a tour in Greece, Syria, and Egypt, produced another beautiful and varied collection of terra-cotta heads from Smyrna. These were most interesting, as showing many different styles of personal adornment and character of the features of the face, as well as degrees of merit in the execution.

The interest of many of the objects exhibited has been heightened by the descriptive accounts of places visited by Dr. Phené in Greece and Italy, as when he illustrated with many drawings made on the spot the site of the Delphic temple and oracle, and of more than one necropolis in Etruria and Latium.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew has from time to time exhibited early speci-

mens of fictilia, as well as rare examples from his rich and ample collection of Venetian and other glass, of which he has given us a continuous history. Mr. H. Syer Cuming, in commenting upon these exhibitions, and upon his own of pottery of various dates, has also furnished us with accounts of early Spanish and Moorish pottery, and down to the later manufactures of Fez in Africa; nor has he omitted to pursue the subject of the potter's art into China, and down to the stoneware of Siegburg and the Lower Rhine.

The cup-markings on stones at Ilkley have been drawn and described by Mr. J. R. Allen, and these compared with similar markings on stones in Sweden and elsewhere. Of stone circles, Mr. Dymond has also given us descriptions and measurements of that system of circles known as the "Hurlers", in Cornwall, and of the circle, not so well known, at Gunnerkeld, near Shap, in Westmoreland, which carries us to that part of the country which the much vexed question of the course of the tenth *iter* of Antoninus, and the discussions thereon, has rendered particularly interesting.

The MSS. which have been transcribed and explained throw light upon many customs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The account of an "Exultet" Roll of the twelfth century, by Mr. E. M. Thompson, shows this to be the only one of the kind in England, and is specially interesting in its illuminations and early date, pointing to the time of the Emperor Barbarossa, between 1152 and 1165. The "Compotus Rolls of the Manor of Oundle", by Mr. J. H. Jeayes, refer by name to a long series of the abbots of Peterborough, with many particulars of prices, customs, and other noteworthy matters, of the reigns of Edward III and some of his successors. The original documents belonging to T. F. Halsey, Esq., M.P., transcribed and commented on by Mr. Birch, give us many particulars of interest connected with the thirteenth century, and a variety of grants and leases of land and tenements in Edelsburgh, co. Bucks., and elsewhere, through various reigns. These are all contributions towards the formation of a *codex diplomaticus* in print, which may ultimately comprise all the charters and other valuable documents still in manuscript, and therefore inaccessible to general students. The printing and editing of all such manuscripts has been recommended by high authority, in order that England may be placed on a par with other nations, which at present it is not; and I am sure that the labours of Mr. Birch and Mr. E. M. Thompson and others, in this direction, will be warmly seconded by our Association.

In works of modern art and of historical interest we are indebted to Mr. G. G. Adams for a series of medals, the first of the reign of Henry VIII, and the last one of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, bearing her effigy as Empress of India, and executed by the

exhibitor as an historical medal on the occasion for which it was issued.

There are many other topics of our present session, upon which I should have wished to say something, if time permitted, but must conclude these remarks with the reflection that we have not, amidst the interest excited by new discoveries, neglected the practical duty we owe to our country, of using what influence we possess for preventing the loss and destruction of the old. Mr. C. H. Compton has drawn up a petition to be presented, in the name of our Association, to the Houses of Parliament, advocating the passing of Sir John Lubbock's Bill for the preservation of ancient monuments; and it is to be hoped that, with the amendments which from time to time have been made in it, the Bill will now at last become law.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21.

H. S. CUMING, F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. Samuel Maude, M.A., Fulham, was duly elected an Associate.

Don Claudio Boutelou, Calle Archeros, No. 17, Sevilla; Academico correspondiente de las Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Professor de Historia del Arte en la Escuela oficial de Sevilla, Vocal Secretario de la Comision provincial de Monumentos de Sevilla, was duly elected an Honorary Corresponding Member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors for the following presents to the library:

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. iv, 4th Series. October 1878. No. 36.

To E. S. Morse, for "Traces of an Early Race in Japan". By the author. New York, 1879. 8vo.

To J. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A. (through C. R. Smith, V.P., F.S.A.), for "The Mayer Collection in the Liverpool Museum". By C. T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1878.

„ „ "Liverpool Art Club. Catalogue of a Loan Collection of the Works of Josiah Wedgwood". By C. T. Gatty. Liverpool, 1879.

„ „ "On the Art of Pottery, with a History of its Progress in Liverpool." Liverpool, 1873.

„ „ "Catalogue de Livres et de Manuscrits de M. Le Comte de N....." On sale, 7 Apr. 1879, at Paris. Schlesinger Frères. Paris, 1879.

To J. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A. (through C. R. Smith, V.P., F.S.A.), for "Memoirs of Thomas Dodd, William Upcott, and George Stubbs, R.A." Printed for Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1879.

" " "On Public Libraries, their Use and National Profit." Inscribed to Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1867. Two copies. (This interesting treatise is printed in capital letters throughout.)

" " "A Free Village Library, Bebington." Liverpool, 1878.

" " "Address to the Members of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire". By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. Liverpool, 1868. Two copies.

" " Photographs of Portraits of the following Personages, from Marbles in the possession of J. Mayer, F.S.A.: J. Clarke, F.S.A.; Josiah Wedgwood; Charles Dickens; Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.; C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.; Thomas Wright, F.S.A. (two copies); Eliza Meteyard.

" " "Remarks on Shakespeare." By C. R. Smith. Second edition.

" " "Address at a Special General Meeting on the Strood Institute Elocution Class on February 4th, 1879." By C. R. Smith, President.

To Don Claudio Boutelou, for "Estudio del San Antonio de Murillo". Sevilla, 1875. 8vo.

To W. G. Fretton, F.S.A., for the following papers: Gleaning from God's Acre—On Subterranean Coventry—Notes on Ancient Chirurgery—Random Recollections of some of my Schoolfellows—The Artizan, his Recreations and Hobbies—Ancient Guilds and Modern Friendly Societies—Coventry and its Antiquities—The Monastic Buildings of Coventry—Derivation of Coventry—The Rev. William Hawkins Woodward—Whitley and its Groves—Sand and Sandstones—On the Coach from Coventry to Birmingham—The Forest of Arden.

To the Royal Norwegian University of Christiania, for "Den Norske Træskjærerkunst, dens Oprindelse og Udvikling en Forelöbig Undersögelse, af L. Dietrichsen. Professor ved Christiania Universitet." Christiania, 1878.

" " "Norske Oldsager i Fremmede Museer. En oplysende Fortegnelse af Ingvald Undset." Kristiania, 1878.

" " "Rune-Indskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke, i Nordre Helsingland". Udgivet og tolket af Sophus Bugge. Christiania, 1877.

" " "Om Indskuddene i Fagrskinna". Af Dr. Gustav Storm.

" " "Norske Myntfund fra det niende Aarhundrede." Af O. Rygh.

To the Royal Norwegian University of Christiania, for "On Brugen af de Pincetter, som jævnligen findes i gamle nordiske Gravhauge". Af C. A. Holmboe. 1875.

" " "Guldmynten fra Aak." Om dens Fosbillede. Af C. A. Holmboe. 1874.

" " "Edda og Avesta om Oterens Værd." Af C. A. Holmboe.

" " "Bidrag til en oversigt over den Skandinaviske Stenalder i Norge". Af O. Rygh.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited six splendid drawings, by Mr. Watling, of saints painted on the rood-screen[1] of Westhall, Suffolk, the work of the fifteenth century. The figures represent—1. St. James the Great with a black hat having an escallop-shell in front. He holds in the right hand a *bourdon* or pilgrim's staff, and in the left a book. At his right side hangs a black wallet with red balls at its lower edge. 2. St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, mitred, and holding in his right hand a staff with double cross, as on the rood-screen at Houghton-le-Dale, and in the left an anchor. 3. St. Margaret thrusting the butt of a cruciferous staff into the mouth of a dragon which lies at her feet. 4. St. Katharine standing on a wheel, and holding with the right hand the hilt of a very large sword, and supporting a book in her left. 5. St. Agnes with a sword stuck in her throat, and a lamb (which much resembles a dog) leaping up to her. 6. St. Dorothy with a bunch of red flowers in her right hand, and holding a basket of white flowers in her left.

Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a photograph of an ivory carving of the Blessed Virgin and Child, designed in the Spanish style, thirteenth century; and Mr. Birch, translating the original, read portions of an account of it, written in Spanish by Don C. Boutelou, which will be given hereafter.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., exhibited an Assyrian cylinder, and a terra-cotta tablet thus described: "A loan of 4 manehs $4\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver, which Nergalbalidh lends to Marduka-tsabit-zira for two years at interest. The security appears to be a house belonging to the latter, given up to Nergalbalidh, to be returned at the end of two years if the loan be repaid. Attested by six witnesses. Dated 22 Tebet, ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon."

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited the impression of an oval seal bearing a representation of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, inscribed CONG . B . V . ANNVNT . COLL . AMB . SOC . IESV (the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin's Annunciation, in the College at Amiens, of the Society of Jesus). It is a work of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

[1] For a notice of the Westhall rood-screen, see *Journal*, xxviii, p. 190.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a variety of relics from ancient London, including a fragment of ancient pavement from Lambeth Hill, and *fictilia* from Upper Thames Street. Mr. Brock also exhibited a large collection of fragmentary Samian pottery from Crooked Lane and other London sites, some of them being evidently burnt at a remote period. Among these was a large fragment of an Upchurch vase of unusual dimensions, and a perfect jar of the speckled or frosted kind from Newgate Street.

A paper was then read by Mr. Brock, entitled "The Antiquarian Losses in Coventry during a Century and a Half", by W. G. Fretton, F.S.A. Several old engravings and drawings were exhibited in illustration of this paper.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary*, read a paper on "The Bronze Gates of Balawat in Mesopotamia", by Mr. T. G. Pinches, and exhibited, in illustration of it, two large photographs lately taken under the direction of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. Birch's paper on the "Inscribed Stone in Ely Cathedral" was unavoidably postponed in consequence of the lateness of the hour when the meeting broke up.

Wednesday, June 4, 1879.

H. Syer Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot., in the Chair.

It was announced that the Right Hon. Lord Waveney, F.R.S., had been elected President of the approaching Congress, and for the ensuing year. Also that his Lordship had appointed the commencement of the Congress on the 11th of August, at Great Yarmouth, ending on the 20th at Norwich. The announcement was received with acclamation.

In order to avoid misapprehension of members with regard to the extent of the excursions, the following resolution was passed at a recent meeting of the Council:

"That, to render the cost of the Congresses as moderate as possible, it be an instruction to the Local Secretaries to frame the programmes of places to be visited within a journey of about *twenty* minutes in all, going and returning, from the place of meeting. That the cost, whether by carriages or by rail, shall not exceed 10*s.* per day for each person, and be as much less as circumstances will admit. This instruction to be with margin of latitude, to enable visits to be paid to places of unusual interest, at greater distances, as circumstances may require, and as may be approved by the Honorary Congress Secretary."

J. Romilly Allen, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., was elected Local Member of Council for Edinburghshire.

W. G. Fretton, Esq., F.S.A., was elected Local Member of Council for Warwickshire.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the following donors of books:

To W. H. Money, Esq., F.S.A., for "Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club", vol. ii, 1872-1875. 8vo. Newbury, 1878.

To the Society, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", April 1879. Fourth Series, No. 38. London. 8vo.

To the Author, for "Guide to Tintern Abbey." By T. Blashill, F.R.I.B.A. Monmouth.

To the Society, for "Vierteljahrshefte für Würtembergische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde in Verbindung mit dem Verein für Kunst und Alterthum in Ulm und Oberschwaben." Parts 1, 2, 3, 4. 1878. Small folio. Stuttgart, 1878.

The Rev. Prebendary Scarth sent for exhibition a plan of the remains of King Alfred's Palace at Wedmore, Somersetshire, as revealed by the excavations conducted by the Rev. Sydenham Hervey. A large number of foundations have been traced; but there is a great difference in the style of the masonry, some of the walls appearing very rude and early; others resemble mediæval work. The principal foundations are those of a courtyard in the form of a parallelogram, about 115 feet by 160; and there is a square building almost in the centre. There are remains of steps, of a paved footway, and a large amount of pitched surface, while a large outlying building has been also brought to light; but it is probably of more recent date, and may have been a barn. The remains are in the court garden on Mudgley Hill, on the road from Wedmore to Glastonbury.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a large collection of objects, mostly of Roman date, from the excavations now in progress at the entrance to the King's Head Yard, High Street, Southwark. These were remains of various descriptions of pottery, a fictile bird of red earth, evidently intended for a whistle; and several coins, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Salonina, Sabina, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Magnentius, etc., mostly of ordinary types, and in poor state.

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., exhibited a fine Norman jug of large size, with a pattern of parallel lines laid on in slip, in brown and red, recently found in Cheapside; also some highly ornamented pieces of Samian ware, including one with figures of a Roman soldier fighting with an Amazon,—from Bucklersbury.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited the following specimens, chiefly found in London:—1. Roman and Saxon knife of iron, of remarkable size and form. The blade (the point being broken off)

measures about 11½ inches in length, and upwards of 2½ ins. at its greatest width. The broad, flat tang is rolled up at the end in a singular manner. Walbrook, 1879. 2. Silver-gilt figure of Our Saviour, from a crucifix, measuring 8 inches from the elevated left hand to the toes. The feet are placed one over the other, so that only three nails were employed in attaching the effigy to the cross. The waist-drapery hangs in many folds, and is tied in a large bow above the right hip. The wound is seen on the right side of the person. This is probably an Italian work of *circa* 1500, exhibiting traces of an earlier age. Basinghall Street, June 1878. 3. Full-faced bust of Our Lord crowned with thorns, copied from Guido Reni's famous painting in the Louvre. Cast silver-gilt plaque, about 4¾ inches diameter, in circular frame of black plaster. End of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century work. 4. Cups, saucer, and milk-ewer, of Fulham porcelain, bearing a strong resemblance in aspect to the old Crouch ware. Bishopsgate Street and Moorfields. 5. Vase of *Grès Flamand*, nearly 7½ inches high. The position of the handles and general contour of the vessel may be compared with the Grecian amphora; the Arabesque designs upon its surface showing a strong Italian bias. The graceful form and decorations render this a most pleasing example of modern art.

The Chairman read a paper "On an Effigy of Thomas Earl of Lancaster", and accompanied his reading with the exhibition of a coloured diagram of the effigy.

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on "The Horners' Company of the City of London", and exhibited some documents illustrating the practices of the Company, and some curious objects of horn.

Mr. Brock read "Notes taken during an Excursion on the Wansdyke", by J. T. Irvine. This paper was also fully illustrated with plates. Mr. Irvine also forwarded the following notes on recent excavations at Lichfield:

"The late Professor Willis drew up a most interesting account of some remains of foundation-walls discovered under the floor of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral in or about the years 1856 to 1860. This was printed in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, accompanied by a plan, part only of which was from his own dimensions, the other and greater part having been taken from one made by the Cathedral mason. He had also the use of notes taken by the late Dr. Rawson of Lichfield. The foundations at that time discovered gave not only the walls of the Norman Cathedral, but also the several rebuildings which had taken place in the choir up to the erection of the existing fabric. The plan of the Cathedral mason was, so far as it proposed to give the line of the Norman walls westward, beyond the chord of the apse, considerably in error. Of this part, so far as the south choir-aisle is concerned, the construction of an air-channel made along that

bay through which the door into the consistory court opens, has enabled the external face of the Norman choir-wall to be most accurately fixed. Its present surface is below the stone floor, and its bottom was not reached at a depth of 5 feet 10 inches below the top of stone seat. It is, as nearly as possible, in line with the present wall, and is found to have a clear space between its external face and the riser of the present stone bench of 1 foot $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches; or, if taken between it and the face of the most advanced plinth of the octagonal respond west of door to consistory court, to leave 9 inches clear space. This length of Norman wall laid open (about 15 feet), presented no trace whatever of any buttress, but had portions of the rough plaster with which it had been covered remaining on it. The Dean of Lichfield has had a thin red line of half-inch tiles inserted in the modern stone flooring, here some inches higher than the original level, to coincide with the external face-line, and thus preserve the history of the width of the Norman church.

"It will be remembered that Prof. Willis has described the remains of a very plain square font-basin, bearing traces of fire, discovered underground, near the centre apse. It is somewhat singular that on removing the dry stone rubbish filling in between these two walls in the above bay, west of consistory court door, a fragment has turned up of what appears to have been another late Norman font. This unfortunately had been partly destroyed by the labourer who excavated the loose stone rubbish, and thus the fragments were only seen after the removal of the stuff to the outside of the Cathedral. So far as can be seen, this basin was probably also square, of which each side presented three or more arches supported by twisted columns. These arches contained sitting figures of saints carved with considerable spirit, each with a nimbus. Why this font was broken up, for it had been in good state, and bore no trace of fire, is difficult to conjecture.

"I may further add that on the plan made by the Cathedral mason, and now in the hands of the Chapter, is found some most valuable evidence of the sites, when the stone coffins of the various bishops buried in the eastern part of the choir were laid open. These are not marked on the plan given in the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18, 1879.

H. S. CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Local Members of Council were duly elected:

E. Breese, Merionethshire
J. Tom Burgess, Worcestershire.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the Council meeting on the 4th instant, whereby all papers read at evening meetings are to be subjected to acceptance or rejection by the next following Council meeting, the papers read at the last evening meeting were passed in review, and accepted for future publication.

It was announced that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had graciously signified his intention of becoming Patron for the forthcoming Congress at Great Yarmouth.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited a varied collection of antique objects, and said:

"I beg to place on the table several objects of undoubted interest. Remains of a remote era, once so abundant from London excavations, have this year been infrequent, and of no great value. We can, however, fall back on the richness of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and chiefly from the art treasures of those days the collection before you has been selected. First, however, permit me to present these three objects in glass, of different eras, recovered from Mincing Lane. The first is a small Roman *guttus*, of green glass, beautifully interlaced with silvered lines. The next is a cylindrical bottle of green glass, monstrously large, and probably Venetian, of the sixteenth century. The third is a large suspensory lamp, pear-shaped, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches greatest diameter. The lips are incurved. The lamp, though for convenience placed in a stand, has been finished by a hoop or ornament, now broken off. You will notice the gravel stains acquired by contact in its long and deep repose, far beneath the hurrying London traffic. 2. A very singular bottle, in shape of a dove, of deep and clear blue glass, gilded. This is Spanish, and was used as like bottles, in shape of dogs, dragons, etc., in the mysteries of alchemy. This one on the table may have contained love potions. 3. A large snuff-bottle of Chinese glass, exactly resembling white jade, and not to be distinguished therefrom but by its specific gravity. 4. An upright drinking glass decked with the old ornamentation of grape clusters, and gloriously enamelled in colours, following the classic scrolls of Julio Romano. This beautiful glass has this week, by an

expert, been referred, not to Germany, but Italy. 5. A flask of Venetian work, of transparent, spiralled crystal splashed with ruby and azure, touched here and there with white enamel, closely resembling (except in the last particular) the lovely wine-flagon found at Stratford-on-Avon, and exhibited to this Association. 6. Three pieces in which the cunning and beauty of Venetian and German art are combined,—a chocolate-pot, cream-ewer, and *sucrier*, of opaque, black glass, covered by a close and exact pattern in burnished gold. We lawfully claim for these extreme rarity. They are also miracles of human skill and perseverance, for a marvel it is how fingers could possibly follow eyes in completion of the work; for examine as you may, every part free from blurr is marked equally by the decisive touch of the artist hand. We may give the date as the close of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. One cup was, I understand, in the collection of General Bertrand, the friend of Napoleon. These specimens were bought in Holland. Also a cup imitative of a Romano-Corinthian *cyathus*, sprinkled with Aventurino. This, with imitative specimens of early Christian glass, carried off a gold medal from the Paris Exhibition of 1878. 7. A wine-cup of pillared glass, and an alabastron of green glass decorated with cream-coloured patterns in shape of an œnoche, with looped handle of transparent yellow glass. 8. A deeply escalloped plate of Nevers ware, sixteenth century; 1 inch in height; blue splashed with white enamel. These venerable remnants of antiquity are remarkable as showing the progress of internal decay and gradual wasting, under certain circumstances, of glass itself, only fully expressed by the Sussex formula, 'muttering away'. Both are beautifully iridescent; the œnochoe also, throughout its cellular decay."

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., exhibited a very beautiful head from Pœstum; the handle of a lamp impressed with the head of Jupiter Tonans, and some Roman busts, from Thebes; the head of an Egyptian king in limestone, a youthful Bacchus in bronze, also from Thebes, completed the exhibition, affording at a glance a comparison of styles,—the Egyptian, the highest Greek art, and its decadence in Roman times.

Mr. Myers also exhibited a fourteenth century bronze matrix of a seal bearing a representation of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the legend, "+ AVE MARIA GRACI"...

Mr. G. G. Adams, F.S.A., exhibited a large grain-spoon in acacia-wood, from Zululand, used by the Bechuana and other tribes to serve out boiled corn at feasts.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a fine collection of fictile fragments from recent London excavations, including red and incised Samian ware from Bucklersbury, Norman ware from Cheapside, and some pieces of lustrous and speckled Durobrivian ware.

Mr. Brock also showed some elegant specimens of Roman pottery obtained from the Pan Rock near Whitstable, a locality well known to yield some of the finest specimens of Roman pottery extant.

Mr. G. G. Adams read a paper upon an unknown coronation medal of King George I, and exhibited the original dies and impressions in plaster and silver.

The Chairman read a paper on "St. Felix, Bishop of Dunwich", and exhibited a facsimile of a portrait of the saint.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, read "Notes on an Inscribed Stone in Ely Cathedral", and exhibited a cast from the stone, kindly taken for the Association by permission of the Ven. W. Emery, Archdeacon of Ely.

Mr. Mayhew read a second part of his recent paper on the Roman antiquities of Lincoln, and exhibited a coloured drawing (to scale) of a recently found mosaic pavement of considerable merit, and a plan of the curiously shaped tiles found in the recent excavations in that city.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock read a paper by Mr. Money, F.S.A., on the "Discovery of Roman Remains at Hampstead Norris, near Newbury."

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

Sepulchral Slab at Carlatton.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson, of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society, gives an interesting account of sepulchral slabs in a farmhouse at Carlatton. Carlatton is an extraparochial place. It, however, had formerly a church whose site is well known; and though no remains appear above ground, yet the soil is so full of stones as to compel the tenant to desist from any attempts to plough it. The farm belongs to Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Routledge is the tenant. The farmhouse is covered with rough-cast, a portion of which decaying off disclosed the slab built into the wall in the back garden, the lower edge being on the level of the ground. Its dimensions are 6 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 3 ins. at the top, and 2 ft. 2 ins. at the bottom. A cross is carved upon it, on the dexter side of which are a chalice and book, and on the sinister a sword and sword-belt. A much obliterated inscription runs round the slab, apparently HIC JACET HENRICUS DE NEWTON QUI FUIT VICARIUS DE CARLATON. ORATE PRO ANIMA EJUS. Henry Newton was presented to Carlatton by the Prior and Convent of Lanercost, 1320. The cross, sword, and sword-belt, are so exactly similar to the cross, sword, and sword-belt on a sepulchral slab at Great Salkeld (figured in Tyson's *Cumberland*), as to induce the belief that they came from the same chisel,—a conjecture which receives additional probability from both places being in the valley of the Eden, and easily accessible from one another. The unusual combination of the chalice, the book, and the sword with belt attached (which last is in itself unusual), make this slab unique in England. The chalice and book do not often occur together; and where they do, the examples are generally in the county of Durham, with one at Great Salkeld. The chalice is the well known symbol of an ecclesiastic; the book is often considered to signify a deacon, though it has been doubted, from its connection with other emblems not of an ecclesiastical character. On a slab at Newbiggen, Northumberland, the book occurs in connection with the sword; and it has been suggested that the stone was intended to commemorate two persons. There is a stone at Bala Sala, Isle of Man, dedicated to the

memory of an abbot of that place, which has a sword and a cross. Grove considers this to denote that the abbot had temporal authority. Mr. Fergnson, however, has found no instance of the chalice and sword being combined. Two theories may be formed concerning this remarkable slab,—1, that it commemorates two persons, an ecclesiastic and a warrior, perhaps brothers (the unusual breadth of the slab lends itself to this theory); 2, that it commemorates an ecclesiastical personage who exercised some military or civil authority, though it is difficult to see how such a slab has been entirely chiselled away by masons. Another slab, with chalice and book and cross, forms the lintel of a door in the farmyard.

Messrs. Chatto and Windus announce a new *Monasticon*, by the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, in two vols. crown 8vo, with a map and groundplans. It contains "Church work and life in English minsters", with essays architectural; on the daily life, external relations, and history of the cathedrals; and the "English Student's Monasticon", in alphabetical order, with references to the best authorities.

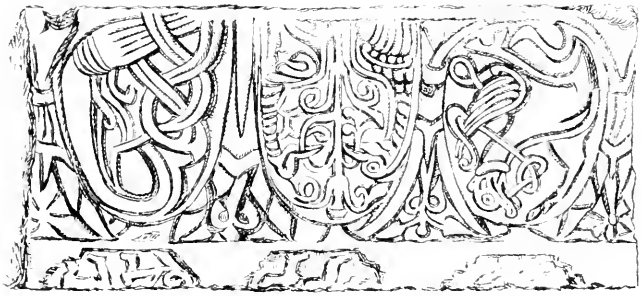
Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire, by J. Charles Cox, vol. iv, 1879. —Mr. Cox, in this fourth and concluding volume of his work, has at length completed his interesting description of our midland churches. The special topographical interest in this volume lies in the Hundred of Morleston and Litchurch, and treats of nearly fifty churches and ecclesiastical edifices. The numerous illustrations comprise not only general elevations of churches, but numerous details, such as fonts, sedilia, and crosses. The introduction is especially worthy of notice for its historical notice of the year 1348-9, when the whole of Europe was devastated by the terrible mortality known by the expressive appellation of "Black Death". Of this, Mr. Cox writes, "The pestilence first appeared in the seaports of Dorsetshire, on 1st August 1348, and travelled slowly but surely westward and northward. It lay comparatively dormant during the winter, but by May 1349 had reached Derbyshire, and for the next four months raged with fury throughout the kingdom. Hecker calculates the loss to Europe at large as twenty-five millions. Nowhere was the plague more fatal than in England. A single burial-ground, consecrated for the purpose (now the site of the Charterhouse in London), received fifty thousand corpses, arranged in layers in large pits. It has generally been assumed that the rather vague statements of the old chroniclers as to the deaths in England are considerably exaggerated; but the episcopal Registers of Lichfield afford undeniable evidence of the appalling character of the visitation. The total number of Derbyshire benefices, whose incumbents had to be presented to the Bishop at that time, was one hundred and eight.

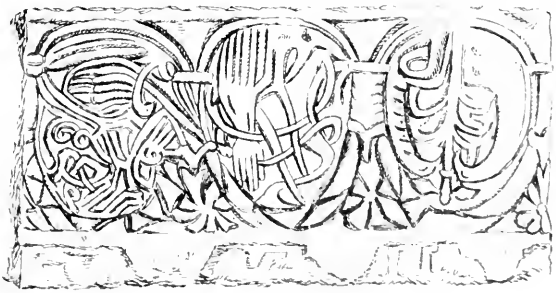
The average number of institutions, *per annum*, to these benefices was, during that century, seven. In 1346 they numbered four; in 1347, only two; and in 1348, eight; but in 1349 the number leaped to sixty-three; and in the following year, many of the vacant benefices not being filled up till then, they numbered forty-one. Seventy-seven beneficed priests of Derbyshire died in that dread period. Two vicars of Derby died at their posts." The rectories of Langwith and Mugginton, the vicarages of Barlborough, Bolsover, Horsley, Longford, Sutton on the Hill, and Willington, were twice emptied by the plague, and three successive vicars of Pentrich all fell in the same fatal year. The awful shock thus produced by the "Black Death" paralysed for a long time every art and scientific industry. Church architecture, then at its culminating point of Gothic beauty, took some years to recover from the blow. In some cases instanced by Mr. Cox, the work of erection was stopped, and never resumed. The recollection of this visitation often helps to explain the break that the careful eye not unfrequently notices in church buildings of the fourteenth century, and accounts for the long period over which some works manifestly extended.

Mr. Cox gives an excellent description of the Registers or "Act-Books" of the Cathedral Chapter of Lichfield; and of the "Oliverian Surveys" made in 1649, an analysis of which is given in the Supplement which is appended to this volume. His observations on reckless restoration and unnecessary burial of inscribed gravestones should be read by all architects of the restoration schools. "I have more than once noticed", he writes, "how far better the work of redeeming the interior of our churches from dirt and neglect has been carried out where money has come in slowly, and at intervals, than where some munificent patron has readily found the funds to enter upon a big contract." How careful Mr. Cox has been to omit nothing of use or interest to the reader, may be seen in the fact that the Supplements to the four volumes, with the indexes,—which are all that can satisfy an advanced member of the newly founded Index Society,—occupy 224 pages. The lists and index of incumbents are valuable to the genealogists. Not the least interesting illustrations are the Saxon interlaced patterns at St. Alkmund's, and the unique carved font at Wilne, with unconventional patterns of lacertine foliage, round the base of which is a mutilated inscription in a character which has been compared with the Runic and the Palmyrene. This relic, perhaps the most puzzling, and certainly the most obscure, that Derbyshire possesses, deserves the attention of palæographers as well as antiquarians and ecclesiologists.

Restoration of Tewkesbury Abbey Church.—Those who read Mr. Blashill's paper on this venerable antiquity, in our *Journal* for 1876,







ANCIENT FONT AT WILNE DERBYSHIRE

vol. xxxii, p. 44, will read the following notices of the Church, and the progress of its restoration, by Mr. J. O. Scott, with interest. They are derived from a speech by that gentleman at a public meeting held at Lambeth Palace, March 28, 1879:

"The Abbey is built mainly in two styles of architecture—Norman of a very plain kind, and a beautiful variety of Middle Decorated. The Norman Abbey was founded early in the twelfth century, and consisted of a long nave with aisles, transepts united by a grand central tower, and a choir, also with aisles, terminating in an apse, surrounded by an ambulatory, from which, no doubt, projected chapels, as they did also from the eastern walls of the transepts.

"The two chief characteristics externally (both of which still remain) must have been the grand central tower, richly arcaded, and surmounted, as it then was, by a wooden spire; and what must have given, as it does now, especial individuality, was the remarkable western front, the central part of which is occupied by one vast arch extending from the ground to the roof, recessed in seven bold orders. This was, no doubt, originally filled in with a number of Norman windows, but of these we have now no record. It is still the one feature which distinguishes Tewkesbury Abbey from all others, and the most casual observer cannot fail being struck with its peculiarity and boldness. Its present appearance is much injured by the loss of the gable which rose above it till the seventeenth century, when all the high roofs were unhappily swept away, to the great loss of the building.

"Internally, the building, which was in these early days exceedingly plain, had a curious feature which it possessed in common with Gloucester and Pershore, of remarkably tall columns and arches in the nave, contrasting with very low ones in the choir. The building continued as its Norman founders left it, for some two hundred years, when early in the fourteenth century an astonishing change took place. In the nave this was confined to the insertion of tracery windows throughout, and the substitution of stone groining for the flat or coved wooden ceiling, the same being done in the transepts. But in the choir a far greater alteration was effected. The ambulatory was first taken down, and rebuilt somewhat farther out, and from it were projected the most beautiful series of chapels to be found in this country, except indeed at Westminster. All of these now remain, with the exception of the Lady Chapel, which was on a far larger scale than the others; and which, from the precious fragment of its west end still existing, must have been a building of extreme beauty. The date of these works must have been early in the century. Immediately afterwards the whole of the choir was pulled down, the Norman columns only being left, and rebuilt in the richest variety of the prevailing style. A lofty clerestory was erected, consisting of seven noble

windows of the finest design, which are still filled with their original stained glass. The groining, too, was of the most elaborate description; and the whole of this part of the building, within and without, is of almost unequalled elegance and picturesque beauty. The new walls were of the same height as the old ones; but the roof was arranged slightly lower than before, so as to allow of the addition of the beautiful parapet, which is now, unhappily, almost ready to crumble away. At this time, and subsequently, the eastern part of the building was further enriched by a magnificent series of chantry chapels and monuments. The spectator is bewildered with their number and variety. These alone are sufficient to place Tewkesbury in the very first rank, among our great churches, in point of historical interest.

"Two more peculiarities relating to the interior, which distinguish Tewkesbury as it has come down to us, remain to be mentioned. The marked contrast between the noble simplicity of the nave, and the exceeding richness of the eastern portions, is the first. This is very striking, and the skill with which the two are brought into harmony by groining of a somewhat similar character being continued throughout the whole length, is worthy of especial observation. The other is the very unusual proportions of the interior. No building of this nature gives such a remarkable impression of breadth and expanse. This is, no doubt, due to the height being in such a small ratio to the width. But it is the breadth of the building which strikes the observer, and certainly not its want of elevation.

"Although the Abbey belongs mainly to two periods only, yet the shortest notice would be imperfect if nothing were said of the exquisite work belonging to the thirteenth century, adjoining the north transept. There was at first a Norman apsidal chapel here, rebuilt in the thirteenth century, and again in the fourteenth century; but just beyond this, in an unusual position, at the extreme north-east angle of the transept, there still remains a most beautiful little building dating from the commencement of the Early English period, though with subsequent alterations. This can be shown to have formed the chancel of the small church, the nave of which ran across the north front of the transept. It has been conjectured with much probability that it was erected to form a Lady Chapel for the use of the parishioners. The design of its nave can still be traced with some accuracy, and it must have been a feature almost unique, and of the greatest beauty. Should its restoration ever become possible, it would be, indeed, a charming addition to the Abbey, and one of great utility.

"The works in hand, and those which are proposed, taking them in the order adopted in the Report of the Committee, are these:

"The whole of the interior of the nave has been cleared of the modern plaster and whitewash which disfigured it, and all defects in

the stonework have been made good. Of special interest here is the treatment of the vaulted ceiling. The bosses of the groining, when first uncovered, showed signs, not very distinctly, of ancient decoration, and it was at the time determined to restore it. The result, however, was unsuccessful, and the treatment was stopped after two bays had been so dealt with. The carving of the bosses throughout this roof is of the highest value and interest, the subjects of the central range consisting of scenes from the life of Our Lord, while the two side rows are occupied with angels bearing censers or playing upon musical instruments. Nothing can exceed the artistic feeling displayed in these sculptured bosses; but from their being in most cases hardly more than sketches, it quickly appeared that any treatment of them in full colour tended only to obscure their design, and to emphasise their incompleteness. So much was this felt, that for a considerable time it was the opinion of Mr. Gambier Parry, who had given the matter much consideration (as it was my own), that it would be best to attempt no decoration whatever. The greater part of the ceiling was therefore left plain; but the effect from below was by no means satisfactory, and at length Mr. Parry proposed a method of treatment which he has now carried out in a portion of the groining. I have seen this within the last few days, and for my own part I desire to express my great admiration for the skill and judgment shown. Such is also the unanimous opinion of the Committee, and it has been decided that the treatment shall be continued throughout the whole of the nave.

"The floors of the transepts, ambulatories, and chapels, have been made thoroughly good in all respects. The Decorated chapel east of the north transept is in course of careful reparation. There are also some pressing repairs being carried out in the Early English chapel to the north of this, to which I have alluded, but not to the extent of anything like complete restoration.

"The next item mentioned in the Report is a comprehensive one. It alludes to the choir-stalls and screens, the font, pulpit, etc. Of the ancient stalls a sufficient number remain to complete the back row, on both sides, of the new arrangement. In addition to these, considerable portions of the stall-backs, or screens, which rose above them are also in existence. These are interesting works of the fourteenth century, and were probably executed just after the completion of the choir. It has been decided to restore the stalls to their original position beneath the tower, and to erect above them these ancient screens. Unfortunately only a sufficient length of the latter remains for the north side; and this alone has been ordered by the Committee, the funds not being sufficient for the new screen required on the south side. Eventually it will, of course, be necessary to add the second row of seats for

the choir-boys, as well as book-rests, but at present this part of the arrangement must be temporary. As regards the choir-screen, various proposals have been made, but the only designs prepared have been for a low enclosure of ornamental character. A wooden model of the most recent design has been made, so that its effect may be well considered. It is, however, my own opinion that this church should eventually possesss a high choir-screen of very open design, but sufficiently elaborate to accord with the ancient fittings. I much hope that this may some day be possible.

"The font at present consists of a base and shaft of Decorated date, carrying a bowl of very mean appearance, probably belonging to the eighteenth century. A new bowl has been designed, agreeing in style with the ancient part. The font, thus completed, is to be surmounted by a lofty wooden cover of tabernacle-work, the design of which has been founded on an ancient fragment of fourteenth century woodwork remaining in the Abbey.

"The Report next refers to the reparation of the seven windows of the choir-clerestory, as well as the restoration (should it be thought desirable) of the sedilia and choir, or chantry, chapels. As regards these chapels, it appears to me that it would be, on the whole, the wisest course to leave them without anything like complete restoration. Some slight repairs are actually required, and should be undertaken; but nothing beyond this appears to me desirable. The case of the sedilia is different, these being a necessary part of the furniture of the church; and of them the greater portion remains. The design is most noble and characteristic, and I think it might be well to complete them. The restoration of the clerestory windows really forms a part of the external reparation of the stonework. Happily, in proportion to the size of the building, not very much work of this nature is necessary; nor do I consider it would be wise to do more than is absolutely wanted. One work connected with this should here be mentioned, namely, the roof of the south aisle of the nave, which is in a very bad state, and needs retiling as well as other repairs.

"The last work is on the reredos. No resolution has been come to by the Committee on this subject, nor has it been formally considered by them. After one of my visits to Tewkesbury I prepared a sketch design for this purpose, but entirely on my own motion, and a drawing founded on this is in the room. My object, however, has been mainly to elicit opinions on this subject. I cannot help feeling that, considering how the choir is flanked by a noble series of chapels and towering monuments, it can never look complete until its eastern extremity is occupied by a reredos as dignified as any of them, though it would indeed be vain to hope to equal them in beauty. The drawing exhibited, doubtless, needs more consideration; and it will be

especially necessary to give any reredos erected here a considerable amount of local character, introducing among its sculptures figures of those eminent personages with whom the history of the Abbey is intimately connected.

"The north porch is being carefully repaired, and is nearly finished; and I am glad to say that the sumptuous iron gates which have stood in connexion with it for the last hundred and fifty years, will be retained, though their level will be lowered with the ground. Some further expenditure will be necessary here in the provision of new doors.

"The floor of the nave has been lowered to its ancient level with a very good effect; the step which we discovered to have marked the ancient rood screen, which separated the conventual from the parish church, being restored.

"The position decided on for the organ is beneath the north arch of the central tower, above the screen forming the back of the stalls. The fine old case will be strictly preserved; a very small addition being made to its lower part, to adapt it to its new position. It is of great value and beauty, and from its details must be one of the earliest in the country."

It is greatly to be hoped that the publicity now being given to this good work of preservation may lead to substantial help being received. The Treasurer, Mr. C. W. Moore, of Tewkesbury, will be glad to receive and acknowledge subscriptions.

Mr. Gambier Parry, at the conclusion of Mr. Scott's paper, said, with respect to the decoration he was carrying out on the roof of the nave, that roof was a marvellous specimen of English carving, and, together with the Cathedrals of Gloucester and Norwich, combined some of the finest features of mediæval sculpture. Fine details in the roof of Tewkesbury must not be looked for; but taken as a whole it exhibited a vigour of conception and charm of inspiration which quite atoned for any faults. The bosses formed a series of grand sketches, as if the carver had chopped away just as the spirit moved him, until he got round the corner, when he found there was no room to complete the work. The figures were left in a very incomplete state, for the painter or decorator to fill in; but they were strong and vigorous. They were very remarkable in size, the angels, who were bearing all sorts of musical instruments, being two-thirds the size of life, taking a woman as the model. The central bosses, in which were represented the life of Our Saviour from the nativity to the majesty, were also large. One of the most remarkable bosses was that of the crucifixion, for it was a crucifixion without a cross; but he had taken the liberty to put in the cross, in gold, beneath the Crucified One. The task he had undertaken, of renewing the colour which formerly existed on these carvings, was one of considerable difficulty, and concerning it

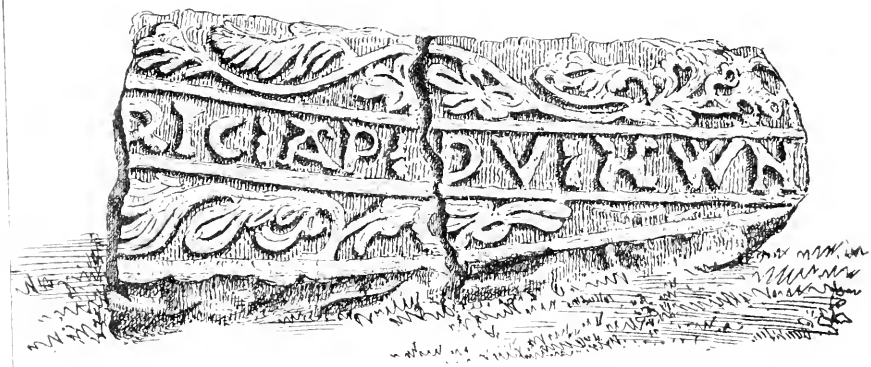
various opinions would be held. At Tewkesbury he had found the greatest difficulty in the work on account of the extreme and necessary simplicity demanded by it. It would be very easy to colour the roof; but to apply the right lines and touches of colour at the best places for effect, would demand the exercise of consummate art. There were a few records in the stones of what the ancient treatment resembled, and he believed it was coarse. The difficulty was that any system of high colour (vermilion, gold, and blue) applied to a few points, had a tendency to look blotty; whereas, to be satisfactory, the effect should be one of complete harmony, of perfect peace. The aim of the decorator should be consecutiveness, proportion, rhythm. In this roof there was a great deal left so vague that the decorator had to form his own idea of what was intended. For instance, there were many things omitted by the sculptor which had been supplied by the painter, including the nimbuses. Among the instruments borne by the angels were the rebec, shawm (a sort of bass clarionet), psaltry, and bagpipes. There was also a pair of very curious figures, which were declared by one set of commentators to be Fitzhamon, founder of the Abbey, and his wife, but which others thought to be Adam and Eve.

Old Winchester.—Whilst constructing the drainage works in Simonds and Little Minster Streets, the workmen met with a fine piece of Roman mosaic at about twenty feet beneath the pavement. It is composed of tesseræ in red, black, white, and buff stone, the colours being placed so as to form a geometrical pattern and border. The Town Council has given orders to have steps taken to get the ancient footway up perfect, and this course is being carried out carefully. Meanwhile, further excavations have shown that the pavement extends about sixteen feet further towards the High Street and along Minster Street, where important results are expected. The same works are the means of drawing attention to various subterranean buildings in the city, and among others to the old vault under the "hostelric" known as the Rising Sun, on the old London Road, just without the City Bridge. It is of considerable extent, and approached from the street by an ancient flight of steps, formed of stone and rubble, the crown of the arch being a couple of feet below the surface of the present road. The front of the vault or cellar consists of a central doorway flanked by a two-light window (square-headed) on either side, the shaft dividing the windows being destroyed. On the western side there is an aumbry or recess, whilst in the door-jambs are the iron hinges which once carried the gates. The arches are pointed, and the materials used are, for the vaulting and inner walls, chalk; the facing of the arches is of stone.

Archæology in Northamptonshire.—Excavations in the Roman camp at Irchester, near Wellingborough, have been carried on by a Com-



Sculptures discovered at Llangollen.



IN THE GARDENS OF SIAMBER WEN.



IN THE GARDENS OF SIAMBER WEN.

Miss Robertson delt.

mittee of the County Antiquarian Society, under the direction of the Rev. R. S. Baker. The remains of the massive stone wall of the camp, enclosing about twenty acres, have been found underground, and traced throughout almost their entire circuit. Portions of two of the four original gateways have come to light. Within the camp a network of houses and other buildings has been disclosed in the portion explored by the diggers. Among these foundations are the remains of two circular buildings. Causeways over causeways, and walls built on still older walls, and also the series of coins found, disclose the fact that the camp became a town, and continued so during the whole Roman occupation of Britain. A large capital and portions of columns, and other architectural stones, and the trunk of a well carved statue in stone, have been dug up. The camp is considered to be one of the frontier forts erected by Ostorius about A.D. 48. The London and North-Western Railway Company are excavating the site of the historic Castle of Northampton for a new railway station. Only a few portions of the Castle wall remain above ground; but many matters of interest are expected to be disclosed in the course of the removal of the ground on which the Castle stood.

Sculptured Stones at Siamber Wen, Llangollen.—During the Congress at Llangollen in 1877, the attention of the members was called to two fragments of sculptured stone slabs in the gardens of Siamber Wen, a modern cottage *ornée*, built on the north bank of the river, close to the famous Bridge of Llangollen. The owners, the Misses Robertson, very kindly permitted inspection to be made at all times, and have since contributed the sketches from which the Plate on the opposite page has been prepared.

The fragments are evidently portions of raised sepulchral slabs, and were found a few years ago in course of some garden works. There is a tradition that there was a graveyard close to this spot, which is beneath the high hills on which the ruins of Castel Dinas Bran stand. This hill is faintly furrowed with traces of ancient earthworks of more remote antiquity than anything now observable among the masonry of the walls. The sculpture and the form of the lettering on each of the fragments clearly indicate the date to be that of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; probably late in the one, or early in the other.

The sketches faithfully represent all that can be made out of the inscriptions, which run round the border of the stones in the usual manner of sepulchral monuments. The first reads [MEV]RIC . AP . DVINWN; the other, + HIC . IACET . IEVA[N..... REQVIESCA]T . I[N] . PACE. The central carving of the latter is wrought with much spirit, and the intertwining monsters open up a curious inquiry. The fragments are of interest from affording very good examples of Welsh art, and will

bear comparison with any of the effigies of so much interest at Valle Crucis: indeed, it is open to consideration whether or not they may not have been brought from that edifice when it became a quarry for old stone after the dissolution. The date would well accord with the work there.

Find of Coins at Sudbourne Church.—This building is undergoing complete restoration, the parishioners being at the expense of rebenching it, whilst Sir Richard Wallace is very generously doing all the rest of the work at a cost of £2,000. It was in making the necessary excavations on the north side of the aisle that a box was found containing silver pennies. From the position of the coins, which were placed edgeways, in rows, it is evident they were deliberately concealed; and other circumstances make it apparent that the person who concealed them intended to take them away at no distant period. Though the wood of the box in which they were placed was completely decomposed, the coins were still in the position in which they were placed. The top of the box had been covered over with three large natural stones of the same kind as those used in the building of the church walls. The keep of Orford Castle is built of this kind of stone, which is peculiar to this part of the country, and is known to geologists by the name of "Septaria" of the London clay: in other words, the cement stones dredged up from the West Rocks at Harwich, and with which the Ipswich people are probably familiar. The date of the church is Early Perpendicular; and Dr. Taylor is of opinion that very likely the coins were hidden at the time of the original building of the church. They were chiefly those of the reign of Henry III, and consist altogether of silver pennies. Some of them are cut in halves along one of the lines of the cross on the reverse side of the coin, that being the way in which change was formerly given, the penny being sometimes cut into four parts. These coins of Henry III belong to several mintages, the most important belonging to the Ipswich mint. Some of the coins of Henry III were also evidently minted at Bury St. Edmund's. The next coins most abundant, are those of Henry II, evidently of the second mintage of that monarch, and most of them minted at Canterbury. Many other rare coins were found, one or two belonging to the reign of King John,—silver pennies minted in Ireland. Three or four are Scotch coins of the reign of William the Lion. All the coins are in a good state of preservation, the likenesses of Henry II and Henry III being in many cases quite portraits. Owing to the energy of Mr. Vincent, foreman of the restoration works now being carried out by Mr. Smith of Ipswich, the 2,600 coins have been placed in safe keeping.

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THE BRONZE GATES OF BALAWAT IN ASSYRIA.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

(*Read May 21st*, 1879.)

THE explorations which have been recommenced in Assyria, under the superintendence of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, have been productive of most excellent results. It has been his lot to light not only upon a large number of tablet-fragments, cylinders, and stone records, but also upon some remains of the greatest importance on account of the light they will shed on the history, manners, customs, and artistic skill of the people of Ancient Assyria.

About nine miles north-west of Nimrud, and fifteen miles south-east of Kouyunjik, lies an ancient Assyrian site, now known by the name of Balawat. According to Mr. Rassam's plan, the site is almost four-square, and lies with its corners pointing nearly north, south, east, and west. It contains, within the line which marks the position of the ancient city wall, many remains of buildings, etc., built by different Assyrian kings. In the eastern half of the mound are the remains of an ancient temple built by Assur-natsir-abla, one of Assyria's ablest warriors, who began to reign 885 B.C. The ruins of the temple lie parallel with the north-eastern edge of the mound, on which side of the temple also is its entrance. Within the temple, near the entrance, an inscribed alabaster coffer was found. The coffer contained two votive tablets also of alabaster, inscribed with a copy of the same inscription as is on the coffer. A third tablet, greatly damaged by fire, was found on the altar at the

north-west end of the temple. The two tablets found in the coffer are in an almost perfect state of preservation; and one is of great value to Assyrian students on account of having the words marked off by a short upright line. They contain, in a greatly abridged form, a copy of the inscription known as the "Standard Inscription" of Assur-natsir-abla, with the addition, at the end, of a short account of the mound; and a dedication of the temple to Makhir, who was probably one of the gods of war.

We gather from the inscription on these tablets and coffer that the city which originally stood on the site had been, some time previous to the accession of Assur-natsir-abla, in the hands of an enemy, most likely the Babylonians, for this king states that he took the city anew, and changed its name to Imgur-Bel, perhaps (though such would be a most unusual thing) to perpetuate the fact of its having been in the hands of the Babylonians, and of his having retaken it, for the inner wall of the city of Babylon was known by the name of Imgur-Bel. Assur-natsir-abla built, with the bricks of his palace, this temple to the god Makhir; and his account of his adorning it with cedar from Lebanon, and with cypress, and hanging in its gates doors of cedar covered with copper, is most interesting.

Assur-natsir-abla, on retaking the town, evidently added considerably to its decorations; but it remained for his son, Shalmaneser II, to complete them; and judging from what we now see, he seems to have done so with a splendour which far surpassed the results of his father's efforts. Shalmaneser II is a king who is well known to us from his connection with the kingdom of Israel. Ahab, allying himself with what is known as the "Syrian League", fought side by side with the people of Damascus, Hamath, Goim, Egypt, Arvad, Arabia, etc., against Shalmaneser, who claims to have defeated the allied armies. Shalmaneser's conquests were made on a most extensive scale. Wherever he went, terror, desolation, and death, followed him; and at his death he left for his successors a kingdom with extended boundaries, but towards which the feeling outside these boundaries was anything but friendly. It was not, however, till after the death of Assur-bani-abla, which took place some centuries later, that this feeling was vented against the conquerors.

It was probably after having completed the subjugation of

the surrounding nations that Shalmaneser turned his attention to the decoration of the city of Imgur-Bel. He began, therefore, to restore the palace situated near the northern corner of the mound, towards the west. The palace (most likely that mentioned by Assur-natsir-abla in the inscription from the temple of Makhir) probably stood within a long rectangular enclosure. The enclosure seems to have had four entrances, for four platforms were found, near two of which lay, respectively, the remains of two pairs of enormous folding doors. Probably each platform at first had its own pair of doors. The two pairs of doors missing now are supposed to have been carried away in ancient times for the sake of the metal with which they were overlaid.

Of the two pairs of doors found, the metal is now the only portion remaining, and it is from this alone that we are enabled to determine their original shape and size. The larger pair were about 22 feet high, 6 feet broad, and 3 inches thick. Each leaf was fixed to a cylindrical post about 18 inches in diameter, to which strong bronze pivots were fixed, working in stone sockets. Across each door seven or eight long plates of bronze were nailed at regular intervals. Each plate of bronze is about 8 feet long by 11 inches broad; but as the end turned right round the post to which the pivot was fixed, the total visible length of the plate was reduced to about 6 feet, the width of the door. Each plate contains two bands of chased work bordered by a simple ornamentation of rosettes, the centres of which were formed by the heads of the nails used in nailing the plates of bronze to the woodwork. The edge of each door was also covered with bronze plates, giving, in a long inscription running from top to bottom, the history of the first nine years of Shalmaneser II's reign, B.C. 860 to 851.

The smaller pair of doors were very much like the large ones in shape. Some of the bronze plates are in a fairly good condition; but the rest are broken into innumerable small fragments, so that the exact shape cannot yet be made out. Instead, however, of two rows of chased work on each plate, it has only one; and the scenes pictured thereon show the hunting exploits, most likely, of the same king, Shalmaneser II.

The scenes depicted on the bronze plates of the large pair of gates represent Shalmaneser II's expeditions against

Tul-Barsip on the west of Assyria, Hamath on the north-west, Minni and Ararat on the north, the maritime cities of Tyre and Sidon, the commercial city of Karkemish (supposed to be Jerâbulus on the Euphrates), north-west of Assyria. Narrow as the space is on these strips of bronze, the scenes are represented with great spirit and much freedom of drawing, the power, pride, and cruelty of the Assyrian king being vividly shown. We see the army on its path of conquest; and the princes of the countries through which it passes, struck with terror, buying off the Assyrian king with rich gifts and promises of future tribute—promises which were usually broken as soon as the danger of invasion was past. Now the Assyrian army comes upon the king of a prosperous country, who, confident in his own strength, refuses to submit. We see the attack, the storm, the sack. First, archers pick off with their arrows all the defenders they can; then come the chariots containing each an archer and a charioteer, who join in the attack; battering-rams to overthrow the walls, and scaling-ladders to scale them, are next brought to bear on the devoted city. If the defenders still refuse to submit, soldiers with torches run up the scaling-ladders, and set fire to anything of an inflammable nature. This last proceeding generally compelled submission, and the luckless inhabitants were carried off as prisoners, or put to death with most horrible tortures. The city was then sacked, and the invaders, laden with spoil, returned to their own country.

Very often, however, we see a more peaceful scene,—a procession, a game, or a religious ceremony; all conducted with the same pomp, and showing, incidentally, the superstition of the Assyrians, and their servile worship of their gods. The king, dressed in kingly robes, and attended by eunuchs, pours out a libation, or offers fruit before the emblems of his gods, while sacrifices are made to the god of the sea by casting parts of an ox into the water. Or we see a long procession marching to the place where the springs of the Tigris rise, and where some strange ceremonies, at present not understood, are being performed.

To the ethnologist as well as to the antiquarian, the scenes on the bronze plates will be of interest, for the number of different tribes brought under the Assyrian yoke,—each of which is shown, as far as the artist could represent





it, in its national costume,—gives room for most interesting comparisons. Some comparisons, indeed, have been rather prematurely made, for it has been stated that there are representations of Greeks, wearing helmets of Greek type, upon the bronzes; but the inscription attached to them distinctly states that they are *Urardhai*, or people of Ararat, whom Shalmaneser conquered in many expeditions. The accompanying Plate shows these helmeted warriors.

The plates of bronze will be copied in autotype, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and will be published in a book which will consist, when complete, of about ninety plates, and letter-press descriptions of all the scenes. Mr. Rylands, the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology, will be glad to receive the names of intending subscribers, and to give any information concerning the work.

ON THIMBLES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(*Read March* 19, 1879.)

THE paper on sewing needles, which appeared in our *Journal* of 1877, may be fitly followed by a few remarks on thimbles, which seem to be specially called for, as a grave error respecting the antiquity of these utensils has been put forth in a popular book of information, and to which reference will again be made in the sequel.

It is natural to suppose that some scheme for the protection of the fingers was adopted almost as soon as the art of stitchery commenced, and a plate of wood, leather, or bone, bound on the finger as a shield, probably constituted one of the earliest modes of defence. But metal thimbles are of no very recent invention, for some of bronze, open at their ends, like those employed by tailors, have been discovered at Herculaneum; and two ancient bronze thimbles, exactly similar to those of modern times, are in the Geneviève collection. The thimble, in its now recognised form, may fairly claim an antiquity of some two thousand years.

The use of thimbles in this country dates in all probability from a very early period, for when we find a pure Kymreig name for any object, we may be pretty sure that the Britons possessed such an object of native contrivance. *Byswain* (finger-guard) and *gwniadur* (sewing-steel) were the appropriate titles given to the thimble by our Britannic ancestors, whose digits must have needed some strong protection whilst engaged in stitching together their pelt mantles and particoloured garbs. Bronze thimbles are said to have been exhumed with Roman remains in London, differing little in aspect from those in the Geneviève cabinet.

It is difficult to decide the exact age of antique thimbles without they be found with relics whose era is well established. The examples I now submit were recovered from the Thames, off Dowgate, Sept. 1856, and are unquestionably of very early date. They are all of golden-coloured bronze or brass, and of two distinct types. First we have one composed of a strip of metal about eight-twelfths of an

inch wide, rolled round and soldered, leaving the end open in the fashion of the specimens discovered at Herculaneum. Either extremity is encircled by a plain band, the space intervening being thickly pounced with small indentations. The other thimbles from off Dowgate are of the sugar-loaf type, their tops being far more conic than those of any made within the last four hundred years. They vary from seven-twelfths of an inch to nine-twelfths in height. Their apices are smooth, with the rest of their surfaces pounced with fine indentations, with exception of a plain band round their bases.

In the fourteenth century the thimble seems to have been called a *themel*, and it is spoken of under this title by Thomas Occleve :

> "Come hider to me, sone, and loke wheder
> In this purse whether ther be any cros or crouche,
> Save nedel and threde and *themel of lether*."[1]

Leather was certainly employed for thimbles in the middle ages, and up to a comparatively recent period leather thimbles were common among the more industrious peasants of the south of Ireland. I exhibit an example which was used in County Cork up to about the year 1820. It is tolerably neatly made of a strip of black leather sewed up one side, and the top stitched on. One who carefully examined this Hibernian thimble declared it to be made of tanned human skin, but I cannot vouch for such being the case.

The employment of leathern thimbles in the middle ages may account, in some degree, for our so seldom finding metallic ones of an earlier date than the sixteenth century, when they became comparatively common. The example I now produce has the lower band stamped with a little shield charged with a cinquefoil, the form of which will hardly permit us to assign the thimble to a later epoch than *circa* 1500. This specimen is of stout brass, ten-twelfths of an inch high ; the top domed, and with the sides thickly covered with a spiral of large indentations. It was recovered from the Thames, off Dowgate, Sept. 1856, but not with the more ancient thimbles already described.

My next thimble is also of brass, nearly 1 inch high. The

[1] See Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic Words, sub* "Crouche".

top is much flatter than in the earlier examples; but, like them, there is no projecting rim or margin round the base, as in the modern utensil. The top and a good part of the sides are indented, and the lower part is encompassed by a band of sixteen circlets with an eleven-rayed star in each. There is likewise a small stamp bearing letters which seem to be AIN. This sixteenth century thimble was found in the Thames, near the site of Old London Bridge, May 1846; and with it was another of the same size and material, which, instead of the belt of stars, was surrounded by the words GOD SAVE THE QVENE,—a posy common on various articles made during the reign of Elizabeth, at which period such brief epigraphs were very fashionable. Among the Rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee House at Chelsea was "an ancient thimble dug out of the ruins of Stocks Market, with the motto, I WIS IT BETTER.

Allusions to thimbles are not unfrequent in the works of writers of the Elizabethan era. Thus Petrucio, in *The Taming of the Shrew* (iv, 3), says to the tailor, "Thou liest, thou thread, thou thimble"; and Grumio dares him, "Though thy little finger be armed in a thimble." In *King John* (v, 4), the "Bastard Faulconbridge" says derisively to the Dauphin,

> —— "your own ladies and pale visag'd maids,
> Like Amazons, come tripping after drums;
> Their thimbles into armed gauntlets change,
> Their needles to lances, and their gentle hearts
> To fierce and bloody inclination."

Silver thimbles of an early date are rarely met with; but they seem to have been common enough in the seventeenth century, and constituted part of the offerings made by the Puritanical ladies to Hugh Peters for the service of the Parliament. This curious fact is mentioned by Pepys in his *Diary* (*sub* April 3, 1663), who says that Dr. Creeton (Creighton) stated in a sermon that Hugh Peters' preaching stirred up the maids of the City to bring in their bodkins and thimbles; and allusion is also made to this circumstance in the popular ballads of the time, wherein we read,

> "And now for a fling at your thimbles,
> Your bodkins, rings, and whistles,
> In truck for your toys,
> We'll fit you with boys,
> 'Tis the doctrine of Hugh's Epistles.[1]
> * * * *

[1] *Collection of Loyal Songs*, ii, 47.

"To pull down their King,
Their plate they would bring,
And other precious things;
So that Sedgwick and Peters
Were no small getters
By their bodkins, thimbles, and rings."[1]

Keightley quotes from Howel's *Philanglus* (p. 128) that "the seamstress brought in her silver thimble, the chamber-maid her bodkin, the cook her silver spoon."

The fashion of the ordinary thimble in use from the middle to the close of the seventeenth century, is well illustrated by the specimen I produce, which is more coppery than brass in aspect, and made of what was called, after its inventor, "Prince Rupert's Metal." The slightly domed top is smooth, with a ring round its margin; the upper part of the sides is indented, the lower decorated with a scroll pattern, and there is a trifling rim at the base. This thimble is really a tasteful little thing in its way.

Our lamented Associate and Secretary, Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., possessed a sailor's thimble of stout brass, made probably at the end of the seventeenth century, and found at Billingsgate in August 1874. It is one inch and two-twelfths in height, and nearly one inch in diameter at the base, and with a circular aperture on the crown a quarter of an inch in diameter. The whole surface of the metal, save a band at the lower part, is covered by ten rows of large pits, the band being incised with the words BARNATTE STAR. This inscription is a novelty, and deserves record, whether it relate to the maker of the utensil, or to the ship in which it was employed.

Little more need be said about thimbles from this period. Those of silver came more and more into vogue; and the Tudor practice of inscribing a motto or posy around the lower part was vigorously followed during the eighteenth century, and traces of the old conceit may be found in the present day. "From a Friend", "A Keepsake", "A Token of Regard", "Forget me not", are among the phrases of thimble literature.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks, that though we can neither fix the precise era nor country in which the thimble originated, it is clearly an article of very high antiquity, not alone in England, but in continental Europe, the

[1] *Collection of Loyal Songs*, ii. 61.

buried city of Herculaneum proclaiming its use at least eighteen centuries since. With this well attested fact prominently before us, it is almost incredible that in a work published so late as 1855 we should find the following statement: "Thimble.—This simple, yet useful, and now indispensable, appendage to the ladies' work-table is of Dutch invention. The art of making them was brought to England by John Lofting, a mechanic from Holland, who set up a workshop at Islington, near London, and practised the manufacture of them in various metals, with profit and success, about 1695." So says Haydn in the seventh edition of *The Dictionary of Dates*. It may seem a small matter with many whether the thimble be an invention of the seventeenth or seventh century; and if the misstatement referred to had occurred in any obscure or unpretending work, it might be passed by unheeded; but when such an assertion is put forward in a book which is to be found not only in every library, but almost on every drawing-room table, and is accepted as a guide and authority by young and old, learned and unlearned, it is our duty as truth-loving archæologists to expose and denounce so gross an error.

Hitherto we have viewed the thimble as a mere inoffensive little implement designed for industrial purposes, but vile men have turned it to base and wicked ends, and given a dark side to its otherwise bright story. As the Roman *præstigiator* did the trick of the "little pea" with *acetabuli* or *paropsides*, so the modern sharper performs the nefarious game with thimbles, and many a racecourse has been the arena whereon the thimble-rigger has won the precious gold from his silly dupes. We have only to consult the letters of Seneca[1] and Alciphron[2] to see how close is the resemblance between the trickery of to-day and that of classic ages.

[1] Ep. 45.

[2] Ep. iii, 20.

ESTRIGHOEL, CHEPSTOW, AND TINTERN, IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read 27th January*, 1875.)

THE Castle of Estrighoel[1] (a corruption of Ystrad-Iwl, the Welsh for Strata Julia, on which it is situated, according to Wakeman,[2] recalls the chivalry of the Templars, nurtured in the twelfth century to reign supreme in the thirteenth. The Abbey of Tintern, towards the end of this century, was just completed in the form we now see it. It displays the chaste and dignified proportions of the Early English style of architecture merging into the Decorated,—a fitting memorial of the church in that century when she reigned paramount after many a severe encounter with the obstinacy of preceding times, but reserved for more serious struggles in those which were to follow. The town of Chepstow, too, with its old Saxon name, which fixes it as the spot where from ancient times the buying and selling of commodities was carried on, recalls another characteristic of that age,—the rise of the towns in political importance.

To begin with the Castle. Richard Cœur de Lion, the troubadour King, in A.D. 1189 mounted the throne of England, which his father Henry II, claimant of the earldom of Toulouse,[3] had ably filled during thirty-five eventful years. At this same time the Castle of Strigul was passing into the possession of William Mareschall by his marriage with Isabella, the only daughter and heiress of Richard de Clare, the

[1] Such meagre notices of names as the following, in *Domesday Book*, taken in connexion with the families existing in the reign of Henry II, have been made a sufficient source for genealogies to connect the two periods, which have to be taken largely upon trust, and upon Sir William Dugdale and his contemporaries: "Castellum de Estrighoel fecit Willelmus comes, et ejus tempore reddebat xl solidos tantum de navibus in silva euntibus."

[2] Wakeman, *Journal*, x, p. 249.

[3] Henry II in 1159 levied by *a new mode of procedure* a scutage upon the knights' fees of the kingdom, in lieu of personal service, to pay for his expedition against Toulouse, of which he claimed the earldom in right of his wife. (Gervase of Canterbury.) Here is a notable instance of the first development of the modern system out of the feudal compact; but the monk's arithmetic is probably at fault. The sum of 180,000 pounds of silver, said to have been levied, seems far too large.

hero of Leinster, to whom reference will be made hereafter. King John, by his charter dated in the first year of his reign, granted and confirmed to William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs, the Earl-Marshalship (*Magistratus Mariscalciæ*) of his court.[1] This William Mareschall, known as the elder, came also into the earldom of Pembroke by right of his wife's property, and his public acts proclaim him worthy of his high position, his merits proving his best nobility. This is sufficiently apparent from the part he took with Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in procuring King John's signature to Magna Charta. Hallam, one of the most accurate and impartial of our historians,[2] calls these two men the pillars of our church and state, and entitled, beyond the rest, to the glory of this monument. The same writer's testimony to the value of the Great Charter may be cited in passing, as an answer to those, in modern times, who would depreciate it. He says, "An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the charter. In this just solicitude for the people, and in the moderation which infringed upon no essential prerogative of the monarchy, we may perceive a liberality and patriotism very unlike the selfishness which is sometimes rashly imputed to those ancient barons."

On the death of King John the Earl of Pembroke was named "Rector Regis et regni"; and Hubert de Burgh, Justiciary.[3] The great Earl did not survive the King more than four years; and he was buried at the new[4] Temple Church, in London, on 16th March 1219, according to written directions given by himself in his lifetime.[5] What King John and his son Henry III owe to him for the support of their throne, and for defeating the confederacy which would have brought into England a French king, history amply testifies. He was Sheriff or Fermour of Gloucestershire, paying to the King, for his county, £372 : 13 : 6.[6]

The connexion of King John with the Templars seems to

[1] Chart. 1 John, in Madox's *Hist. of Exchequer*.

[2] *Middle Ages*, ed. 1834, vol. ii, p. 47.

[3] From a record in Madox's *Hist. of Exchequer*, c. 21, note A.

[4] The old Temple stood without Holborn Bars, on south side of the street, near Southampton Buildings.

[5] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, vol. vi, Part ii.

[6] "Comes Willelmus Marescallus:—Nicolaus Avenell pro eo reddit compotum de ccc & lxxii*l.* & xiii*s.* & vi*d.* Bl. de firma comitatus." (Mag. Rot., 1 J., rot. 3, a Glocc., in Madox's *Hist. of Exchequer*.)

have been intimate. He had given them the Isle of Lundy at the mouth of the river Severn, all his land at Radenach and at Harewood in Herefordshire, and conferred on them numerous privileges.[1] He was living at the Temple when compelled by the barons to sign Magna Charta. This new building in Fleet Street, finished in 1185, was honoured by the presence of Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who came over purposely to consecrate it at the time when Geoffrey, son of Stephen, was Grand Master. In this building the scene occurred at the funeral of the Earl of Pembroke, memorable as showing the attitude of barons and churchmen towards each other at this period; and is an instance that if the latter did by peaceable methods accumulate land for the benefit of the Church, the former were ready and powerful enough to retard these accumulations by such forcible seizures of Church lands[2] as the following. When the Earl was away in Ireland he had seized upon two manors belonging to the Bishop of Ferns, an Irishman by birth, and monk of the Cistercian order; and he had presumed to retain these manors as if by a just title, because taken in war. The Bishop summarily excommunicated him, and now at his funeral thought it worth while, at great personal inconvenience, to come up to London and seek an interview with the King. The King asked him to pardon William Mareschall; but the priest, looking to the main chance, spoke to the body as if it had been alive, saying, "O William, if you restore to me what you have taken away from my church, I will pardon you; but if not, I confirm the sentence passed, and, bound up in your sins, you shall remain condemned in Hell." The King, while rebuking the priest for his harshness, asked William, the heir, and his brothers to restore the property for the good of their father's soul. The son replied that his father had acquired the property, and if that old and foolish Bishop passed an unjust sentence, the malediction must rest on his own head; and he did not intend to diminish his inheritance. "My father", he said, "died seized of the manors, and I enter into possession of what I find." In this his

[1] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.*, vi, Part ii.

[2] "Yet a knight, when present at mass, would not neglect holding the point of his sword before him while the Gospel was read, to signify his readiness to support it." (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, c. ix, p. ii.)

brothers concurred. The Bishop was more incensed at the contumacy of the sons than at the first injury done him by the father, and coming to the King said: "Quod dixi, dixi, et quod scripsi indebiliter scripsi; stat enim sententia."[1] The widow had formerly prophesied that all her children would inherit the same earldom ("comites futuri erant unius comitatus"), which came to be fulfilled. The monk of St. Alban's thinks the sentence passed by the Bishop was the reason of the extinction of the family. Within fifteen years of the father's death, the estates passed in succession to the five children, William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm; though this latter, dying before his brother, never actually came into possession; and as all died without issue, their five sisters became joint heiresses.

William (called the younger) proved a worthy successor to his father. His first wife was Alicia; and he married, after her death, Eleanor, daughter of King John, and sister of Henry III. His intimacy with royalty enabled not only himself, but also Alice his wife, to borrow sums of money from the Treasury, as appears by the entries on the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer, in which the loans are recorded as divers imprests repaid, which had been taken out of the King's Treasury, out of the *quinzime*, and out of the Mint.[2] He excelled in feats of arms, and was injured by no man with impunity. When absent in Ireland, in 1223, Llewelyn, King of Wales, captured two of his castles, and killed all he found in them by decapitation, filling the fortresses with his Welshmen. When this transaction came to the knowledge of the Earl, ten years after it happened, he returned to England in all haste, and collecting a large army, besieged and recaptured his castles; and to avenge the slaughter of so many of his men by Llewelyn, he retaliated on the Welsh, and then wreaked his vengeance upon the lands of Llewelyn by devastating the country with fire and sword. He put the army of Llewelyn to flight, and then pursuing, ruthlessly slaughtered the Welshmen; and it is estimated that 9,000 were either killed or made prisoners, very few having succeeded in escaping.[3] In 1233 King Henry III defied the Earl Marischal, which was tantamount

[1] Matt. Paris, p. 687.
[2] Mag. Rot., 9 and 20 Henry III, in Madox's *Hist. of Exchequer*.
[3] Matt. Paris.

to dissolving the feudal tie of service on the one side, and patronage on the other. The Earl's speech is remarkable. "I am not so rich or powerful as the King; but I place my faith in God and the justice of my cause, and put no trust in alliances with foreigners; nor do I covet their assistance."[1]

The next brother, Gilbert, who succeeded on the death of William, was an equally valiant knight, but his career was short. He was preparing a magnificent expedition to Jerusalem, and had collected money from the country round, from all who were signed with the cross; for which privilege he had paid two hundred marks to the Pope, "taught by the wise example of Earl Richard";[2] but he was cut off by premature death at a tournament at Hertford in 1241.[3] Both reins of his charger were cut near the bit, and the horse breaking away, hit the rider a severe blow on the chest by throwing up his head. He died at Hertford, where his viscera were buried in the monastery there, in front of the altar of the Blessed Virgin. The body, sadly battered, was removed next day to London, in company of his brother and all the family, to be buried close to his father and brother in the Temple Church.

Walter then succeeded to the earldom, but had some difficulty in getting legal possession, because the King had prohibited the dangerous games by which his brother met with his death, and tournaments were proscribed by Pope Alexander III, who denied Christian burial to those who fell in such combats.[4] After four years (1245), Walter also died at London,[5] and was buried at Tintern, where many of his illustrious predecessors ("magnifici antecessores") had been laid.[6]

The brother Anselm had died previously, therefore was never in possession of the estates.

The marriage of Eleanor, Dowager Countess of Pembroke, and sister of the King, to Simon de Montfort, which had taken effect in 1238, was another link uniting the family of the Castle with a nobleman conspicuous above all others in

[1] Matth. Paris, p. 392. [2] Ibid.

[3] V Kal. Junias (Matth. Westm., p. 161.

[4] Lateran Council, A.D. 1179; Matt. Paris.

[5] Or at Goodrich, a castle given by King John in the fifth year of his reign to William Earl Marshall, to hold by the service of two knights' fees. (King's *Munimenta Antiqua*, and his authorities.)

[6] Matt. Paris.

this reign. He was nephew of the Simon de Montfort who had led the crusade against the free-thinkers of Alby in Provence, known as the Albigeois or Albigenses.

Let us turn from the horrors of Beziers and Carcassonne, and draw a veil over the slaughter of thousands of the subjects of the Count of Toulouse, to the more pleasing theme which the name of Provence must suggest. The songs of the troubadours, sung in the language of Oc, fostered, if they did not create, that singular condition of the public mind known as the spirit of chivalry. Begun in poetry, it became really one of the most active forces of the thirteenth century. If I may borrow a simile from chemical science, chivalry, referred back to its elements, may be said to consist of a sublimate of love, mystical and Platonic ; a phosphate of martial heroism with an amalgam of religion. The Knights Templars, separated from their country and houses, and fired with active zeal for the faith and possession of the holy places in Palestine, were an example of the elements of chivalry in combination. The three classes into which the order of Templars was divided,—that is, knights, priests, and serving brethren,—brought all grades of society within its influence; but the knights were only selected from noble families, and known to be valiant men and true. So many of the De Clares and Pembrokes were numbered among its cavaliers, that I have ventured a reminiscence of the fraternity which in the thirteenth century was rousing the jealousy of the monks, the clergy, and the outer world, on account of its great wealth and influence. From small beginnings, when a habitation was given them within the sacred enclosure of Solomon's Temple on Mount Moriah, in 1118, in the days of Hugo de Paganis and Godefridus de Sancto Audomaro, when poverty compelled them to ride two on one horse,[1] as represented on their seal, the Templars rapidly increased in wealth after the Roman see loaded them with privileges[2] in 1172.[3] They continued their suc-

[1] The cavalcades of the clergy were less unassuming. At the Roman Council of 1179 it was ordained that archbishops visiting their churches or parishes should be content with forty or fifty horses, bishops were limited to twenty or thirty, papal legates to twenty-five, archdeacons to five or seven, and deacons were not to exceed the moderate number of two horses. (Matt. Paris.)

[2] By Alexander's famous Bull, "Omne datum optimum".

[3] Fifty years after St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, had written his famous letter to the Count de Champagne in favour of a crusade, which soon caused the monk to be looked upon as the oracle of Europe.

cessful career till the machinations of Clement V and Philip of France caused the annihilation of the order in 1312, when these potentates found that fighting priests could no longer be serviceable. The Knights Hospitallers, established in 1124 to relieve the bodily sufferings of the soldiers and pilgrims at Jerusalem, were rivals of the Templars in England when the occasion of the Crusades was passing away, and became recipients of the property of their less fortunate brethren when the order of the Templars was abolished.

On the failure of male heirs to William Mareschall the elder, Henry III solemnly gave the Marshal's rod into Maud's hands, one of the daughters, which she thereupon delivered unto Earl Roger Bigod, her son and heir, whose homage the King received for the same.[1] Maud died in 1248, and was buried at Tintern, her four sons carrying her body into the choir. Roger Bigod died in 1269,[2] and was succeeded by his nephew of the same name, who lived till 1305,[3] when, in default of issue, the estates of Strigul, Tudenham, etc., passed to the Crown.[4]

This last named great noble took a prominent part in that public act called the confirmation of the charters, which is not less important than the Great Charter itself, which had also been obtained by the exertions of a previous owner of Strigul. Edward I was powerful, and the act was reluctantly conceded in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He would not confirm the charters, notwithstanding his promise, without the words "salvo jure coronæ nostræ", on which the two Earls, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Duke of Norfolk, retired from the

[1] Dugdale, *Baron.*, vol. i, p. 134.

[2] It may be mentioned that in 1252 Alexander III, King of Scotland, having been knighted by Henry III, King of England, the Earl Mareschal demanded the King of Scotland's horse and accoutrements as a fee due to him by ancient custom. (Matt. Paris.) It does not, however, appear that the fee was paid.

[3] At this period an income of £10 or £20 a year was reckoned a competent estate for a gentleman. The lord of a single manor would seldom have enjoyed more. A knight who possessed £150 a year passed for extremely rich. (Macpherson's *Annals* from Matt. Paris.) The value of the nominal sums in coin, at this period, measured by their purchasing power as compared with modern times, may be reckoned approximately by a multiple of 24 or 25 to bring them to our present standard; though the ratio which commodities bore to each other then and now not being the same, this reckoning will, of course, not be correct for every product; and Hallam, writing in 1816 (*Middle Ages*, c. ix, Part II), considered we should not take less than a multiple of about 30 for animal food, and 18 or 20 for corn.

[4] *Journal*, x. p. 268.

court. When the confirmation was read to the people at St. Paul's, says Hemingford, they blessed the King on seeing the charters with the great seal affixed; but when they heard the captious conclusion, they cursed him instead. At the next meeting of Parliament the King agreed to omit the insidious words. Hallam[1] considers that England has never produced any patriots to whose memory she owes more gratitude than to these two noblemen.

It is not my purpose to pursue the history of the Castle after this period;[2] nor have I much to say about the De Clares, surnamed Strongbows, who preceded the Mareschalls. The knights who returned from Palestine seem to have made a science of castle-building in a real as well as a figurative sense. We may trace to this period the construction of many of our castles in the form we now see them, though the keep is generally of far more ancient date, and sometimes even may be traced back to early Saxon times, judging from the courses of tile laid in the wall after the Roman manner, many instances of which are pointed out in King's *Munimenta Antiqua.*

The rapid course of events of deep interest, and the poetical descriptions of them imported from, and tinged with the glowing colours of, the East, influenced even the monkish writers of the thirteenth century, from whom we receive, in a great measure, our histories of the eleventh and twelfth; it is, therefore, not to be wondered at if these should present some anachronisms of colouring, if not of facts; and when both names and dates are confounded, we may expect to see our earlier ancestors portrayed by the monks of the thirteenth century under forms not known before the remarkable period of which I am attempting some illustration.[3] We have the authority of the Somerset Herald for saying that the genealogy of the great house of Clare is

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii, p. 168.

[2] I must not be tempted to "travel out of the record" (to use a legal phrase) into the fourteenth century, when an Aymer de Valence and a Sir Walter Manny possessed the Castle, and did honour to the chivalrous character of the Edwardian era, each being the very beau-ideal of a high spirited and loyal cavalier.

[3] If the clergy were powerful enough to direct the course of political events in the twelfth century, it is not much to assume that they were equally so in the thirteenth to direct how those events should be written. The Bishop of Winchester in 1141 asserted the right of electing a king of England to appertain principally to his order. (Will. Malm., p. 188, quoted by Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii, p. 223.)

"wofully obscure", and I refer to his account of it.[1] One Gilbert de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, appears to have been created Earl of Pembroke by King Stephen in the fourth year of his reign (1138); and his uncle Walter is named as the founder of Tintern, where both are said to be buried. But the mutilated effigy in the Abbey, which has been pointed out as that of this Gilbert or Walter de Clare, is shown by Mr. Planché to be of the date of nearly a century later.

Richard Fitz-Gilbert de Clare, eldest son and successor of Gilbert, is described as the hero of Leinster, who, being made King of Dublin and Waterford, gave umbrage to the King, Henry II, for this assumption of authority. Upon being reconciled to the King he was made Justice of Ireland, and having founded the Priory of Kilmainan, "died untimely upon the nones of April 1176[2] (22 Henry II),[3] and was buried in the chapter house at Gloucester, though others say at Dublin."[4] His daughter Isabella, as before mentioned, married William Mareschall, who became third Earl of Pembroke; and this event brings up the history into the thirteenth century, and upon more reliable times.[5]

The charters of Tintern Abbey are two documents,—the one of William Mareschall the younger, given at Strugull, 26th March, 7th Henry III; and the second by Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, given at Modesgat, 4th August 1301. In 1287 mass was celebrated in the new Church of the Blessed Mary of Tynterne; and on 5th nones of October in the following year the fraternity entered the choir, and attended the first service at the high altar. The church was dedicated on the 28th day of July.[6] The building stands a majestic monument of the Cistercians in the best days of

[1] *Journal*, vol. x.

[2] According to Dugdale he paid £65 10*s.* for seventy-five knights' fees and a half, belonging to the honour of Strigul. (*Bar.*, vol. i, p. 601.)

[3] In the reign of Henry II a stop was put, by agreement, to the practice, previously very common, of sending slaves to Ireland for sale there. (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, c. ix, Pt. 1.)

[4] Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 206.

[5] An account of that branch of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford, of whom the last of the family died in the flower of his age at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, is given by Mr. J. R. Planché (Somerset Herald) in the *Journal*, xxvi, p. 149. He rejoices to have left the main stem of the De Clares to deal only with this special branch of it, where less genealogical difficulties occur.

[6] William of Worcester, ed. Nasmyth, pp. 77, 79.

church architecture. The outer walls still mark its extent, though the groined roof has been scattered in fragments below, and the *débris* are piled on the smooth turf, from which the bases of the clustered piers now spring. Among relics of crockets and finials, corbels and mouldings, perhaps none of the stones placed in order for exhibition leave a sadder impression on the mind than one upon which is engraved a map or plan of the estates.

The Abbot of St. Mary of Tynterne could vie, in his day, with the feudal barons in the neighbourhood, and grow rich from the liberality of one, if he were plundered by the rapacity of another. He objected to have his monastery taxed either to pay for the exigencies of the King, or for the crusade of a Pope. It was politic of Honorius III to encourage the mendicant orders of St. Dominic, established in 1216, and of St. Francis of Assisi in 1223; and wise of Boniface VIII to endow them with special privileges in 1295. Their preaching contributed to the spread of Ultramontane sentiments, and served as a check upon the rich and independent monastic establishments. Boniface VIII,[1] when he instituted the jubilee in A.D. 1300, and had the two swords borne before him (symbols of the temporal as well as spiritual power), was celebrating a triumph at a time when his enemies were already beginning to turn the tide of victory. The removal of the papal court to Avignon, which occurred only five years later, was a second Babylonish captivity of the Church. Our Edward I distinguished his long and vigorous reign by measures hitherto unheard of for restraining the rapacity of Rome within his dominions, in which he was encouraged by the action of the barons, whose forbearance was exhausted when Boniface attempted to interfere in the affairs of Scotland.[2]

From Tintern, along the banks of the Wye, through woody dells, the road reaches the town of Chepstow, seated on the river, about two miles from its junction with the Severn.[3]

[1] This Pope added a sixth book, called the *Sext*, to the five books of decretals originally compiled by Gratian, a monk of Milan, in 1140. They formed the basis of the canon law, and, running *pari passu* with the civil code, were calculated to overrule the authority of secular courts, and to confirm the pretensions of Rome to universal dominion, even to the dethroning of emperors and kings. The pontifical power was the sun shining by its own light; the royal was the moon, deriving its splendour by reflection only from the great luminary. (Innocentii III Epist.)

[2] The remonstrance they sent to Rome may be seen in Rymer, vol. ii.

[3] The Severn salmon was duly appreciated, as the following extract shows

Here is good anchorage for ships; and overlooking the harbour once stood a Benedictine monastery of more ancient date than Tintern, but of which building only one circular-arched portal remains. The town must have been a great mart for the woolly fleeces which formed the staple trade of the country, as being almost the only article which could be exported with advantage. During the reign of King John the breed of sheep greatly increased. More wool was made into cloth than at any previous period.[1] The guilds of traders first gave unity and strength to the cities and boroughs, which, from separate payments by individuals residing in them, to the superior lord, came afterwards to pay a fixed sum for the whole; and from the end of the twelfth to that of the thirteenth century, the traders in England became more and more prosperous.[2]

In the 49th Henry III, the famous writs of summons to cities and boroughs attest their growing importance. These writs, issued by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, bore date 12th December 1264. The part which the liverymen of the city of London took in the barons' wars against King John, and the special privileges granted to them by Magna Charta, show the increasing influence of the trading population. The Lord Mayor, Fitz Richard, suffered by the fortune of war after the battle of Evesham, and had to endure imprisonment; but the Londoners earned a qualification of nobility, according to the ancient writers. William of Malmesbury calls them "*quasi optimates*"; and Matthew Paris says that "*propter civitatis dignitatem et civium antiquam libertatem Barones consuevimus appellare.*" As they appear in arms in this part of the country, and in commercial intercourse with Bristol, these are the reasons for referring to them here.

If the system of tallages exacted upon boroughs was oppressive and unjust, inasmuch as they paid a fixed rent, still

in reference to the King's merry-making at Gloucester: "The sheriff was commanded to cause twenty salmons to be bought for the King, and put into pyes against Christmas." (Liberat., 26 Henry III, m. 13, in Madox's *Hist. of the Exchequer.*)

[1] Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce.*

[2] During the twelfth century bodies of artificers who had worked at different trades in the religious houses, as their class had done before in the villas of the wealthy Romans, emancipated themselves from the rules and thraldom of the monastery, to establish free guilds in the towns, that they might freely follow their particular craft for their own benefit.

equivalent privileges and charters were often obtained, in return for these impositions, from the sovereigns. The burgesses of Bristol accounted to the King for £245, the ferm of their town, the King having demised their town at that ferm.[1]

We may suppose Chepstow to have earned some independence in this age, notwithstanding the close proximity of the Castle of Strigul. The chevrons on the shields, and the badges on the liveries of the retainers of the Clares, must often have reminded the citizens of their near neighbour, the great Earl; but the fitting out of his warlike expeditions, hunting parties, and entertainments[2] within the Castle, must have spread money among the citizens, and helped them on to the prosperity they enjoyed in common with the other towns of the kingdom.[3]

Before leaving the Castle, mention must be made of one of the towers, which goes by the name of "Henry Marten's", because as late as the year 1680, when he died, this prisoner was confined in it for the part he took against King Charles I, and for signing the fatal death-warrant. Cicero said of Cæsar, that he was the first man who ever came sober to overthrow the state. Marten was not a second instance of such sobriety, for "though a man of good parts, so that his society was acceptable to the greatest persons, he would be drunk too soon, and so put an end to all the mirth for the present". His portrait is said still to hang on the walls of a room at St. Pierre, near Chepstow, whither the family of Mr. Lewis would invite him during his twenty years' captivity, when he was permitted, on the parole of a gentleman, to enjoy the recreation of such a visit.

I may conclude by remarking that the high sense of honour and of truth which distinguished the knights of the thirteenth century has been an enduring legacy to after times, which has left its mark upon the modern gentleman; and if the burlesque of Cervantes has held up the knight-

[1] Mag. Rot., 8 Henry III. Gloecestr.

[2] The romance of Perceforest tells of a feast where eight hundred knights had each of them a lady eating off his plate. To eat off the same plate was a usual mark of gallantry or friendship. (Hallam's *Middle Ages*, c. ix, p. 2.)

[3] I would refer the reader to the interesting accounts from original documents descriptive of domestic manners in the reign of Edward I, by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, M.A., as they bear upon the times as well as upon several of the great personages referred to in these notes. See *Journal*, xviii, pp. 66-72, 145-152, 213-220.

errant Don Quixote as an object of ridicule, for the purpose of putting an end to tournaments, crusades, and adventures, which outrage common sense, it seems to me that it is not on this account that the story of Cervantes has become universally popular. It is that we admire the hero because, in spite of all his eccentricities and fantastic notions of chivalry, he is always the gentleman and the man of honour.[1]

[1] The curate of his village thus breaks out against the books of chivalry which had turned Don Quixote's head: "Desventurada de mi! Encomendados sean á Satanás e á Barabás tales libros, qui asi han echado á perder el mas delicado entendimiento que habia en toda la Mancha. La Sobrina decia lo mismo e aun decia mas." (Part I, cap. v.)

BURGHLEY HOUSE AND THE FIRST LORD BURGHLEY.

BY G. PATRICK, ESQ.

(*Read May the 19th*, 1879.)

THE British Archæological Association having originally contemplated a visit to Burghley House during the Congress at Wisbech in the summer of last year, the thought suggested itself that a few words concerning an edifice which owes its erection to a statesman who figured so largely in the events of the stirring days of Queen Elizabeth, and which in our own time the genius of Alfred Tennyson has made so celebrated by his beautiful composition, "The Lord of Burghley", would, perhaps, have some interest for the meeting; but as those of us know who attended the Congress, each day's doings were so full of interest, and the time sped so rapidly, that it was not possible even to properly view the archæological treasures of the fine old historic town of Stamford itself, still less to travel further in order to visit Burghley.

From a purely antiquarian point of view Burghley House does not afford much material for a paper, and I would ask you kindly to forgive me if I venture to be somewhat discursive, with the hope of making my paper more interesting.

The manor of Burghley is of great antiquity, and existed previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor. The Rev. Mr. Charlton, the rector of Easton on the Hill, Northamptonshire, gives, in his *Guide to Burghley House*, the descent of the manor at some length; and as Lord Exeter referred me to his book for information regarding the family, we may accept the statement as being, doubtless, correct. I give a summary of the account in order to show how the property came to Lord Burghley. After explaining how the manor was in the possession of the Abbey of Peterborough, having been redeemed from the Crown by Abbot Leofric, for eight marks of gold, in the reign of the Confessor, and confirmed to that Abbey by Pope Eugenius in 1146, Mr. Charlton goes on to say that Burghley was held, in the time of Henry III, of the Abbot of Peterborough, by

William de Burghley, and afterwards by Thomas de Burghley, who died in 1280, when, according to Bridge's *History of Northamptonshire*, as he was a knight, and held of the Abbey, two horses were delivered as a mortuary; and Mary, his wife, dying soon after, a cow was paid on the same account." Peter de Burghley held the manor about 1296. It then passed, through the widow of his son Geoffrey, to the family of John de Tichmarsh, who held it in 1347. The manor passed subsequently, by sale of the reversion, to the family of Wykes, one member being chief magistrate of Stamford in the year 1401; and through his daughter Elizabeth, married to John Milton, *alias* Laurence, dying without issue, it passed in 1490 to Henry Wykes, vicar of All Saints, Stamford, who died in 1508, when the manor passed into the possession of his cousin Margaret, who sold it to Richard Cecil, the father of Lord Burleigh. So far Mr. Charlton. But this latter statement is somewhat at variance with the account given by Lord Burghley himself, who writes in 1585 as follows: "My house of Burghley is of my *mother's inheritance*, who liveth, and is the owner thereof, and I but a farmer."

Before speaking more particularly of this stately home of the Marquis of Exeter, it may not be out of place to say a few words with respect to the style of its architecture, and its derivation. From the period of the introduction of cannon into warfare (first used, as we know, at Cressy in 1346, but not used in Britain until the siege of Berwick in 1405, and not cast in England until 1544), the embattled towers and massive fortresses of the nobles gradually became, as years passed on, of less and less importance; and with the conclusion of the long and disastrous civil wars of the Roses, by the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster, the land became more settled, and men generally were able to give some attention to the development of more peaceful pursuits.

The long wars also had so decimated the nobility that there was no longer one great noble, nor even a number of nobles, sufficiently great to unite with any hope of successfully resisting the new order of things. The great middle class, too, which had been slowly rising in influence as well as in wealth, taking but little part in the quarrels of the different factions, had now become a power in the state:

and with increased prosperity at home, and the advancing strides made by commerce, there arose a desire for greater luxury; whilst show and lavish hospitality, which had hitherto been confined to persons of rank and station, began now to be practised by successful traders and wealthy merchants. We now see the bands of armed retainers which surrounded the feudal lord give place to an ever increasing retinue of servants, as each noble endeavoured to surpass his fellow courtier in sumptuous magnificence; which necessitated, of course, great changes in the inner arrangement of the noble residences, as more accommodation was required under the changed conditions of life than sufficed in the guardrooms and barracks for the old men at arms. It followed, therefore, that as the old castles were rebuilt, or new houses were erected, although at first they were strongly constructed, and were capable of resisting a sudden attack, being often still encircled by a moat, and approached by a drawbridge, they were yet of a more commodious and convenient design. The latter part of the fifteenth century exhibited many residences of the noble and the wealthy, in which the characteristics of fortified dwellings were combined with new and peculiar features. The bay window, for instance, was one of the earliest and most important alterations, and one which always gives an additional charm to our old manor-houses.

The revival of the arts in Italy, the discoveries of the remains of classic architecture, and the great strides which literature made after the invention of printing, all contributed to prepare the way for that change in the domestic architecture of the period which was but the outward sign of the changed manners, customs, and feelings, of the people. In architecture, however, the English nation was slow to receive the spirit of the Renaissance; for notwithstanding that, in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the intercourse with the Continent was frequent, if not continuous, it was at least a period of one hundred years after the advent of the Renaissance in Italy before any knowledge of the elegant conceptions of the cinque-cento architects, Brunelleschi and others, had reached England. But as soon as the novelty of these classic forms began to be acknowledged, and the beauty of their detail appreciated, they were seized, and engrafted

upon the existing Gothic style without much, if any, consideration of the lack of affinity and absence of harmony which they exhibited; and hence arose that curious mixture of architectural features known to us as the Elizabethan style, or the style of the Renaissance, in England.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 we arrive at a period whence architecture began to be practised as a particular calling or profession; and buildings henceforth are found to be designed with due attention to the requirements of the day, and upon an established and recognised system. Chief amongst those men who gave their attention to the new style of building, and worthy to be called an architect, was one John Thorpe, of whom personally but little appears to be known, but who, according to Horace Walpole, was employed in rebuilding or improving many of the mansions of the nobility in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I; and amongst others he designed and superintended, in great part, the building of Burghley House.

In the library of Sir John Soane's Museum, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, is preserved a very curious and rare folio volume of plans and drawings, the original work of John Thorpe, and in accordance with which the various edifices illustrated would seem to have been carried out. This book was formerly in the possession of the Earl of Warwick, and was purchased by the late Sir John Soane at the sale of the library of the Hon. Charles Greville in 1810. Amongst the drawings contained in the book are two plans of Burghley House, which show the building, as regards its exterior, but little different from its appearance at the present day. This volume of Thorpe's drawings, I may say in passing, is of a good size; but the sheets are irregularly cut, and bound with but little regard to arrangement or convenience of examination. They are drawn in rather faint brown ink, in outline only; and there are but few figured measurements, and but little descriptive writing, though the treads of the steps are carefully numbered. There are elevations occasionally (or "uprights" as he calls them) of the different buildings, with sketches of ornamental detail, gable terminations, chimney-caps, etc., all drawn in the same brown ink. Of Burghley, however, there are but the two plans already alluded to, with some detail, which, by the permission of the Museum authorities, I was allowed to trace in pencil.

Burghley House is situated in the county of Northampton, just over the Lincolnshire border, south-eastward of the river Welland, and distant about a mile from Stamford. It stands upon a slight eminence near the centre of a beautifully timbered park of about seven miles in circumference; and the approach to the house from Burghley Lane, leading from the street of St. Martin's, Stamford, beneath the shady avenues of oaks, chestnuts, and beeches, through which at intervals one gets a distant glimpse of the noble pile bathed in the bright sunshine of a summer's morning, is a most enjoyable walk. As Lord Burghley, in one of his letters, dated 1585, in speaking of the house, says: "For the building there I have set my walls upon the old foundations: indeed, I have made the rough stone walls to be of square; and yet one side remaineth as my father left it me". And as Dr. Waagen, in his work upon *Art and Artists in England*, in speaking of his visit to Burghley, says "that the house was built, making use of a more ancient edifice", it would appear that an older building previously existed upon the same site. If we examine the plan, I think we shall find evidence, from the greater thickness of the walls and the irregularity of the building on the east side (which comprises the great hall, the present chapel, and the curious old kitchen), that this side was the portion alluded to by Burghley, and consequently it is here only that we can trace any remains of a previous building, though outwardly there is little left, except the kitchen, which speaks of an older date. The lofty kitchen (still in use), situated at the north-eastern angle of the building, is evidently of a period anterior to the sixteenth century. It is about 30 feet square, having a vaulted and groined roof with a lantern at the apex.

The erection of the present edifice was probably commenced about 1574, by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the famous Lord High Treasurer of Queen Elizabeth. The oldest date observable is 1577, which is carved in the centre of the vaulted ceiling of the west entrance, while 1585 and 1587 respectively are carved beneath the spire of the chapel, and upon the north front. The material of which it is built is a stone called "Barnack rag", from quarries near to Barnack in Northamptonshire, of which many buildings, including Barnack Church, were erected; but the old quarries, I am

told, are now disused and grass-grown. It is a capital weather-stone, of a pleasant colour, and the mouldings are nearly as sharp as when first cut.

The house is built round a court, in form a parallelogram, which was the usual although not universal plan of a mansion of this period, with semicircular staircases at the inner angles on the west side. Staircases were principal features in the houses of Elizabethan date, and Burghley possessed two of exceedingly rich design; but the grand staircase, shown on Thorpe's plan as a broad central flight of stairs ornamented with columns, was removed in the latter part of the last century, and the present one erected. At the same time much of the old oak panelling was removed, in order to prepare the walls for the present painted decoration of mythological subjects by Verrio and Stothard. The other, a stone staircase of original date, yet remains unaltered (it is illustrated in Richardson's work, *Old English Mansions*), and reaches from the basement to the roof of the building, and is of very great interest, being most elaborately coffered, panelled, and carved; the landings being vaulted and groined, with quaint pendants and keystones over the arches carved in high relief. Altogether it is a valuable example of Elizabethan work. The north and west fronts of the building, overlooking the park and gardens, are the more imposing; the north, or entrance front, being about 200 ft. in length, and approached from a broad terrace elevated by several circular steps above the garden level.

In comparing Thorpe's plans with the carefully measured drawings I now submit, and which were taken about fifty years ago, and have been kindly lent to me for the purposes of this paper, we notice many discrepancies, suggesting whether these original drawings were not Thorpe's sketches, his first ideas for the design of the house; this terrace, for instance, and the ground story of the south front being very different in execution to the indications on the drawings. We notice the same thing again on the first floor plan, where he appears to have intended to have had a long gallery in the west front instead of several rooms.

Bay windows of a combination of the various forms of the rectangle, the semicircle, and the quadrant, were much favoured by the architects of the day, and accordingly we see that Thorpe has introduced this very picturesque form

of window, and made it the central feature of his northern front.

Square, projecting towers at the angles, and broad, deep projections in the centres of the principal fronts, which, between iron gates of elaborate design, and richly gilt, give access to the interior of the building and central court, with angular bay windows breaking the length of wall-space between the towers, all give occasion for a charming play of light and shadow. The upper stages of these projections are of an octagonal form, and finished as domed turrets.

The combination of classic and Gothic detail is in this building of a more refined character than in many other buildings of the Elizabethan age. There is an absence of much of that grotesqueness which is so often a detriment to the architecture of this period. The chimneys, in the form of classic columns united by a continuous and heavy cornice, appear to be somewhat too tall; while the upper stage of the tower and spire in the centre of the east front of the quadrangle is, I venture to think, too massive in its character for the surrounding façades.

The view in the quadrangle, taken altogether, is very picturesque; but it has been somewhat altered of late years by the building of screen-walls between the projections, in order to form additional corridors of communication.

In the interior of the mansion there has been considerable alteration, rendered necessary, perhaps, by the requirements of modern life.

Burghley House is rich in state beds, chief amongst them being that occupied by Queen Elizabeth when she visited her favourite Lord High Treasurer, who served her faithfully for forty years as Secretary of State, and who as a minister was distinguished by an unwearied application to state affairs, and a calmness and sagacity which by some of his contemporaries was regarded as hypocrisy. It has been considered doubtful whether Burghley built the whole of this noble pile; and the smallness of his means has been conjectured as not permitting of his doing so, for it is well known that Queen Elizabeth, however much she may have appreciated the merits of her servants, was not over liberal in her payments; and, indeed, we have an illustration of her parsimony in the complaint made to Lord Burghley by the Earl of Shrewsbury in his letter dated from Sheffield,

25th of February 1573, in which he says: "I pray your Lordship move the Queen's Majesty for the signing of the warrant for this draft. My Lord, I have been *long unpaid*, and have more need than I will make show of." I extract this from Mr. W. de Gray Birch's paper upon original documents in our *Journal* for 1874. Lord Burghley also speaks of himself as being the "poorest Lord in England". Lord Macaulay, after describing his character as not that of a great man in the truest sense of the term, but as that of an eminently useful minister, crafty and self-seeking, yet gives him credit for perfect honesty as regards his trust, refusing to enrich himself at the expense of the national purse. With regard to the completion of the building, however, Lord Burghley died in 1598; and the latest date upon the house is 1587, which I think is presumptive, although not indisputable, evidence that it was finished in his lifetime; but upon one of Thorpe's plans there is, in handwriting of apparently original date, "Burghley-juxta-Stamford. Earl of Exeter." Now the first Earl of Exeter was Burghley's son Thomas, elevated to that title by James I. It would be interesting to settle this point; but I am unable to do so.

Queen Elizabeth frequently made journeys ("progresses" as they were called) through the country, and honoured her nobles and illustrious merchants with visits, sometimes of several days' duration; and during Lord Burghley's tenure of office these visits were frequent to him; and it is not improbable that he would have been well pleased if his royal mistress had thought fit to honour him less frequently, for these royal visits were a source of very great expense to those who were honoured by them, and also to the public purse, over which Lord Burghley, in virtue of his office, kept strict guard. Amongst the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum is an estimate of an increase of charges "in time of Progresse, A.D. 1573", altered and corrected in Lord Burghley's own hand; which increase amounted to £1,034 : 0 : 6. It was probably during one of these visits to Lord Burghley that the Queen told him that "his head and her purse could do anything".

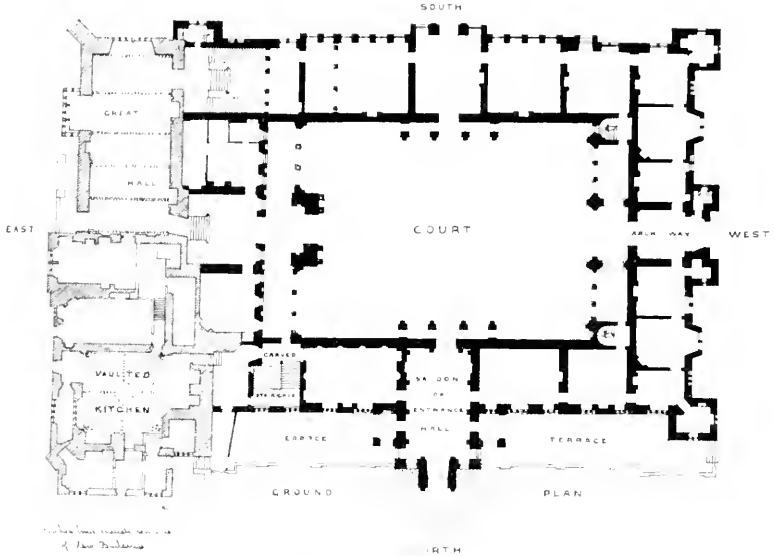
We do not know whether Lord Burghley's energy and decision of character were exercised in the fashion attributed by Fuller, in his *Worthies of Middlesex*, to Sir Thomas Gresham, who, receiving the Queen at his house of Osterley,

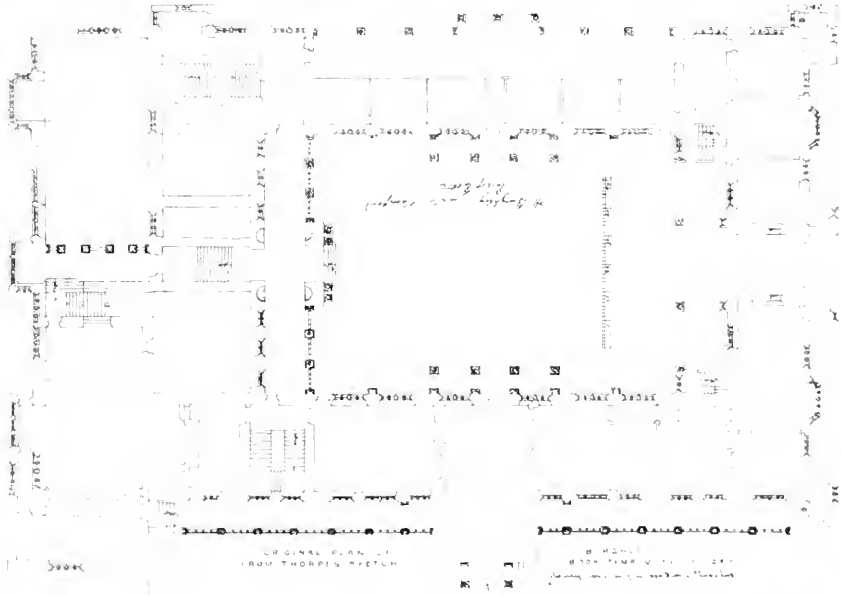
was told by Her Majesty that the "court ought to be divided by a wall". Sir Thomas immediately got together so many workmen that before the Queen arose in the morning, the wall was built.

During the reign of Elizabeth we know that the taste for theatricals and dramatic representations became, through the genius of Shakespeare, very prevalent with the people, especially with the upper classes ; and possibly the noble hall of Burghley, one of the finest specimens of an Elizabethan banquetting hall extant, may have witnessed some of these performances. However that may have been, it is very curious to read that in the year 1595 the Head and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, made application to Lord Burghley for the *loan of the robes from the royal wardrobe*, in order that the characters might be represented with more correctness and propriety of costume than had hitherto been considered necessary. So we are told by Mr. C. Jones in his interesting work, *Recollections of Royalty*.

Burghley House contains a great deal of exquisite carving of fruit and flowers, in festoons, over doors and windows, both in oak and other woods, by Grinling Gibbons. The walls of several of the bedrooms are hung with rich tapestry, made principally for the fifth Earl of Exeter. In Queen Elizabeth's bedroom, the bed with its rich hangings of dark green velvet on gold tissue, and the chairs and mirror used by the Queen, remain in their original positions, having been handed down almost unimpaired except by " time's unsparing hand". In the great hall may be seen a pair of bellows richly carved, of apparently Flemish workmanship, of the sixteenth century. This noble hall is the chief feature of the house, and is 68 feet in length by 30 feet in width, and is about 36 feet to the springing of the roof, which is of open timber-work with richly moulded principals and carved pendants. It is situated at the south-eastern corner of the building, behind the quadrangle, and is lighted by a large bay-window nearly the entire height of the hall below the roof, the recess for which is 13 feet wide by 9 feet in depth. There is also a large four-centred window at the south end. Upon Thorpe's plan there is shown another window upon the east side, between the fireplace and screen or gallery, which are at the north end of the hall ; also a smaller win-

BURGHLEY HOUSE





ORIGINAL PLAN OF
FROM THORPE'S SKETCH

A Ackermann, Photo-litho London



dow, in the same wall, is shown at the south side of the bay; but these appear not to have been carried out. The hall is paved with Ketton stone, covered with an oak flooring; and on the east side there is a lofty stone chimney-piece embellished with carving and the armorial bearings of Lord Burghley.

Some of the materials for the building and embellishment of Burghley appear to have been brought from Flanders by Sir Thomas Gresham, as in *Gresham's Domestic Correspondence* is a memorandum of "articles for the building of Burghley House", as follows: "Antwerp, Oct. 22, 1559.—16 littel pillars of marbill for a gallery, 16*li.*; 9 harthes for chimnies, at 24*s.* 4*d.*, £10 10*s.*" (which should be £10 19*s.*); "6 chaires of velvet at 3*li.* the piece." By this date of 1559 (some fifteen years before the earliest recorded date upon the building), Lord Burghley appears to have gathered materials for the furnishing of his house by degrees, as opportunity offered. Gresham also recommended Henricke, the architect of the Royal Exchange, to Burghley as being "reasonable"; and there is evidence that he procured some of the materials, more especially the paving stones, for one of the halls, with a "patron" (pattern) "how they should be layd"; and it has been thought that, although Thorpe may have designed the house, yet Henricke had much to do with its supervision. In 1563, Clough, Gresham's agent at Antwerp, was in correspondence with Burghley "concerning the fashion of his gallery and pillars".

Some of the foregoing information I have quoted from an interesting description of the visit of Her Most Gracious Majesty and the late Prince Consort to Burghley in 1844.

I can only allude to the fine gallery of paintings, some five hundred or six hundred in number, including the famous Carlo Dolci "Our Saviour blessing the Elements", which is looked upon as the gem of the collection. Amongst the pictures, the portraits of distinguished members of the family, and other celebrated personages, who lived and made the history of our country during the latter part of the sixteenth century, are particularly interesting, and, together with the noble mansion itself, to use the words of Dr. Waagen, "carry us back to the glorious and prosperous reign of the great Elizabeth".

By the kindness of the Marquis of Exeter I was enabled

to view the mansion and its treasures at my leisure, and further permitted to view the grounds, which are not usually shown to visitors. The latter were laid out by the well known "Capability Browne".

With regard to the orthography of the word Burghley there appears to have been some difference of opinion. On the plan of Burghley House, so often mentioned, the name is spelt *Burghley*, and the present Marquis adopts the same orthography, which was used by the celebrated William Lord Burghley; but in an old manuscript book of heraldry in my possession, by Simon Forte, dated 1597, the name is spelt *Burleigh*, and so also by Sir Harris Nicolas in his *Synopsis;* while Burley on the Hill is spelt *Burley*.

During the civil wars Burghley House suffered for its loyalty to King Charles. Cromwell attacked and bombarded the house, and the marks of his cannon-shot may still be seen upon the face of the stonework. The house was not prepared nor adapted for a prolonged resistance; and after its capitulation, Cromwell presented his portrait to the noble and brave defender of the mansion, the widowed Countess of the second Earl of Exeter, and refrained from the horrors of sack and pillage. The portrait now hangs side by side with that of his gallant antagonist.

About a mile distant from Burghley is Wirthorpe or Wothorpe, which we learn from Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's valuable little work, *Memorials of Stamford*, "derives its name from the retention of a Danish compound, *thorpe*, designating a village. Wyr or Wirdthorpe was given by Turketil, Chancellor of King Edred, to Crowland Abbey; and the Abbot of Peterborough was lord of Little Wirdthorpe. Here are the ivy-clad ruins of a mansion built by the son of Lord Burghley, and the first Earl of Exeter, about 1600, who said that he "only built it to retire to out of the dust while his great house of Burghley was a sweeping". After the Restoration this house was occupied by the Duke of Buckingham, the four corner towers and octagonal turrets, with other fragments of walls, alone remain to tell of its former importance, the greater part of the house having been destroyed in the last century. It is well illustrated by Mr. Richardson in his valuable and now scarce work, *Old English Mansions*.

ROMAN FEN-ROAD IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY W. C. LITTLE, ESQ.

(*Read January 15th*, 1879.)

THE information which I can give concerning the Roman Fen Road relates principally to that portion which lies between March and Eldernell. I am the more anxious to place on record some account of this road since Mr. Babington, a great authority, in his *Ancient Cambridgeshire*,[1] speaks of it in these terms: "I know nothing personally of this line. The difficulty of tracing an ancient road through such a country is, of course, peculiarly great. As, however, the Ordnance surveyors mark a line throughout the whole of the above course, from Denver Sluice to Whittlesey, *it is nearly certain* that they saw *traces* of it." It is a causeway raised about three feet above the Fen, and challenges the notice of the most careless passer-by.

I am not prepared to discuss the question of the course of this road outside the Fen Country, and I have not much acquaintance with that part of it which lies between Denver and March; but I would, in passing, remark that a road connecting the high lands of Norfolk with those of Northants, would be one of considerable importance. A glance at the Ordnance Map[2] will show that the shortest line which could possibly be taken for this purpose would be from Denver on the east to the high lands near Peterborough, due west; and further, that by a slight deviation from the direct line, about seven miles out of twenty-five (the entire distance) might be laid on islands where the land was sound, and where abundant materials for the construction of the road might be found. Whether the road went by Horsey Hill, as Mr. Babington suggests, or, as I venture to think, in a more direct line to Peterborough, the route chosen is equally good.

The road enters the Fen near Denver, and it is there very plainly marked. It is less evident in its course through the Fen from Denver to March. Perhaps the Fen was sounder

[1] Camb. Antiq. Soc. Publications, No. III. 8vo. Series. 1853.
[2] Nos. 64, 65. One-inch scale.

ground than that west of March ; and in that case, perhaps, the road would not be of the same solid character. On the high lands of March it can hardly be seen. Every year the plough helps still further to obliterate all traces of it ; but that the course of the road was visible a few years ago, there can be no doubt. Before leaving the high lands of March the road makes an abrupt turn to the north-west, as if to keep to the high land as long as possible. After running in this direction for about a thousand yards it resumes its former direction to the west, and crosses the Fen in a fairly straight line to Eldernell, about four miles. Here are to be found the coarse gravel, the sand, and the clay, of which this portion of the road is composed ; and here are many old and disused gravel-pits, trenches, and earthworks, which may be, and probably are, of Roman origin.

From the point where the road reaches the high land I have not been able to determine its course. There is a very likely looking bank which crosses three grass fields on the high land at Eldernell ; but if the road took this direction, for some reason the straight line was deserted. The next point where the road is distinctly visible is near Eastrea. If the bank mentioned be the Roman road, it had again turned to the north-west, and apparently with the object of keeping on the very edge of the high land. It is possible that an old road between Coates and Eastrea, known as "Cowway", and formerly a boundary of the open, commonable fields, is a continuation of the causeway. Between the islands of Eastrea and Whittlesey runs a narrow strip of fen, about three furlongs across. The Roman Road was a short time ago plainly visible crossing this bit of fen, about two hundred yards to the north of the present high road. The greater part of this section has been carried away very recently. From this point I know of no traces of the causeway having been seen. If, however, a straight line be drawn from the point where we last saw the road, to Peterborough, that line will coincide exactly with a straight road which runs on the northern outskirts of the town of Whittlesey, and from thence to the Ball, near Northea Gravel, about two miles and a half in all.[1]

Dugdale, in his *History of Imbanking and Draining*,[2]

[1] Before the enclosure of the open fields there was a baulk or track running in this direction, called "Old Boro Way."

[2] P. 174, ed. 1772.

speaks of this road as a "long causeway of about 3 feet in thickness, and 60 feet broad, now covered with the moor; in some places three, and in others 5 feet thick." He is not often inaccurate; but I should say that from 20 to 25 feet was nearer the width. It may in some places be 30 feet wide at the base. That it was completely lost in the Fens is pretty certain.

The strip of fen lying between Eastrea and Whittlesey is crossed by the high-road, which is raised about 5 feet above the surrounding lands. As I said before, the Roman Road is about 200 yards to the north of this highway, which is probably modern, though tradition ascribes the construction of the bank which carries the road to the monks of Thorney, who held the church and manor of St. Mary's. There was no such raised road in 1401, for the inhabitants of Eastrea then obtained a license to build a chapel because they could not attend their parish church by reason of the inundations. In 1406 they got another license, to absent themselves from the celebration of mass in the parish church of Whittlesey, and to have a celebration in their own chapel.[1] It would seem to be, therefore, indisputable that there was at this time no firm path that was known and visible across the intervening Fen. Whensoever and by whomsoever the new causeway was made, it is not likely that the old line would have been deserted if it had been obvious, or even traditionally remembered. Instead of making a new embankment over a treacherous morass, they need only to have added to the old foundation if they had but known of the existence of this Roman work.

Again, when the great fen between Whittlesey and March was divided, all the drains, droves, and division-fences, were set out in straight lines. Every one of these lines which happens to cut the line of the Road does so at an acute angle. If the road had been visible, would it not have been adopted as the highway from town to town? Would it not have been used as the base-line to which all other lines should conform? As it is, the road is for a great part of its course useless as a thoroughfare, and a source of great inconvenience. Nothing will grow on its surface; and in many cases it cuts off a little corner of a field which is of so small an area as to be scarcely worth cultivation.

[1] Cole's MSS., 24, 233, 238.

I wish to show that the Roman Road was altogether and completely lost to sight and memory, because Mr. Skertchley, in *The Fenland*, scouts the idea of its having been covered by peat.

Some years ago there was on the farm at Eldernell, which my father held, a piece of land of less than a rood in extent, which was cut off from the rest of the field by the Roman Road. My father resolved to remove the road. At first we had some difficulty in breaking it up, as a pickaxe would make no impression on it. It was literally as hard as a rock. After a little experience we found that the quickest way was to dig out the peat from underneath. Then, when a few holes had been driven vertically through the mass, the weight was sufficient to break off immense blocks. When once these blocks were moved we could cleave them into slabs which corresponded with the original layer of material; and after a little exposure to the weather, the conglomerate was easily reduced to the condition of road-metal. In removing the peat from underneath we found some branches of trees which had probably been laid down to give the ballast a wider bearing. I have been told that in some places where the road has been broken up, a thick bed of brushwood has been found under the gravel. The construction of the road seems to have been by an alternate layer of clay and gravel. The coarse gravel is embedded in the clay, and cemented like the most perfectly made concrete. The iron which abounds in the Eldernell gravel has coloured the mass throughout.

In our diggings we were not fortunate enough to find any Roman remains; but in the adjoining field, a few years ago, a very fine and massive gold signet-ring of Roman date and workmanship was found. I believe that ring is now preserved in the Wisbech Museum.

ON TWO CORONATION MEDALS OF KING GEORGE I.

BY G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

(*Read June* 18, 1879.)

I HAVE the pleasure of bringing before the notice of the British Archæological Association a short paper upon two medals illustrative of the accession of King George I to the English throne. The first is by E. Hannibal, an artist living in Hanover at the time the work was executed. It is of about the usual size of coronation medals, viz., 2 inches. Of Hannibal himself we have no authentic account; and as his name does not figure in any biographical record, we may fairly assume him to have been an artist of no great reputation.

The impressions which I place before you are the two sides of the gold medal to be seen in the British Museum. I introduce this medal first as it is the one thought by the authorities of that establishment to be *authentic*, or the one executed and used for the event. The obverse bears the profile portrait of the King adorned with the laurel wreath, figured breastplate, armlet, and classic toga. The head is in low relief, and is executed with much softness, while the delineation of the hair is excessively faint. Around the head is the following inscription, GEORGIUS D.G.; the other part in abbreviations, as usual, MAG. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REX (George, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King). The reverse represents His Majesty as seated upon a throne under an ornamental canopy, with his feet upon a cushion; bearing in his right hand a sceptre, and in his left an orb. Near him stands a female figure; doubtless intended for Britannia, although not represented with a helmet. Her right hand is in the act of leaving a crown, which she is supposed to have just placed upon His Majesty's head. Her left hand leans upon a shield emblazoned with the arms of England, Wales, France, and Ireland. Beneath is the inscription, INAUGURAT $\frac{31}{20}$ OCT. MDCCXIIII (1714). The $\frac{31}{20}$ October means the alteration of

the calendar by Pope Gregory, doubtless accepted by Germany. Such is the medal by Hannibal, and I think you will agree with me that the execution of the reverse is inferior to that of the obverse.

Having said thus much of the medal by Hannibal, I will now proceed to bring before your notice impressions from the huge medal-dies in which I am so much interested. I might now state that I had the good fortune to meet with and purchase, not long since, the actual pair of steel dies, which are unusually large, and particularly worthy of notice, from the fact that the letters upon the obverse are symbolical ones, which is peculiar; and it is the only attempt that I have ever seen where figured letters have been used instead of plain ones, upon a royal or coronation medal. The medal is nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; and the work of art is by Nicholas Seelænder, who flourished in 1711, and died in 1743. The Seelænder family appear to have been medallists or engravers for more than two hundred years. Nicholas Seelænder published a small book on coins and medals; another artist of the same name, and probably of the same family, published an elaborate work on the same subject no longer ago than 1853. Both these books were published in Hanover. This medal has considerable merit, and we are enabled to contrast the manner in which two artists have displayed their genius in recording the same event. We have no authentic account of how it happened that two artists were employed upon dies to celebrate the same event, and bearing the same date. For argument's sake, suppose, as the Prince was German, there was a competition between two of his countrymen. Then we may fairly imagine why Seelænder's medal was not used, probably from its large size; and money not being so plentiful in those days, this medal was not chosen, as it would have taken at least £120 worth of gold to have produced one for His Majesty, and on occasions of coronation many are required.

The obverse represents the head of the King in bold relief. The hair is beautifully arranged, and adorned with a laurel wreath. Upon the bust is a breastplate, regal collar of the garter, and drapery. The expression of the King in this medal is more pleasing than in that of Hannibal's, where the countenance is somewhat austere. Around the head, in large symbolical letters about five-eighths of an




GEORGIVS D:G: MAG BRIT FRANC ET HIBERN REX


GLORIA REGIS BRITANNORVM
NOVI
ANNO VNCTIONIS. M.DCC.XIV



inch in size, is the simple inscription, GEORGIUS . I . REX, in which we should especially notice the unusual introduction of the figure I for *First*, or the letter I in reference to a sovereign who is the first of his name or dynasty, and without the usual D. G., etc. Over the letters which form the inscription are sentiments or epithets in Latin, explanatory of the symbols beneath them, and illustrating the estimation in which the virtues and attributes of the King were held.

I will now attempt to decipher and to describe the symbolical letters. The first, a G, bearing above the word PRUDENS (prudent), is formed by a bended arm holding a mirror. Around the arm is entwined a snake looking into a mirror, and, thus attracted, is prevented attacking the arm,—a mark of wisdom. The next letter, E, is formed by a pair of scales. This symbol is easily explained by the word above, JUSTUS, or just. The letter O is represented by a wreath,—the civic crown given by the Romans to the man who had saved the life of a fellow citizen in war. Above are the words SERVATOR CIVIUM (preserver of the citizens). The R is formed by the fabled pelican in her piety, bending her neck to pluck the feathers from her breast to clothe her young, which are clamouring at her feet. Above are abbreviations of the words SALUTIS PUBLICÆ INVIGILANS (watchful of the public safety). The second G is formed by an ornamental crescent with a cloud at its base ; above is the word CLEMENS, or merciful. Over the letter I is the word FORTIS, or strong. The letter itself is formed by the pillar of strength surmounted by a crown. The letter U, or V used for U, is formed by two branches,—the one of olive, the other of palm, crossing at the bottom. The Latin above is PACIS AMANS (lover of peace). The S is formed by a bent spray of flourishing ivy, explained by the Latin VIVAT REX OPTIMUS (long live the best king). The figure I is formed by an upright stick around which is climbing a vine bearing fruit. Above is the Latin FRUCTUS APPAREANT (may his fruits appear). The next letter is the second R, in REX, represented by a man in armour, doubtless meaning St. George, stabbing the dragon with a spear through its throat, which has attacked him. Above are the Latin words, ADVERSOS REPELLAT (may he repulse his enemies). The E is formed by the cornucopiæ, a twisted horn, bearing the fruit of plenty. Above is the sentiment, PROSIT

OMNIBUS (may he benefit every one). The last letter, X, is formed by the sceptre and sword crossing at their respective centres, explained by the Latin TUTOR BONORUM, TERROR MALORUM (a guardian of the good, a terror of the bad).

The reverse represents an allegorical group having for its centre King George I in full armour, with the collar of St. George and coronation robe. He is in an erect position, holding in his left hand an orb, and receiving in his right a sceptre from Peace, who holds uplifted, in her left hand, an olive branch. On the left side of His Majesty stands Justice blindfolded, with her usual attributes, the sword and scales. Seated on the King's right is a figure with a spear, evidently intended for Britannia, having a breastplate, but without a helmet, and the spear lying by her side. She holds upon her knees the shield of Great Britain quartered with the arms of France. There are two boys, or genii, with wings in the group. One is floating above, and placing the crown upon the head of the King. On either side floats a ribbon or scroll bearing the motto, CŒLITUS EN DIADEMA NOVUM, ESA. LXII, 3 ("Lo, a new crown from heaven", Isaiah lxii, 3rd verse). This is not quite as the quotation stands in the Bible, but an accurate translation according to the medal lettering. The other boy or genius is bringing to the King a shield upon which is chased the white horse and crown of Hanover. In the background is represented the sea with one or two ships; and in the distance, on the right (looking at the medal), is seen land representing the coast of France. Beneath the whole group is GLORIA REGIS BRITANNORUM NOVI. ANNO UNCTIONIS MDCCXIV (that is, 'the glory of the new King of the Britons, in the year of the anointing, *i.e.*, coronation, 1714').

Although it is not of a thoroughly antiquarian character, I have ventured to bring this subject before the British Archæological Association as appertaining to history, with a view to elicit inquiry, and by so doing obtain suggestions which may lead to a satisfactory conclusion why the larger and apparently unknown medal was executed. That two artists were engaged upon two medals for the same event, and at the same time, is evident. I have made all inquiry in my power about the one by Scelænder, at the British Museum, the Royal Mint, and at Hanover, but without success. I have shown it to engravers of foreign mints, who

have been most interested with it. M. Weiner, of Brussels, assured me he could dispose of many impressions, if published; and he thought, perhaps, our Government might like to possess the dies; but up to this moment no copies have been issued by me. It was suggested by one of our members, that one medal might have been executed for Great Britain, and the other for Germany; and by another, that when Seelænder's medal was completed, it was not used, from the absence of the D. G., etc., upon the obverse. It is the largest pair of steel medal-dies I have ever known hardened. The great Waterloo medal, by Pistrucci, I believe was never hardened, from fear of failure, and had only soft metal impressions taken from the dies. That work is of similar dimensions to the one here figured, and was executed at our Royal Mint, the execution of which extended over twenty years, and cost the country about £20,000.

NOTE.—In the plates which accompany this paper the larger medal is slightly reduced, the smaller one is full size.

WELBOURN, LINCOLNSHIRE, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

(*Read Nov. 20th*, 1878.)

THE valley stretching from Grantham to Lincoln offers a rich and interesting field for antiquarian research. This eastern edge of the Trent Valley in its undulating character, wooded acclivities, "verdant pastures fair", and brightly flowing streams, bears in many respects a likeness to the celebrated Vale of Clwydd. The northern division is, however, more interesting, from the Cliffe villages, each with red roofs, and church spire nestling amid trees, upon the edge of the sharply rising ground, marking the boundary of the Great Trent Valley eastward. And, standing in an autumn afternoon upon the Cliffe Road, looking west, there is very much—everything—to arrest and delight the artist eye. Our immediate foreground includes woods, thickets, cottages, homesteads; and here and there the late-flowering gorse rolls golden billows down the steep declivity; and from its foot stretches the plain, bounded by misty hills, into Nottingham and Leicester shires. The tints are perfect, pale blue deepening and melting into the purple of the interminable horizon. The invigorating breeze lends aid for the deception evening prepares. There is no longer a plain beneath you, but a sea. Those thickets and groves are the rising, rolling waves, those stubble-fields its sand-banks, and village-steeples the tall masts waiting a favourable gale, and dim, distant stars, the lights to guide its voyagers. The deception is complete. The two roads are historic, the "Cliffe", from Lincoln to Slaford having been formed by Bishop Alnwick for his convenience during repairs at Sleaford Castle, built by his predecessor, and is now the highway. The other, a little to the east, the "Ermine" Road, or High Dyke, is the old Roman *iter* from London to Colonia Lindum. Grass-grown and deserted, there in tolerable preservation it is, as ages ago, so now, the emblem of Roman sovereignty, civilisation, and tenacity of purpose.

The Cliffe villages are nearly equidistant, and all interesting; that to the right, on a prominent headland, is Wellingore; this to the left, with its fine spire, Colby. Navenby is scattered around us, with the churchyard fenced by tall and shadowing elms. The church itself has been restored. The nave and aisles are of the Decorated period; the clerestory, Perpendicular. On the corbels which carried the old roof are illegible shields of arms. A fine and carved Tudor pulpit, of oak, stands on the right of the chancel-arch, the chancel itself being the glorious feature of the church. The east window, in its proportions and tracery, its airiness and beauty, is magnificent, its type being that of the east windows of Lincoln and Gloucester. The restoration of the church is in unison with the original designs, the aim of the architect having been preservation, rather than reproduction; hence the old defects remain in the beautiful carving of the double piscina, founder's tomb, and three sedilia, and remarkably in the exquisite Easter altar on the right. The Easter altar appears also, in Lincoln Cathedral, lamentably defaced; in Heoton Church, admirably preserved. That in Navenby is intermediate, and, together with the sleeping guard beneath, displays angels and the three Marys within the spandrils. In the vestry is set a very singular sepulchral slab of Purbeck marble, having on a trefoil, in Norman French, the inscription, "All ye who pass by here pray for the soul of Richard de ——we, Parson of Navenby." No record exists of its finding, but very probably it formed a part of the old paving, and came to light in recent alterations.

Navenby is well worth a visit. The village is a mere country village. The old stone cross has been removed; but the church and its belongings more than compensate. The parapets, bosses, and gargoyles, of all the churches in this part of Lincolnshire cannot fail in arresting attention. The grotesque is very prominent amongst the rarely beautiful and chiefly satirical, often verging on the profane. This possibly may be ascribed to the state of religious profession in the fifteenth century. There is on the north of Navenby Church a gargoyle representing within a cowl, adorned with asses' ears, three heads with two eyes only, the centre face with a forked beard (a reference to the Incarnation). The portrait is of the Most Holy Trinity, the cowl with ap-

pendages satirising the unholy lives of the preachers of the doctrine. This vein of humour breaks out in the carvings on other churches, notably at Broughton, and in a form which cannot well be described. At Welbourn again, on the north-west angle, is a monkey figure holding out the shaven pate of "a round, fat, oily man of God". Other grotesque carvings might be described as perpetuating popular satire, and the war of the Seculars and Regulars; but whoever visits Lincoln, should observe on the choir screen the small figure of Satan laughing at those who pass in by the choir-gates.

We are rather astray. We wish you to visit Welbourn. You can gain it by the descending, shady road through Wellinggore, or the fields. Welbourn, no doubt, derives its name from a copious spring, spreading to a picturesque water, bedded in trees and greenery, and deep shadows, with a musical brook running under thick hedges, north-westwards. The church naturally attracts; but attention on the way should be given, and with admiration, to the prodigious sycamores on the verge of the Rectory grounds, —vegetable cathedral domes, upborne by pillars the growth of centuries.

The church of Welbourn, dedicated to St. Chad, is of the Decorated period, with richly crocketed spire, octagonal, and shaped as a sugar-loaf. The clerestory is Perpendicular, and very remarkable for the size and beauty of its windows. From the gable is projected, on corbels, a very pretty canopy for the Sanctus bell. The chancel is rebuilt with roof at lower pitch than the original; and while the ancient outlines of the building have been followed, the gargoyles remain squared masses of stone, until the sculptor shall arise, who with trained and curious art, may rival the weird or beautiful conceptions of the fifteenth century. Many of the carvings and gargoyles of Welbourn are the outcome of luxuriant fancy; others symbolical. Take the north aisle. Above its eastern window we find a piper, a female figure, and a fish, or perhaps the dragon. Then at the angle two pipers blowing lustily; then an ark-shaped ship (as also on St. Mary's, Newark), and the Virgin and Child, a warrior, and two ecclesiastics. On the north side the sculptures are better preserved; and one occurs, for which I can by no means account, unless the sculptor approved the unveiling by Savonarola of the mortal sores of the

Church, and his fearless exposure of the sins of his age. There is a portrait in stone,—the emaciated face, high cheek-bones, prominent nose, and deep-set eye,—that portrait, with, on one side the satirising monkey and monk's head; on the other, ecclesiastics,—it made on me so deep an impression that time after time I viewed it, and pondered, but to none other than the famous Florentine Reformer could I assign it. At a guess I should have hesitated; but possessing a portrait of Savonarola, the resemblance and reference came together. The southern porch is very beautiful in its clustered columns and canopied niches once filled with effigies of saints. There remains but a mutilated representation in the gable, the Most Holy Father, holding between his knees the figure of the crucified Son.[1]

Neither brasses nor monuments call for remark. Of the former there is but one, of late seventeenth century, and that a mere uninteresting record of him who sleeps beneath. One name, however, is had in remembrance, and his monument is in Grantham—Francis Trigg, rector, "a famous and godly preacher", the founder of one of the Grantham Libraries, who died May 12th, 1606.

Just outside the Rectory grounds, across the road, are two great earthworks: that to the north is Roman; the more southern, mediæval. The Roman may have been a cavalry camp in connection with the garrison at Lindum, and lies off from the Ermine Way a mile and a half. About ten acres of pasturage are surrounded by a continuous agger, 5 or 6 feet high, and well designed. The vallum still exists, to the west, in a marshy width wherein flags grow; to the north, in a ditch which can be only the modern utilisation of an ancient work. This fortification is remarkable for an agger and vallum running right across, and dividing it internally into two almost equal areas. Just outside, flint arrow-heads, celts, and horse-bones, have been found; and we were also shown by Mr. Burt, coins of Gallienus, Tetricus, and Valens, from the same locality.

To the south is the site of a fortified mansion, said to have belonged to Sir John Popham. A wide, deep moat once surrounded the fortalice; and southwards, within the

[1] It may just be noted that it is customary to place the corpse brought for burial upon a rest at the church gate, although no lych-gate adorns the entrance to God's Acre.

area, are two parallel trenches. The moat is distinctly traceable, and the mound of ruin rises in some places 20 feet from its margin. I have seen a fifteenth century key, and an illegible inscription, from the site. The hillocky outline may be probably due to vaultings. I understand the freehold is for sale. Will no ardent archæologist become proprietor, excavator, perhaps a Crœsus ?

An intelligent old parishioner one day inquired if I had heard of the terrible storm by which Welbourne long ago was destroyed. Answering him in the negative, he produced an ancient document in writing, which, by his permission and kindness, has been copied, preserving the quaintness of the original :

THE STORM LEGEND.

"Lincolnshire. Kesteven. Whereas upon the thirteenth day of October last, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, it pleased the Lord to visit the town of Welbourn with a sad and dreadful judgment ; there was thunder and hailstones as big as Piggons Eggs Congeal'd like Ice and sharp pointed, and after some smart cracks there was a continnewed thunder for above a quarter of an houre togather, and a teadious dismal storme ensued that in less than four minits blew down four and forty dwelling houses as also their barns, stables, hovils and stacks, and that Tho. Hussey. which remain'd was spoil'd with raine that fell upon it before it could posably be gathered togather. The whirle wind carried the breadth of eleven or twelve score ; it had the appearance of fire and a sulpheras smell, the day wonderfully darke, and it threw houses and trees into all quarters, east, west, north, and south. It pleased God to save their lives but only Molyn Disney. one youth who were slain. The loss above mention'd as apears unto us by Sertificate subscribed by the hands of Thos. Lamb, John Baker and William Glaisiour, who were appointed to view the same, amounting to the vallew of six hundred and four pounds, fourteen shillings, and two pence, Tho. Ellis. besides the building amounting to eight hundred pounds more ; by reason whereof above forty familys are not only become harbourless, but also cast into great poverty, that whereas formerly lived very plentifully and were helpfull to others, they are not now able to subsist themselves without the assistance of well disposed people ; and whereas the inhabitants of Anth. Thorold. Welbourn hath petitioned us to commiserate their sad callamitye and the consideration of their intollerable loss, we his maiesties justices of the peace for the parts and county aforesaid do hereby recummend their distressed condision, whose compassions will certainly be moved to extend their charitable contributions towards the reliefe and suport of their Christian neighbours whome thereby they might presarve from perishing.

"Geo. Sherard. And if you shall occation to use them in the like request they will be ready to requite you to their utmost power.

"Dated at Doddington under our hands and seal, the five and twentyt day of January in the eighteent year of his Maiesties reign that now is King Charles the second over England, Scotland, Ireland, and France, Defender of ye Faith.

"The several churchwardens are desired to endorse the money colected withe their names thereunto.

"Colected in our parish church of Frampton on the sixteent Day of June 1667, upon the publishing of this letter of request, the sum of twelve shillings. Witness our hands.

"Anthony Graves, Minister.

John Matson, James Melton } Churchwardens."

We now leave Welbourn by the hill road for Temple Bruer. A charming prospect spreads westwards. Our course is due east, across the Roman Road, through a pine plantation; and yonder, where long lines of yellow stacks glimmer in the afternoon sun, we shall find all remaining of this famous Preceptory of the Knights Templars,—"Templum de la Bruere" as it is called in ancient deeds. A massive square tower of three stories alone remains, although, as shown by a print of 1724, a portion of the round church, and arcade uniting it with the tower, were then standing.[1] An insane search for treasure beneath the tower walls cracked and well nigh overthrew it. Its walls are now strengthened and secured, and it is possible to reach the summit by a very narrow broken stair. Leland visited these buildings in 1546, and says, "there be great and vast buildings, but rude, at this place, and the este end of the temple is made 'opere circulari de more'." Hollis gives a list of arms emblazoned in the windows, including those of Cromwell, Tateshall, Deincourt, Ufford, Beke, Mowbray, Bardolfe, Cantelupe, La Warre, Middleton of Fulbecke, and others. In 1724 little remained, and in the next fifty years the whole superstructure perished.

Two holy water stoups are inserted to the left of the tower entrance, the lower chamber of which is arcaded with

[1] Dr. Oliver, writing in a volume published by the Lincolnshire Topographical Society, says of the church: "The circular church was 52 feet in diameter within, and was supported on a peristyle of eight cylindrical columns and a series of circular arches profusely enriched with zigzags and other Norman enrichments, forming a circular area which occupied exactly one half of the diameter, and the aisle or space between this and the outer wall occupied the other half. This aisle appears to have had a groined roof; and a portion of it on the north contained the tomb of the founder; on the west was the principal door with a magnificent porch."

sedilia and covered by a groined roof. There is a piscina; probably the chamber was a private oratory, and in the recess may have stood the altar. The second story is slightly loftier, and lighted by three lancets. Beneath are cellars; and beyond, the site of the round church (the burial-place), wherein bones are frequently disturbed, and from whence the full-length effigy of a warrior ecclesiastic has been removed. The plough or spade continually unearths fragments of the old building. Some of these fragments are doing duty as a pump-frame over an old well, exceedingly deep, 9 feet diameter, and never dry. In another well were discovered three large bells; and one of the temple boundary stones, marked by a cross, stood, in 1776, by the side of the High Dyke, and was seen and noted by Stukeley. That, too, is destroyed. How strangely unsated vengeance has pursued even the memory of the Knights Templars!

The Preceptory was founded by the liberality of the Lady Elizabeth de Cauz, enriched by other benefactors, and held ten thousand acres of land, chiefly in the surrounding parishes; reckoning also the Angel Inn, Grantham, in its possessions. The grandeur and the wealth, the pomp and circumstance, the names and deeds of these Knights Hospitallers, have descended, and lie below, buried in the dust. This gray tower marks the place of their sepulture. They have left a renown like the echo of the hills, enthralling but unsubstantial; and a memory which, if the wiser ponder, fills yet the imagination of the unlearned with images of fear.

We will return to the westward, taking the left hand road to a lonely farm. We are travelling on the deserted Roman Way. How history crowds its pictures on us. This silent highway, so conspicuous by its width of close-grown grass, shoots straight ahead, bounded on either side by stubble, or ploughed fields; so silent, so solitary; the pheasant runs in its wheel-tracks, and the hare plays and feeds in confident security. Yet along this very track flowed the currents of commerce from distant Londinium, and yet more distant Gaul and Spain. Here Agricola marched his Gallic legions to the conquest of Anglesey and the north; and perhaps, when the night of barbaric ruin descended on the Roman power, came its citizens flying from scenes of terror reddened by flames of burning cities, and hastened by the quick, resounding hoofs of the pursuing foe. "Stand! stand! they cry; but none look back!"

We are jogging along this rough and deserted road, on a pleasant September afternoon, to the scene of a legend devoutly believed in by the country folk all around, and attested in its veracity by certain indubitable signs. A cottage and farm, very solitary certainly, are on the left. The place is called "Bayard's Leaps", and the legend is as follows:

LEGEND OF BYARD'S LEAPS.

These "Leaps" are on the Roman Road, three miles from Leadenham, north. The legend runs: Once lived in a cave, within a pine wood, a witch-hag whose powers were generally felt, and as generally dreaded. A knight, whose mission appears to have been in delivering the earth from sorcerers, maidens and others from their spells, coming by the way heard of the renowned witch, and as promptly determined to destroy her. Watering his horse at a pond, now dry, he proceeded by divination to ascertain whether defeat or victory awaited him. Casting a stone into the pond, he prayed, if the propitious moment had arrived, his good horse might give some assuring sign. This he received in his steed's whinnying, and showing an evident excitement. Immediately mounting, he drew his sword, and riding to the cave, summoned forth the witch, who replied,

"I must suckle my cubs,
I must buckle my shoes,
And then I will give you your supper."

The knight struck with his sword, wounding her in the left breast, when, evading a second blow, the witch sprang and fastened on Byard, who leaped three leaps, each of about 170 feet, the distances being now marked by a stone and eight large horseshoes, though formerly the tenant of the farm adjoining was compelled to keep clear and open the holes made by the feet of Byard.[1] The witch was slain, and buried by the cross road, with a stake through her, and a great stone over her. This old stone is now a mounting block well chiselled with names, initials, and dates, amongst which I noticed 1771. An explorer of Lincolnshire in 1704 remarks, "but the horse was sore frightened by the witch, or perhaps did not leap quite so far".

Descending by a pleasant road, Leadenham and Caythorpe may be visited. Notice the steeples of Wellinggore, Welbourn, Leadenham, Fulbeck, and Caythorpe, are in a line, and resemble many marshland spires. They, doubtless, were landmarks before the enclosure of the country, as at Dunston, where a pillar, 92 feet high, bearing a lantern, was erected in 1751, and served for a guide to travellers on the waste.

As with some of our congressional excursions, "the visitors could only look in", so we at Leadenham. Notice the east window of old Belgic (Dutch) glass, brought, we are

[1] There is a lease covenant providing for the preservation of the leaps, *i.e.*, the hoof prints in the sod.

told, from a religious house. The lower lights are filled with cherubs' heads in all imaginable positions; the upper lights portray the heavenly choir; above all is the Lord as Pontifex Maximus, extending his hand in benediction.

Caythorpe Church is but a short two miles. It is Early English. Two and a half bays start from between two large west windows, dividing two naves, and resting, east, on the tower, which, supported on four pointed arches and sheaves of pillars, stands immediately before the shallow chancel. The surmounting spire is very beautiful, rising 156 feet. Within the tower are two small chapels, north and south, with aumbreys. Many of the exterior carvings are worthy inspection, and the arrangement of the interior has been pronounced unique. Further we must not wander.

Such is the inner circle of which Welbourn is the centre. The outer would take in Brant Broughton and its beautiful fifteenth century church, so nobly restored under the direction of the rector, the Rev. R. Sutton. This reverend gentleman and his brother composed and executed some of the southern windows of the nave in Lincoln Cathedral; and in Broughton Church most, if not all, of the modern glass has been designed and painted by the same artistic hands; and this glass alone merits a candid and most favourable criticism, since in tint and design it comes very near indeed to glass of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The paintings are chiefly Scripture figures standing or seated beneath high and elaborate canopies. In this tabernacle-work the artists have used a pale but glowing golden yellow with brown shadows; and the effect, not too prominent, is at once gorgeous and satisfactory. Should an archæologist, with three hours to spare, find himself at Newark, he cannot better employ his time than by driving over to Brant Broughton.

BEGGARS' SIGNS FOUND AT WELBOURN, CO. LINC.

×÷ No good. Too poor.
∩+ Stop. They will buy; but are "fly".
○+ Go this way. Nothing the other.
⌐¬ Coopered. Spoilt by too many calling.
□ Likely to have you taken up. Mind the dog.
⊙ Flummoxed. Dangerous. Sure of a month in "quod".
⊕ Religious. Tidy on the whole.

The above guiding-marks express the freemasonry of our wandering and begging community.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTES ON THORNEY ABBEY.

BY C. LYNAM, ESQ.

(Read Aug. 23rd, 1878.)

It may be almost said that Thorney Abbey as such has disappeared, the only present remains of it being a small portion of the conventual church; that is to say, the west end of the nave with its five western bays. It is a matter for congratulation that what is left of the ancient building is still applied to the purpose of the worship of Almighty God. In many cases these venerable fanes exist only as ghastly ruins; in others they have been appropriated as farmsteads. Sometimes the cloister-garth is turned into a fold-yard, the kitchen and refectory into piggeries, the chapter-house into cart-sheds or cow-houses, whilst perhaps a common highway traverses the eastern altars.

A clean sweep of rather unusual character has been made of the conventual buildings at Thorney, which, according to recent history, would seem to have been a magnificent establishment. It is difficult to understand how the numerous graves which have been dug within the area of the church itself (assuming that it was ever finished according to the indication of the present remains) could have been sunk amidst the immense foundations which must have existed below the present surface, without great obstruction; yet nothing, so far as my inquiry goes, can be learnt on this point.

To turn now to the west end of the church. Taking the somewhat ostentatious figures, 1638, which appear in the spandrels on each side the doorway, to mean something (though it has been suggested that they record the removal of the aisles of the church, which would be a liberty something like that of making use of another man's tombstone), there are at least three periods of work in this front: *first*, the Norman, as seen in the main parts of the flanking turrets; *second*, late Perpendicular, including the octagonal portions of the turrets (except the lowest course of them, which is Norman), the top screen-wall with its nine niches

and figures, the jambs and arch of the large window (now blocked up), the panelling on each side the doorway, and, in my opinion, the jambs of the doorway itself. This leaves for the date 1638 the present five-light window, the outer arch of the doorway and the spandrels, most of the cornice which runs above it, together with a few fragments of the upper parts of the side-panellings and the inner doorway. This statement of what belongs to the date 1638 may be debated; but a careful examination of the details will, I think, lead to the conclusion above mentioned. No one looking carefully at these features will fail to see their difference of character as compared with the other Perpendicular work. The mouldings are very late, and the carving corresponds with the given date. The upper parts of the turrets and niches were, no doubt, erected before the dissolution, whilst the monks were in occupation.

It is said that the figures represent Saxon saints; but in their present state it is difficult to distinguish them. The centre figure contrasts with the others in that the upper part of the body and the legs are not clothed, whilst the bare right hand is uplifted, with the two fore-fingers erect as in the act of benediction. In the left hand the long staff of what was probably a cross remains. The next figure to the north has a long staff in the right hand, and a closed book in the left. The corresponding one on the south bears a sceptre in the right hand, and a closed book in the left. The emblems borne by the second figure from the centre to the north are very indistinct. The corresponding one to the south holds a ship with both hands. The third on the north has an open book in the right hand; its fellow on the south has a staff in the right hand; the end one on the north has a battleaxe on the right side; the south end figure is too much weather-worn to be distinguished. A deep hole is sunk at each of the arm-pits in all the figures except that in the centre; and there are indications of the open wound in the right side of the centre figure, which would show it to be that of Christ after His resurrection.

The Norman portion of this front is thoroughly characteristic of that period. Its boldness of dimension, simplicity of detail, the smallness of the stones of the masonry, and the form and minuteness of the turret-windows, all exemplify its identity with that period.

Proceeding to the north flank, we find five bays of the Norman nave-arcade, surmounted by the arches of the triforium, with buttresses between. The arcades of nave and triforium have been filled in with walling and windows of late date, probably corresponding with the latest portion of the west front of the time the church, after the dissolution, was again adapted for worship. The triforium has been surmounted by an embattled parapet and cornice beneath it, all of the same date. This would also fix the date of the present roof of nave. Looking at the great arch in the west wall, and the height of the screen-wall, it is a matter of conjecture how the church was roofed when the Perpendicular portions of the west end were put in; but it would seem to have been a flat roof, otherwise it would overtop even the height of the present screen-wall. It will be observed that next the west end one panel of the Norman clerestory still remains, with the double billet-moulding running round it; also an inner opening into the triforium, now blocked up. The passage within the clerestory-wall is also visible, together with the west respond-jamb of its inner opening. It will also be observed that the external jamb of the clerestory-window still remains; but this is of late work, probably not older than the turrets of the western front. Whether the whole clerestory had been rebuilt at this date, there is nothing now to show. It is not very clear what was the line of the west wall of the aisles, unless the blocked-up opening on the level of the triforium gives it. The nave-piers vary alternately in design, the arches on this side being simply square, without moulding or other enrichment. There are various odd bits of very delicate carving on the caps and bases of these piers; and the two eastern arches of the triforium are moulded, and a start is made of a similar moulding on the western side of the third bay. This points to the mouldings being executed after the work was fixed. In this way the masons would press forward their structure, and at any time afterwards add to its beauty and enrichment.

The eastern part of the church is new, and therefore does not concern us archæologically.

Passing to the south side, we find the five Norman bays corresponding with those on the north, excepting that the mouldings in the triforium-arches of the eastern bays are

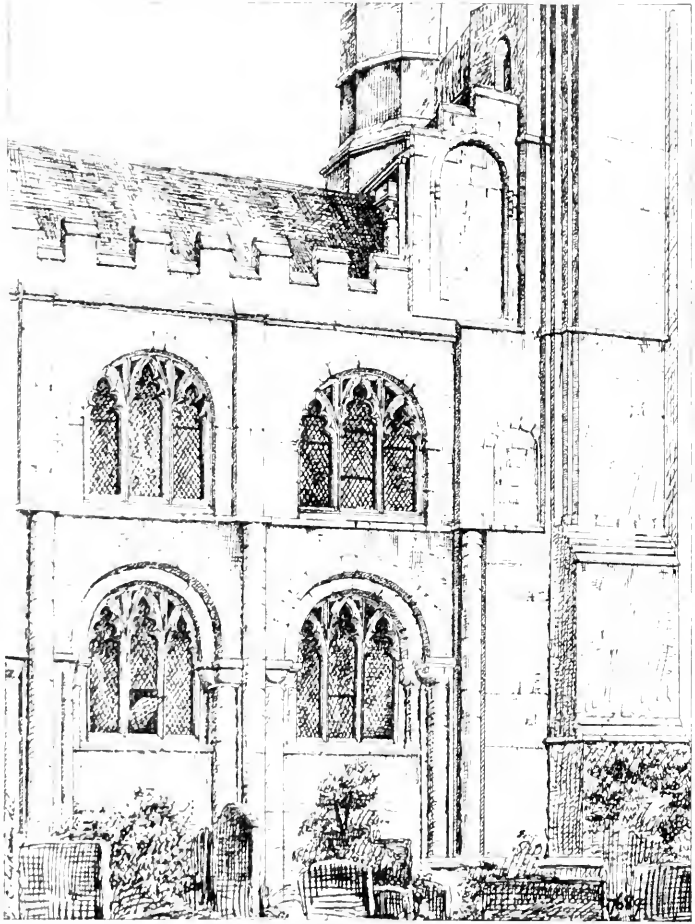
absent, and that there is less carving generally. Again, on this side, at the west end, a Norman clerestory wall-panel remains; but it is plain moulded, without the billets, whilst the triforium-opening, now blocked up, has the billets here, being plain on the north side. Here again is an external jamb of the western clerestory-window, and the internal jamb-shaft corresponding exactly with the north side. There is also a small fragment of much interest, as it is the only one which remains, namely, the western corbel of the great cornice, which fixes the exact height of the start of the Norman parapet. The lower part of the stair-turret here, as on the north side, is of late work, the Norman face being indicated by a straight joint in the masonry.

Having viewed what remains on the outside of this once magnificent church, we may now pass to the interior. The ceiling is of modern construction. The arcade of the nave follows what is seen of it on the outside; but the arches are moulded, and the triforium is treated in a more ornate manner. Looking at the grandeur of proportion and simplicity of detail of this arcade, I venture to say it could hardly be surpassed as a piece of ecclesiastical architecture. At the west end, the large blocked-up opening which is visible on the outside may be seen here, as well as the Norman remains in the angles. This wall was almost entirely taken out at the time of the first alteration at the west end, as is shown by the straight joints in the angles; but the Norman shafts and arch forming the inner angles of the present window have been re-used when this window was put in. There is one bell in the north-west tower, which bears date 1740. There are some remains of late German glass in the eastern windows on the north and south sides of the nave. In the north wall is a mural brass of the date 1674, of which I give a transcript. It is of some interest, as the inscription shows, and is as follows:

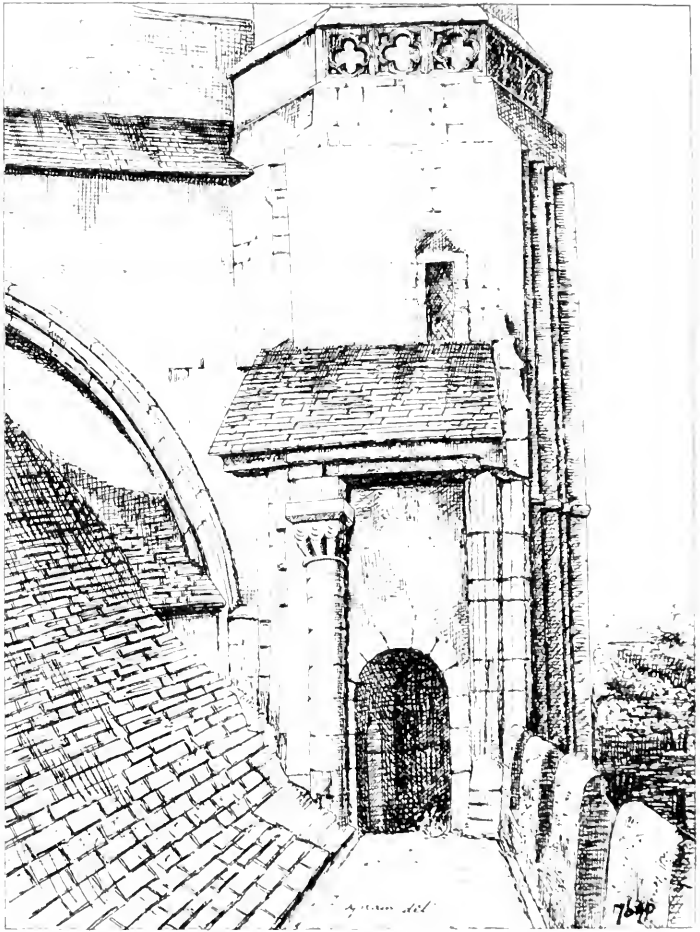
"M. S.

"Venerandi Senis Ezechielis Danois Compendiensis Galli cœtus Gallici, qui hic congregari cœpit, A° D^{m} MDCLII. Pastoris primi, qui, studio indefesso, doctrinâ, et severitate morum, nulli secundus ingens literaturæ thesaurus, hic orbem latuit, Deo, sibi, paucis aliis, notus, eisque contentus testibus, per LIV annorum saptium [*sic*], ex quibus XXII hic Thorney Abbatiæ, summo cum fructu, Ministerio suo functus, tandem hic ubi laboris ibi et quietus [*sic*] locum invenit. Obiit 24 Febr. A° D^{m} MDCLXXIV. Ætatis —."

2.



1.



THORNEY ABBEY.

NORMAN REMAINS 1 IN CLERESTORY 2 IN WESTERN BAYS OF NORTH FLANK



"*Translation.*

"Sacred to the memory of the venerable old man, Ezekiel Danois, a Frenchman of Compiègne, the first pastor of the French company, which began to assemble here in A.D. MDCLII; who, second to none in indefatigable zeal, in teaching, and in austerity of character, an immense storehouse of literature, lay hid here from the world, known to God, to himself, and to a few others, and, content with these witnesses, for the space of fifty-four years, twenty-two of which he spent here at Thorney Abbey with the highest results; having performed his ministry, he found at length the place of his rest here, where the scene of his labours had been. Died 24th February, A.D. MDCLXXIV, aged —."

Of the present interior it may be faithfully said that it has a neat and clean appearance, and a local historian has remarked of the present church: "Possibly the pious wishes of the original founders are being better fulfilled than if the stately fabric had been permitted to remain in the pride of its monastic splendour." For my part, I think it would be difficult for a Benedictine monk to realise this most respectable-looking building with its yellow washed walls, plaster ceiling, high side-pews, and central, open benches, and the significant arrangements for the offices of the officiating ministers, as the place where the gorgeous functions of his order were in any way being continued.



Some descriptive remarks upon this abbey are given in *Marshland Churches*. The accompanying illustrations show the Norman remains in the clerestory and the exterior of the western bays of the north flank. The woodcut on this page shows a piece of sculpture which belonged to the abbey, but is now at Wisbech.

NOTES ON THORNEY ABBEY CHURCH.

BY THE REV. R. WARNER, M.A.

(*Read August 23rd*, 1878.)

After the interesting paper to which we have just listened, it will be unnecessary, even if I were able, to offer any remarks upon the architecture of this fragment of the old conventual church; but at the suggestion of my old friend, the present incumbent of this parish, I have put together one or two historical notes by way of supplement to what has been said.

The earliest notice we have of Thorney is in the pages of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, where it appears under the name of Ancarig. From this authority we learn that in the year 662, the first Abbey at Medehampstede (afterwards Peterborough) was consecrated in presence of Wulphere, King of Mercia, according to the legend, in expiation of the murder of his sons. On this occasion the Abbot designate, Saxulf, desired permission of the King to found a minster at Ancarig, or Thorney as it was afterwards called. To which request the King replied in the quaint style of the time: "Beloved Saxulf, lo! not only that one thing which thou hast desired, but all things which I know thou desirest on our Lord's behalf, I thus approve and grant"; and the King concluded in these words: "And I beg of those who come after me, be they my brothers or kings that come after me, that our gift may stand, even as they would be partakers of the life eternal, and as they would escape everlasting torment."

The religious foundation thus established was in all probability of the Celtic type of monastic life then prevalent in the Mercian kingdom. After adding several names to the noble army of martyrs, the first minster at Thorney, together with Crowland, Bardsey, and Peterborough, perished beneath the wave of Danish invasion towards the end of the ninth century.

The place remained a ruin and a desolation until the middle of the next century, when a great revival of Catholic life took place, after the Benedictine type. One of the chief

leaders of the movement in this country was Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, who seems to have taken, for some reason, especial interest in Thorney. This prelate erected, on the foundations of the ruined minster, a new fabric in the form of a Roman basilica, consisting of nave, side-aisles, presbytery, and semicircular apse. The cells and other buildings needed for the monks were included in the undertaking, besides a small mortuary chapel erected in honour of a female saint named Tona. The Bishop Ethelwald seems to have taken great pains to secure for this foundation ample lands and revenues, including fishing-rights in Whittlesea Mere, and about eight thousand eels,—an item that would have delighted the heart of the fair Lady Jane.

The first Abbot of Thorney, appointed by Ethelwald, occupies a place in the history of English art as the author of a superb manuscript volume with beautiful drawings and intricate tracery, known to antiquarians as the *Benedictionale of St. Ethelwald*, and preserved in the Duke of Devonshire's library at Chatsworth. It is said to have been executed by his chaplain, Godman, a monk of St. Swithun's, and afterwards Abbot of Thorney.

The monastery erected by Ethelwald lasted upwards of a century, when the Norman conquest naturally extended the architectural notions of that remarkable people. Among the ecclesiastics appointed to vacant benefices in England was Goutier, a monk of the newly founded Abbey of Battle, and Archdeacon of Salisbury. For information relating to this Abbot and his successor we are indebted to the Anglo-Norman chronicler, Ordericus Vitalis, who was a monk in the Norman Abbey of St. Evroult (but an Englishman by birth), and well acquainted with English ecclesiastical affairs. From this writer we learn that Abbot Goutier pulled down Ethelwald's church, and erected an entirely new one, with the requisite buildings for the monks. A glance at the fragment of this ancient church will recall the combination of strength and elegance characteristic of fabrics of the Anglo-Norman period, and will help us to realise the past glory of Thorney Abbey, its solid pillars, elegant triforium and clerestory, and spacious cloisters for the exercise and recreation of the monks. Only the imagination of Sir Walter Scott could summon before the mind the monks crowding to the refectory at the sound of the sacristan's

bell, or penetrate into the chapter-house to witness the reception of a new member of the order, or to look upon the flagellation of a restive brother after the manner of an Eton boy's ignoble discipline.

Orderic gives the epitaph of Goutier as follows :

> "Here, in the Abbey which his care restored,
> Lies Goutier, ancient Thorney's mitred lord :
> His care for six and twenty years to rule
> And guide his flock in virtue's holy school.
> He built this church, and by such works of love
> Strove to obtain a place in realms above.
> To him who died in August happily,
> The fifteenth kalends must propitious be."

It was on the 13th of November 1089, that the monks entered upon their new church, which, however, was not entirely completed. The event was celebrated by a grand banquet in the refectory, when Ingulf, the historian of Croyland, and other celebrities, were present. Ten years later, on St. Luke's Day, the towers and spires of the west front were completed. These, it must be presumed, occupied the position of the present octagonal towers. One of these spires was depicted in a vellum map of the manor, executed shortly before the dissolution. The other had apparently disappeared. It must have been this surviving spire which is referred to in a survey of the Abbey estates in Queen Elizabeth's time, in which mention is made of the church with the roof off, and a spire still standing.

The Abbot who ruled over Thorney at the time of its completion was Robert, brother of the Abbot of Croyland, and formerly monk of St. Evroult, the home of Orderic. He is described by the chronicler as one of the most eminent prelates in England, for learning and eloquence ; but as he has left no literary remains, the statement can only be accepted on trust. From another well known chronicler, Ingulfus, Abbot of Croyland, we learn many interesting particulars relating to the Abbots of Thorney. Amongst other interesting pieces of information, we learn from a charter preserved in his chronicle, that the Abbot of Thorney was present as a witness when the world-renowned Lady Godiva executed a deed of gift of some land in favour of the Abbey of Croyland.

The description of Thorney given by William of Malmes-

bury is too well known to need quotation here ; but before dismissing Ordericus Vitalis, his account of Thorney may not be unacceptable : "The monks only and their servants dwell in the deep recesses of Thorney, where in security they offer faithful service to God. No females are allowed to enter the island but for the purpose of devotion, nor are they permitted to sojourn there on any pretext whatever ; and all dwellings inhabited by women are studiously prohibited by the monks within nine miles of the Abbey."

This treatment of the sex, though highly necessary for sworn celibates, may remind one of the stern St. Senanus :

> "O, haste and leave this sacred isle,
> Unholy bark, ere morning smile,
> For on thy deck, though dark it be,
> A female form I see ;
> And I have sworn this sainted sod
> Shall ne'er by woman's feet be trod."

I need not pursue the alterations made in the church from time to time by successive abbots, but may safely refer to benefactors of the Abbey. I have already mentioned Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester, with whom acted in harmony King Edgar. Among the earliest benefactors was one who, in his deed of gift of some land at Twywell, quaintly describes himself as "Mantot the Anchorite, God's wretch, sendeth to Cnut the King blithe and bliss." In another deed of Edgar's time, conveying land at Yoxley to Thorney, it is interesting to observe the mention of a woman being drowned at London Bridge, apparently for witchcraft. I imagine the existence of a bridge over the Thames, at this period, is not among the things generally known. A deed without date, but evidently belonging to the period of the Crusades, provides that if a certain man named Ulf should not return from the Holy Land, the land specified in the deed was to revert to Thorney Abbey. Aubrey de Vere gave land at Islip and Drayton; and Archbishop Islip, whose family originally belonged to Islip, founded a chantry for the repose of his soul at Thorney, and those of various relatives mentioned, after the fashion of the time, in the foundation deed. The Ardens of Warwickshire, the Wakes of Lincolnshire, besides the Earls Beauchamp and Gloucester, and many others, helped to enrich the Abbey with lands and possessions, and to increase its ecclesiastical and

political importance. The documents relating to these benefactions are preserved in a valuable MS. known as the "Thorney Red Book", and preserved in the library of the Earl of Westmoreland. If the Earl could be persuaded to place this MS. in the hands of a competent editor, I venture to say he would be doing a public service.

Being one of the mitred abbeys, Thorney had a seat in the House of Lords and in the Upper House of Convocation. In the volume of parliamentary writs, the summons of successive abbots can be traced. Of one of the latest of these abbots a portrait is preserved in a curious parchment roll of enormous length, representing the procession of the lords spiritual and temporal to Parliament in the time of Henry VIII. Abbot Holbech, of Thorney, is represented as walking arm in arm with the Abbot of Hyde in Hampshire.

A more careful study of its history than I have been able to give would bring to light many historical associations now enveloped in obscurity. Among those which are tolerably known, it is curious to note the number of saints whose bones were supposed to have found a resting-place at Thorney. It was supposed that the earthly remains of a canonised saint had the power of healing diseases, and it was thought quite allowable for the monks of a monastery to make a midnight expedition in quest of the bones of a saint; and King Arthur's knights could hardly have sought the Holy Grail with more keenness than the monks looked upon these sainted relics of mortality. I do not know that the members of this meeting will be any the wiser for knowing that the bones of Benedict Biscup, the friend and ruler of Beda, the ashes of Saints Tancred, Tatred, and Tona, and of Huna and Theodore, and others adorned with the aureole, rest at Thorney. If they did God's work even in a quaint, old-world way, we may well think charitably of them. Light be the turf on their ashes!

Thorney Abbey not only possessed the bones of men and women held in *honour* by the Church, but was also chosen as the prison and sepulchre of one whose name was cast out by the Church of England as evil. I mean Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester in the fifteenth century,—a man pronounced by the modern editor of his works as the greatest churchman of his time, and the precursor of the

far greater Wycliffe. We might wonder why Thorney, of all places, was chosen as the place of his confinement; but you have only to remember the tender mercies of *soi-disant* orthodoxy in every age, to discover a reason. Hanging was, of course, too good for a heretic; burning, if even green wood were employed, as in the case of Lord Cobham, must at length have done its work, or people would have become impatient. But what if they would send the old heretic to Thorney, where he could shiver and shake out the few remaining sands from life's hour-glass with ague and fever, cut off from books and the companionship of man? Would not that be a worthy punishment for one who had dared to use the reason God had given him?

A great number of documents relating to Thorney Abbey are preserved in various public and private libraries, especially among the Cole Collection in the British Museum. A critical study of these by one possessed of the requisite learning and leisure would not be unfruitful in results. The Historical Commission brought to light several documents; among others a copy of the Gospels in Latin, formerly belonging to the Abbots of Thorney, and stated by the gentleman who examined it to contain many curious marginal entries relating to the Abbey. The seal of John Multon, Abbot of Thorney, is also preserved in one of the public offices.

Obliged as I am to consult brevity, I cannot pass over another relic of Thorney, belonging to a very different period, and calling up widely different associations. I refer to the Register of Baptisms belonging to the French colony which settled at Thorney in the time of Charles I. These foreigners had previously been located at Hatfield Chase, and were induced to try their fortunes in the Fens under the auspices of the Earl of Bedford. The Register embraces about seventy years, is in good preservation, and gives the names of sponsors as well as of the parents. On the other hand, except incidentally, there is no mention of the minister who officiated in the church, by letters patent, in the French tongue. Among these the epitaph of Ezekiel Danois is still preserved in the church. One of his successors, David, a minister from Geneva, is described by Gregorio Leti, the Italian ambassador and historian, as a man of great learning and piety. Another of these ministers was the Rev. Jacques

Corion, who escaped from France when the orthodox would have broken him on the wheel if he had not baffled their benevolent design by timely flight. The last French minister was a member of the celebrated Le Sueur family, to which belonged the sculptor who executed the well known equestrian statue of Charles I at Charing Cross.

And now it has all faded away,—Saxon hermit, Norman abbot, prior and sacristan, monk and novice, priest and acolyte, Frenchmen and their wives and little ones, driven by the sword of persecution to our inviolable soil,—all have melted away, as our great dramatist says, "like an unsubstantial pageant faded". A long line of parochial clergymen, shorn, indeed, of mediæval pomp, and of widely different characteristics, but not less useful in their vocation, succeeded, and may serve to remind us of the changeful character of all human forms and institutions compared with that truth which never changes, and of the law pervading human progress, in virtue of which the systems wherein men thought to take refuge for ever pass away, and the fabrics of the past are trodden by the footsteps of the archæologists of the future.

> "The old order giveth place to new,
> And God fulfils himself in many ways."

THE HURLERS.

BY C. W. DYMOND, F.S.A.

(*Read April* 16, 1879.)

THE three stone circles, with two detached outliers, known from early times by the name of *The Hurlers*, are situated in the county of Cornwall, partly on the common of Carnedon Prior, in the parish of Linkinhorne, and partly in the adjoining parish of St. Cleer. Nothing approaching to a correct plan of these interesting relics of a remote past (in some respects the finest of their kind in Damnonia) having, so far as I am aware, been published, I have recently submitted them to an accurate survey, the results of which are embodied in the accompanying plan.[1]

The district in which these remains occur is a remarkable one, a narrow strip of it twelve miles in length, which extends north and south from Liskeard, containing within its limited area an unusual number of natural and antiquarian curiosities. Its southern end is marked by the *megalithic circle of Duloe*, from whence, journeying northward two miles, brings us to the famous *well of St. Keyne*, and, three miles farther, to the remains of the *castle of Liskeard*, of which little more than the site can now be traced.[2] Beyond, in the same direction, *Roundabury*, an ancient camp or amphitheatre, nearly obliterated by the plough, may yet be seen in a field by the road-side. At two and a half miles from Liskeard we reach the village of St. Cleer, with its restored *ancient well* and *carved cross*. Hard by, to the right, on a hill, stands the fine dolmên called *Trethery Stone;* while, a little farther to the left, is found the inscribed sepulchral monument called *Doniert's Stone*, with its companion, *The other Half Stone*. On the down, two miles ahead, bristle *Long Stone*, a tall carved cross, and the *Hurlers*, overlooking *ancient tin stream-*

[1] The photo-lithographed facsimile has been necessarily reduced to so small a scale that some details of the original are not very clear.

[2] It was destroyed before the time of Leland, who says, "There was a Castel on an Hille in the Toun side by North from *S. Martin* [parish church]. It is now al in Ruine. Fragments and Peaces of waulles yet stond. The site of it is magnificent and [looketh] over al the Toun."

works in the valley below, which testify to the local industry of early historical periods. A mile more, and the traveller stands in wonder at the foot of that great natural *tour de force*, the *Cheesewring;* and, if he be not wearied by his walk, he may find on Kilmarth Tor, one mile and a half in advance, and at the northern extremity of our line, the most perfect, and, in some respects, the finest *rock-basin* in Cornwall or Devon.

Old writers who have mentioned the Hurlers, as might have been expected, were unable to throw any light on their origin and use. Having no trustworthy evidence to adduce, they were limited to the record of popular tradition, and to the pathless field of conjecture,—their reports of the former being generally reproduced with a faithful monotony which is far from being instructive. Nevertheless,—though at the risk of some repetitions,—it may be well to bring together, not only these early accounts, but also those of later explorers who have written from personal observation, before proceeding to describe the present condition of the remains, to analyse their features, and to note their analogies.

There is no mention of these antiquities in the earliest topographical notices of Cornwall, which are contained in the *Itineraries* of William of Worcester, *temp.* Edward IV, and of Leland, *temp.* Henry VIII. The first-written account is, probably, that of Norden (*circa* 1584) who thus describes[1]

"The *Hurlers*, certayne stones raysed and sett in the grounde of some 6 foote high and 2 foote square, some bigger, some lesser, and are fixed in suche straglinge manner as those Countrye men doe in performinge that pastime *Hurlinge*. The manner of the standing of theis stones is as followeth":—

Here he gives a well engraved view showing thirty stones, of nearly equal size, promiscuously but artistically grouped—a purely imaginary picture, utterly valueless for scientific purposes, and, therefore, unworthy of reproduction. He concludes—

"This monumente seemeth to importe an intention of the memoriall of some matter done in this kinde of exercise, thowgh time haue worne out the maner."

Carew, writing before 1586, has the following passage:[2]—

[1] *Speculi Britanniæ pars*, Cornwall, p. 94.
[2] *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1769, p. 129.

"Not farre hence, [from Doniert's Stone] in an open plaine, are to be seene certaine stones, somewhat squared, and fastened about a foote deepe in the ground, of which, some sixe or eight stand vpright in proportionable distance: they are termed, The hurlers. And alike strange obseruation, taketh place here, as at Stonehenge, to wit, that a redoubled numbring, neuer eueneth with the first. But far stranger is the country peoples report, that once they were men, and for their hurling vpon the Sabboth, so metamorphosed. The like whereof, I remember to haue read, touching some in Germany (as I take it) who for a semblable prophanation, with daunсing, through the Priests accursing, continued it on a whole yere together."

Camden, who, in the sixth edition of his *Britannia*, printed in 1607, acknowledges that Carew had been his chief guide through Cornwall, and who, doubtless, follows his description, writes (*circa* 1586) thus of the Hurlers:[1]—

"A great many stones likewise, in a manner square, are to be seen upon the adjoyning plain; whereof seven or eight are at an equal distance from one another. The Neighbours call them *Hurlers*, out of a pious belief that they are men transform'd into stones, for playing at ball on Sunday. Others will have them to be a trophie in memory of a battle; and some think they have been set for boundaries; because in such Authors as have writ about *Bounds*, they have read, that large stones us'd to be gather'd by both parties, and erected for limits."

To this the translator adds:[2]—

"Near to these [the rocks of the Cheesewring] are the *Hurlers*, which are oblong, rude, and unhewn stones, pitch'd in the ground on one end, standing upon a down in three circles, the centers whereof are in a right line; the middlemost circle the greatest. They seem neither to be trophies nor land-marks (as our Author conjectures) but burying places of the ancient Britains. For *The other half stone* (mention'd by Camden) not far from those *Hurlers*, appears by the inscription to have been a sepulchral stone. And that too call'd the *Long-stone*, standing in the downs about half a mile from the Hurlers, above two yards and a half high, with a Cross on both sides, was doubtless a funeral monument."

In a Latin account of this district, published at Amsterdam in 1661, the following has reference to our subject.[3] After noticing the Cheesewring—

"Saxa etiam plura æquis disposita spatiis. Incolis Hurletii. Pilæ quandam fuisse creduntur, sed in saxa mutatæ, quod vulgus diem illis dominicum profanaverit."

About the year 1685 this neighbourhood was visited by

[1] *Britannia*, ed. 1695, p. 9. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[3] *History of the Parish of Linkinhorne*, by W. Harvey, written in 1727, first published in 1876, p. 23.

William Hals who, evidently adopting Carew's terms to describe what he saw, writes[1]—

"In the open downs are to be seen a great number of moorstones, some artificially squared, and in a perpendicular manner, about three feet high, fastened at the bottom in the ground. Eight of them stand much longer, or higher, than the rest, and at a proportionable distance. They are commonly called the hurlers. For the old wives' tradition says, they formerly were men, and perhaps clever fellows too, but so very prophane and wicked as to be made exemplary monuments to posterity. For the wretches playing a match at hurling, whirling, or casting a ball upon a Sunday, became objects of God's judgment, and were thus transformed into stones. Did but the ball which those hurlers used, when flesh and blood, appear directly over them, immoveably pendent in the air, one might be apt to credit some little of the tale. But as the case is, I can scarce help thinking but the present stones were always stones, and will to the world's end be so, unless they will be at the pains to pulverise them. I am inclined to guess too, notwithstanding what my grandmother said to the contrary, they were by human art set up, like those others [two crosses previously noticed] by the highway, as funeral monuments for such pious christian hurlers only as St. Paul himself was; whose spiritual hurling, or race-running, for the eternal prize, his sacred Epistles abound with. I say, from some such circumstances probably those stones might be denominated hurlers, (if from their first erection they were called so) viz. hurlers spiritual, not carnal."

The author of the small work, from the additions to which by its editor the foregoing Latin extract is taken, thus mentions[2]—

"The *Hurlers*—about 22 great stones standing upright on one end, in a plain place of ground: so called as the tradition goes, from so many men being at *Hurling* on a Sunday, and so for their sin for Sabbath breaking, by God Almighty turned into those stones as a monument of disobedience and sin, like that of Lott's wife. But the truth of the story is,—it was a burying place of the Britons, before the calling in of the heathen sexton into this kingdom. And this fable, invented by the Britons, was to prevent the ripping up the bones of their ancestors, and so called by the name of *The Hurlers* to this day."

In one of the *Additions* to this account the editor gives particulars as to the number of stones, diameters of circles, and distances, which are wrong in almost every item.[2]

Next comes the description by Dr. Borlase, written before year 1754:[3]—

"Some Circles are near one the other, and their Centers in a line,

[1] Hals' *Parochial History*, pp. 48, 49, quoted in Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*, ed. 1816, vol. i, p. 144, notes.
[2] *Hist. Par. Linkinhorne*, p. 13.
[3] *Antiquities of Cornwall*, 2nd ed., 1769, pp. 198, 199.

to signify, perhaps, that they were intended for, and directed to, one use. Of this kind is the Monument called the Hurlers, in the Parish St. Clare,[1] Cornwall; the Stones of which, by the vulgar, are supposed to have been once Men, and thus transformed, as a punishment for their hurling upon the Lord's Day. This Monument consisted of three Circles from which many Stones are now carried off; what remain, and their distances, may be seen."[2]

The perspective view published by Dr. Borlase (evidently somewhat conventional in drawing) shows sixteen stones in the northern circle, nine of them erect and seven prostrate; seventeen stones in the middle circle, eight of them erect and nine prostrate; twelve stones in the southern circle, three of them erect and nine prostrate. Now, though it is probable that the total of stones then existing is here shown nearly correctly, it is impossible to accept this perspective plan as an unimpeachable authority, for the number of those which are shown as standing in the middle circle is fewer by two than the number found to be still rooted in their beds. Yet it seems to offer some evidence that, since this author visited the spot, about three or four stones may have disappeared from the northern and middle circles respectively, and one from the southern circle.

Following Dr. Borlase, after an interval of half a century, Thomas Bond, author of *Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Boroughs of East and West Looe*, visited and described the Hurlers. He says[3]—

"On the 6th of August, 1802, I went with a party of friends to see these natural and artificial curiosities mentioned by Camden.... The Hurlers.. were found to be moor-stones of about 5 or 6 feet high, forming two circles, one without the other (not as represented in Hals' 'Parochial History', but like that in Borlase) the circle nearest Cheese Wring less than that of the other. Some of the stones are fallen down, and remain where they fell; and others have probably been carried off for gate-posts, and other purposes. The areas of the circles are not level, there being many pits in them, as if the earth had sunk over large graves. I confess I was not much struck with the appearance of these famous stones, not having faith to believe they once were men."

A few years later, C. S. Gilbert—possibly in this case from personal observation—thus writes:[4]—

[1] Some of them are in the parish of St. Cleer, but the greater part are in the contiguous parish of Linkinhorne.

[2] Plate xvii, fig. vi, p. 206.

[3] Published in 1823: quoted in Davies Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall*, 1838, vol. i, p. 184.

[4] *Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall*, 1817, vol. i. p. 171.

"In the Parish of St. Cleer, three miles north of Liskeard, are the remains of a monument called the Hurlers. When perfect it consisted of three contiguous circles, of upright stones, from three to five feet high, the centres of which are in a line, though their diameters are not the same, the middlemost circle being larger than the end ones, which appear to be of a similar size. Many of the stones were carried away some years since. The common people suppose that the stones forming this monument, were formerly men, and that they were thus transformed as a punishment for hurling (a sport once common in Cornwall) on a Sunday." [And, in a note, the author adds], "This was evidently once a place of worship, though the centre stone, or altar, does not now appear."

Lastly, Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, in the volume of this *Journal* for 1862, has the following note :—

"Of the Hurlers, no one of the three circles is sufficiently preserved to enable us to ascertain the original number of its stones. In the first, to the south, two only are standing, in the second ten, and in the third six: but the first and third may each have had about twenty-four, and the second about thirty or thirty-one."

Many other authors have mentioned the Hurlers; but, so far as my researches have extended, they have, apparently, all been content to quote the descriptions of others; and, doubtless, in most instances have never had an opportunity of seeing the objects in question.

Passing, for the present, over the errors of fact which abound in the preceding meagre accounts, it may suffice to notice here two or three other points that suggest some comment. It will be observed that there is a slight discrepancy between various renderings of the popular tradition, some of which represent that the men, and one that the balls were transformed into stone. With regard to the statement of Carew that the stones were "somewhat squared", it may be remarked that they exhibit no appearance of having been artifically shaped,—any regularity of form which they present being due to the planes of stratification and cleavage which cause this moor-stone to separate into rhomboidal masses. The opinion of Camden's editor that these circles were burying places needs to be fortified by stronger evidence than the accident that monuments certainly sepulchral, and, evidently, of much later date, happen to exist in their vicinity. Lastly, there is the curious word *Hurletii* in the Amsterdam description, which appears rather to be a corrupt Latinized form of the English name than to suggest that it is a survival of an earlier

one by which these remains may formerly have been known, and of which the word *Hurlers* may itself be a corruption.

The site of the Hurlers is a flat saddle of the down, from which there is a gentle rise toward the north and south, and a slight dip toward the south-east and south-west. The northern circle is on the highest part of the ground, and the southern on the lowest, nearly on a level with which are the two detached stones. All are composed of granite, the local rock. Their individual circumstances are clearly shown by the original plan, from which the facsimile plate illustrating this paper has been reduced.

This plan shows all the stones which are visible within the area occupied by the remains. To the north of the northern circle, and also to the south-east of the southern one, occur a few blocks lying on or buried in the ground, scattered quite irregularly, and offering no evidence that they ever had any connexion with the artificially arranged group. It is quite possible that some of them may have been removed from thence; for violence has here, certainly, been long at work—the down being a much trodden thoroughfare, and the temptation great to utilise the handy materials in erecting the fences and cottages which are dangerously near. Since my first visit in 1870, No. 13 in the northern circle has been blasted to pieces which have not been removed—though only the eastern corner remains exactly where it was: in like manner, a large piece has been broken from No. 6 in the middle circle, and carried away. Their original forms, as sketched on that occasion, are dotted in the plan. One stone—No. 7 of the middle circle—is wedged into its place by another, nearly of the same width and thickness, driven down close to it, till its top is level with the ground.

The bearings of the various groups of stones were carefully observed with a prismatic compass; and the assumed local deviation of the needle, according to the best evidence I have been able to obtain, must be very near to the truth.

No perspective sketch is appended to the plan, for the simple reason that the stones are scattered over so wide an area in proportion to their size that they cannot be grouped into an effective picture.

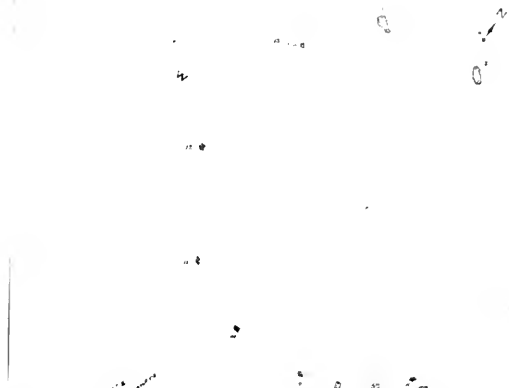
Several different statements (none of them correct) as to

the diameters of these rings have been published;—the errors evidently arising from the method of measurement, which appears to have been performed in a hap-hazard way on the ground, instead of being carefully deduced from a large and accurate plan. The true diameters are recorded on the illustrative plate; and are those of the dotted circles drawn thereon from centres experimentally found after the measured details were plotted. It will be observed that, in the cases of the northern and southern peristaliths, these circles pass very nearly through the centres of most of the standing stones, and closely coincide with ends of the prostrate ones; but the middle peristalith is not quite so skilfully ranged. It exhibits several instances of eccentricity which it is impossible to co-ordinate with any regular curve. These aberrations are, however, not quite so great as at first sight might appear; for, if the leaning stones were restored to their original erectness, they would approach more nearly toward coincidence with the dotted line. Due allowance has been made for these existing displacements in searching for the centre of the average middle circle. Though it is possible that certain members of megalithic structures may have been designedly fixed in an inclined position, yet it is evident that most of the examples which occur are the result of natural causes. Originally badly founded, their instability has been increased by their lee-sides being the resort of sheep for shelter against prevailing storms. Hollows are thus worn which, in wet weather, become pools: then the soil is softened, and the stones planted therein lose their support.

The number of stones now remaining, exclusive of those scattered ones which cannot now be identified with any portion of the work, is 39; and they are thus distributed:—

Group.	Erect.	Prostrate.	Total.
Northern Circle .	6	7	13
Middle ditto .	10	3	13
Southern ditto .	2	9	11
Outliers . .	2	—	2
Totals	20	19	39

A reference to the table on the plan will show that none



MEMORAN

IN PLAN

First stone ... are filled in with
Portraits ... closely hat
Dotted eyel ... lightly
Outlinings ... in full or
Buried portions ... are dotted

IN LIST OF ST

a in third column means
1 " " "
P " " "

DIAMETERS OF C

Northern circle
Middle "
Southern "

DISTANCE OF NS I DET

From centre of northern c
" middle
" southern

Scattered Stones are not
Dimensions are neither

Assumed local deviation
19° 30' E

SIZES OF STONES.

CIRCLE	NUMBER	PORPHYRY	VERTICAL HEIGHT	LENGTH	GIRTH	THICKNESS
NORTHERN CIRCLE.	1	P	— —	5.6	3.0	— —
	2	P	— —	5.4	2.4	— —
	3	P	— —	5.8	2.6	— —
	4	P	— —	5.6	1.11	— —
	5	C	1.10	— —	2.1	1.3
	6	C	2.11	— —	2.6	1.1
	7	P	— —	6.3	2.11	— —
	8	P	— —	6.4	1.9	— —
	9	C	3.2	— —	3.2	1.7
	10	C	3.9	— —	2.3	1.7
	11	C	4.5	— —	4.10	1.2
	12	C	3.8	— —	2.1	1.8
	13	P	massive	6.0	3.0	1.6
MIDDLE CIRCLE.	1	P	— —	4.4	2.6	— —
	2	P	— —	3.2	4.4	— —
	3	C	4.10	— —	1.9	1.7
	4	C	4.7	— —	2.2	1.6
	5	C	2.9	— —	2.9	1.7
	6	P	massive	7.0	2.11	— —
	7	C	3.5	— —	4.6	1.6
	8	C	5.10	— —	2.2	1.6
	9	C	5.5	— —	3.1	1.8
	10	P	— —	5.0	1.8	— —
	11	P	— —	3.8	4.3	— —
	12	P	4.6	— —	3.6	1.10
	13	P	4.9	— —	3.3	1.2
SOUTHERN CIRCLE.	1	P	— —	5.7	3.8	— —
	2	C	5.0	— —	1.10	— 11
	3	P	— —	6.2	1.9	— —
	4	P	— —	3.0	2.6	— —
	5	P	— —	7.6	2.2	— —
	6	C	4.10	— —	3.4	1.8
	7	P	— —	6.6	2.0	— —
	8	P	— —	4.1	2.2	— —
	9	P	— —	1.8	— 7	— —
	10	P	— —	5.9	— 11	— —
	11	P	— —	5.11	1.2	— —
TWO STONES	1	P	P	— —	2.5	— 8
	2	C	5.5	— —	1.11	1.6

Surveyed by C. W. Dymond, C. E., 11th Sept. 1877.

Photo Lithographed & Printed by James

THE HURLERS

THREE STONE CIRCLES, &c.

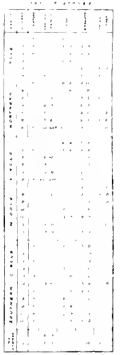
NEAR

ST CLEER,

CORNWALL.

SCALE





of these stones are of imposing size. The pre-eminence of the Hurlers among antiquities of the same class in Cornwall is due to the superior diameters of the rings, and to their occurring in a group. It has been usual to represent them as ranged with their centres in one straight line; but this is not the case: the centre of the southern circle is 24 feet to the east of the line passing through the centres of the other two; and, in like manner, that of the northern circle is 24 feet 6 inches to the east of the line of centres of the middle and southern circles. The two sentinel-stones to the west stand on a line which, produced, is approximately a tangent to the middle circle. Both of them are nearly of one shape; both lean in the same direction, and nearly to the same degree.

The "dyke" which intersects the middle circle is continued for a considerable distance in both directions. It is precisely like others which are frequently found in similar situations, consisting of a slight bank and a shallow ditch; and, probably, was thrown up merely to mark the limits of common-rights. The neighbourhood being devoted chiefly to mining, the surface of the down is here scored by pits—apparently excavated in the pursuit of mineral traces. Many of them might, on a hasty glance, be easily mistaken for rifled barrows, none of which, however, have been found on the site. Two of these pits, occurring nearly on the rim of the middle circle, are shown in the plan, as it is quite possible that they may originally have been hollows left by removed stones, and afterward, artificially enlarged.

The cross before referred to stands a little off the roadside, about half a mile south of the circles. Belonging, doubtless, to another and a later age, it is not within the scope of this paper to describe it. Hals says he saw another stone with a cross faintly cut upon it by the side of the road, apparently between this cross and Doniert's Stone. Perhaps he refers to a slender pillar of granite, 7 feet 4 inches high, uniformly 9 inches square, and rough-hewn on every side, which stands near the fork of the roads leading south and south-west to Doniert's Stone and Gambel; but this looks much too modern to be anything else than a boundary or guide-post. It stands about 1,500 paces, or say, three quarters of a mile, south by west of the circles, and nearly in the prolongation of the line passing

through the centres of the middle and southern ones; and is rather more than a quarter of a mile south-west from the cross.

There is very little, if any, evidence tending to show that circles such as these were laid out on any plan which fulfilled astronomical or numerical conditions,—unless, perhaps, we except the numbers 9 and 19, which have been observed to prevail in those of convenient diameters;—but, to antiquaries who think they see some traces of regulated alignment, it may not be useless to point out the parallelism which exists between the Hurlers and the remains at Stanton Drew.[1] In both instances there are three peristaliths relatively disposed, roughly speaking, toward the same points of the compass; and in both the line of their centres is broken, the northern link trending more toward the east than the southern. In both we find that the middle circle has the greatest diameter; in both, also, there are the two detached stones in nearly corresponding directions, though not quite at corresponding distances. The most noteworthy general differences are, that the relative elevations of the northern and southern circles are in the two cases reversed, as are also their respective diameters.

A little study of our plan, with the aid of a scale, will reveal the fact that, taking the stones as they are on the ground, the intervals between those of the northern circle (the fallen as well as the standing ones) are all either about 12½ feet, or some multiple of that distance. Indeed, the uniformity is such that, if analogy favoured the assumption that it held place in every part of the periphery (*which, however, it does not*), we should be able, with an approach to certainty, to settle what was the complete number of the stones. This would be found to be 29, with an average interval from centre to centre of 12 feet 4 inches. The average interval of the middle circle is 15 feet 2 inches, and the theoretic number of stones is again 29—the actual distances between those which are either standing, or which have evidently fallen without subsequent displacement, varying from 14 feet to 15½ feet. The southern circle is so incomplete, that still greater uncertainty attaches to speculations on its original condition.

[1] Of which an account with a correct plan appeared in the volume of this *Journal* for 1877, pp. 297-307.

The existing intervals, however, are either coincident with, or are so near to being multiples of, the calculated average (12 feet 7 inches), that if all the missing stones were originally equidistant, the theoretic number of members in this circle would clearly be 27.

As to the etymology of the word Hurlers, the Rev. J. Bannister, in his *Glossary of Cornish Names*, gives but two suggestions;—(1) that it may have been derived from *ur*, fire, light, and *lar*, the hearth;—(2) that the name was naturally suggested by the resemblance borne by the scattered stones to men engaged in the popular Cornish game. Few antiquaries will have any difficulty in making their election, if the choice lies between these two alternatives.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT COLONIA LINDUM.

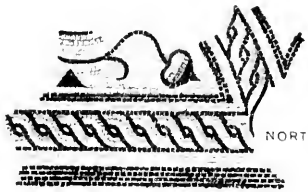
BY THE REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P.

(*Read December 4th*, 1878, *and June 18th*, 1879.)

THERE is scarcely in England a view more beautiful and detaining than that which meets the eye beyond the declivity by which the Cliff and Ermine roads descend to Lincoln. Across the valley rises the abrupt hill around which nestles the lower town. Its sides shadowed by thin mists, pierced here and there with lights of white and red. Norman William's castle-keep is on the left, with dwarfed towers of the city churches, and above, the crowning majesty of all, the cathedral,—vast, massive, picturesque, glorious, like some huge anchored leviathan afloat; like the temple seen shining from the hills standing about Jerusalem. Nor does the city lose on closer inspection. The quaint old building, the historic spots, the ancient churches, the certainty that we are treading in the footsteps of twenty centuries, create for Lincoln an interest possessed by few other English cities. And climbing Steep Hill to enter the cathedral close, what shall be said of that wondrous western face, its Norman and Early English architecture, its delicate arcading, its deep set windows, lofty towers, and pinnacles wrought in stone, whose pale yellow glows at evening in golden glory, and on which the citizen and stranger gather to gaze and wonder, and admire when the moon deepens its shadows and silvers its traceries?

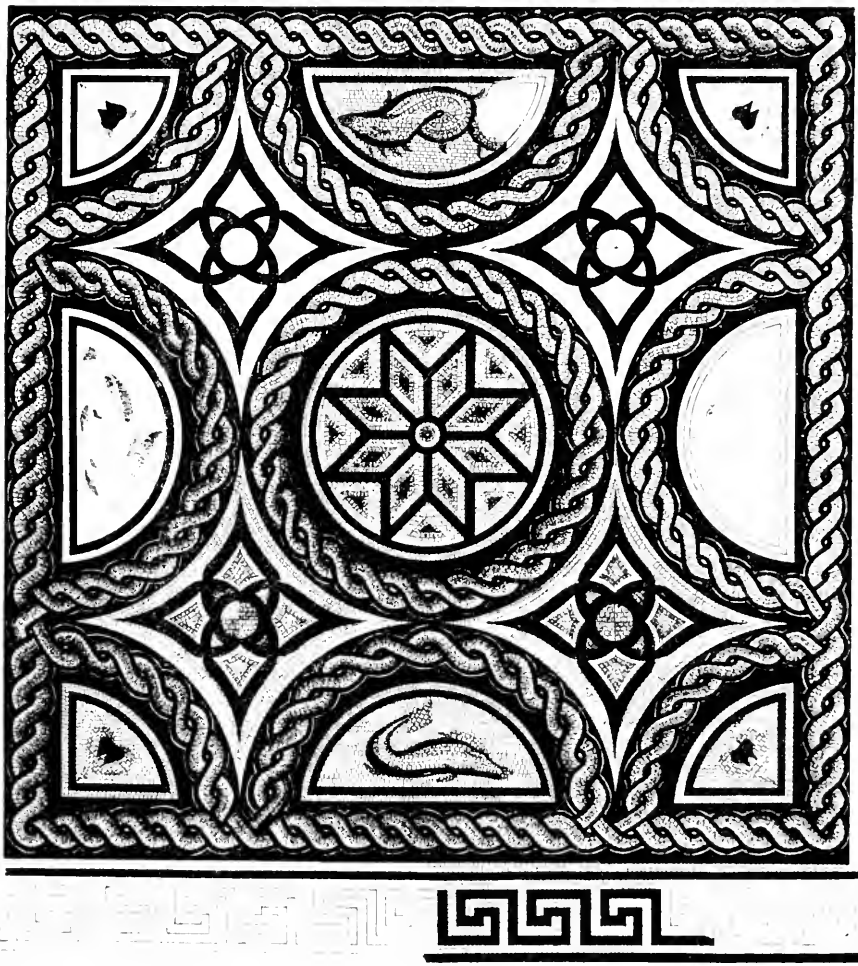
As at Peterborough and other Roman settlements, the Via passes through suburban cemeteries. That of Colonia Lindum appears to have been extensive, and has yielded most interesting relics. Urns of pottery and glass, containing calcined bones, have frequently been exhumed, as also the remains of wooden coffins, and the skeletons of the uncoffined dead. That which particularly claims examination is a tessellated pavement beneath a house, square, with central star within a wreathed pattern, probably the floor of a great tomb, or perhaps of a triclinium, set apart for the use of mourners. It cannot be the floor of a house, as

ROMAN PAVEMENTS, LINCOLN.



Pavement recently found at east end of New Wesleyan Chapel.

about 40 yds east from centre of road leading up to Newport gate.



PAVEMENT NEAR THE EXCHEQUER.



the Romans, unlike ourselves, neither buried their dead within their cities nor chose to reside within their cemeteries. Stukeley mentions the interesting discoveries made in this place. Two tombstones are (one in Lincoln, the other in the British Museum) inscribed, "Brusei filius civis Senoni", and "Titus Valerius, son of Titus of the second legion." A very lovely vase of Samian, discoloured by fire, was also found here. Stukeley says, "On both sides of the Roman road towards the south were many funeral monuments of the old Romans, some of which they now dig up, and doubtless much more when they first built on this ground. I saw a pit where they found a stone with an inscription this summer. Through age and the workman's tools it was defaced, only small remains of DM and VIX. ANN. XXX, such letters as showed its intent, and carving of palm trees and other things. This is behind the house where Lord Hussey was beheaded for treason in the time of Henry VIII."

The Roman city was divided into an upper and lower section, the celebrated Steep Hill being a natural escarpment to the former. The present Stone Bow (*temp.* Henry VI) is supposed to mark its boundary southward, and portions of the original wall have been discovered east and west of it. This Stone Bow constitutes the Guildhall, and is curious. To the south flows the Witham, crossed by a Norman bridge, whose massive framings are well worthy remark. On the left, ancient houses stand on the bridge and overhang the river.

In our progress through the lower city we pass on the left the very rare and celebrated specimen of Norman domestic architecture, called the Jew's House. The interior is modernised, but a window and beautiful doorway remain. Its legend is that in this house little Hugh of Lincoln (in contradistinction to Bishop Hugh) was crucified by Jews at Pascha, for which crime many were hung outside the city by Edward I. Little Hugh was canonised and buried in the cathedral, where a shrine was erected over the sepulchre, the foundations of which yet remain. This tomb was opened in the last century, and a child's skull found within, retaining fractures ascribable probably to a violent death. A little higher on the right a very beautiful Norman window of two lights has this year been uncovered. Climbing

Steep Hill we find the remains of the Roman gate of the upper town, south. The gate has disappeared, but the left jamb is seen between, and flush with the fronts of two old houses. There is nothing corresponding on the other side.

The Via runs in a tolerably straight line—indeed, it is the old track—to the Newport arch, the northern gate of the upper town. Stukeley calls this arch "the noblest remnant of the sort in Britain". Built of massive stones, without a key, it remains in much the same state as when the historian saw it. The arch consisted of a lofty centre and two sideways. Whatever the present height may be, nine feet must be added, since the Roman concrete road lies nine feet below the present street. The eastern arch has been cleared, and the pathway lowered for the passage of pedestrians. The western arch has disappeared; a staring brick house now stands in its place, and an older house appears in a print of 1785; but this house, I am told, was built *about* the arch. Vandalism was satisfied in the completion of its successor. It is almost impossible to give the depth of the arch, since the northern face has perished; perhaps 20 feet, as the town walls have 12 or 14 feet. Through the arch, right and left, are remnants of the northern wall, and east, the outline of the broad Fossæ. The road emerging at this arch, and dividing the upper city into two equal breadths, was crossed by another, now in great measure lost; but St. Paul's church must stand near the point of intersection. This road ran east and west. Around the brow of the hill was built the massive wall, pierced by four gates, enclosing an area of five hundred by four hundred yards. Portions of the wall are found east, in the garden of Mr. Trollope, who has taken much interest in the archæology of Ancient Lincoln; and on the north are the fragments beyond the gate. The old wall is traceable in the castle defences; it has been utilised in the erection of the Norman Keep; indeed, the castle walls, west and south, rest on Roman work. The wall throughout has been, as usual, bonded with courses of tile, 12′×12′. Eastward, the celebrated Angel choir stands over the line of the Roman wall, and the Chapter House on the Fossæ. Within the area of the upper city, from time to time, evidences of the wealth and grandeur of the Colonia have come to light: hypocausts, tessellated pave-

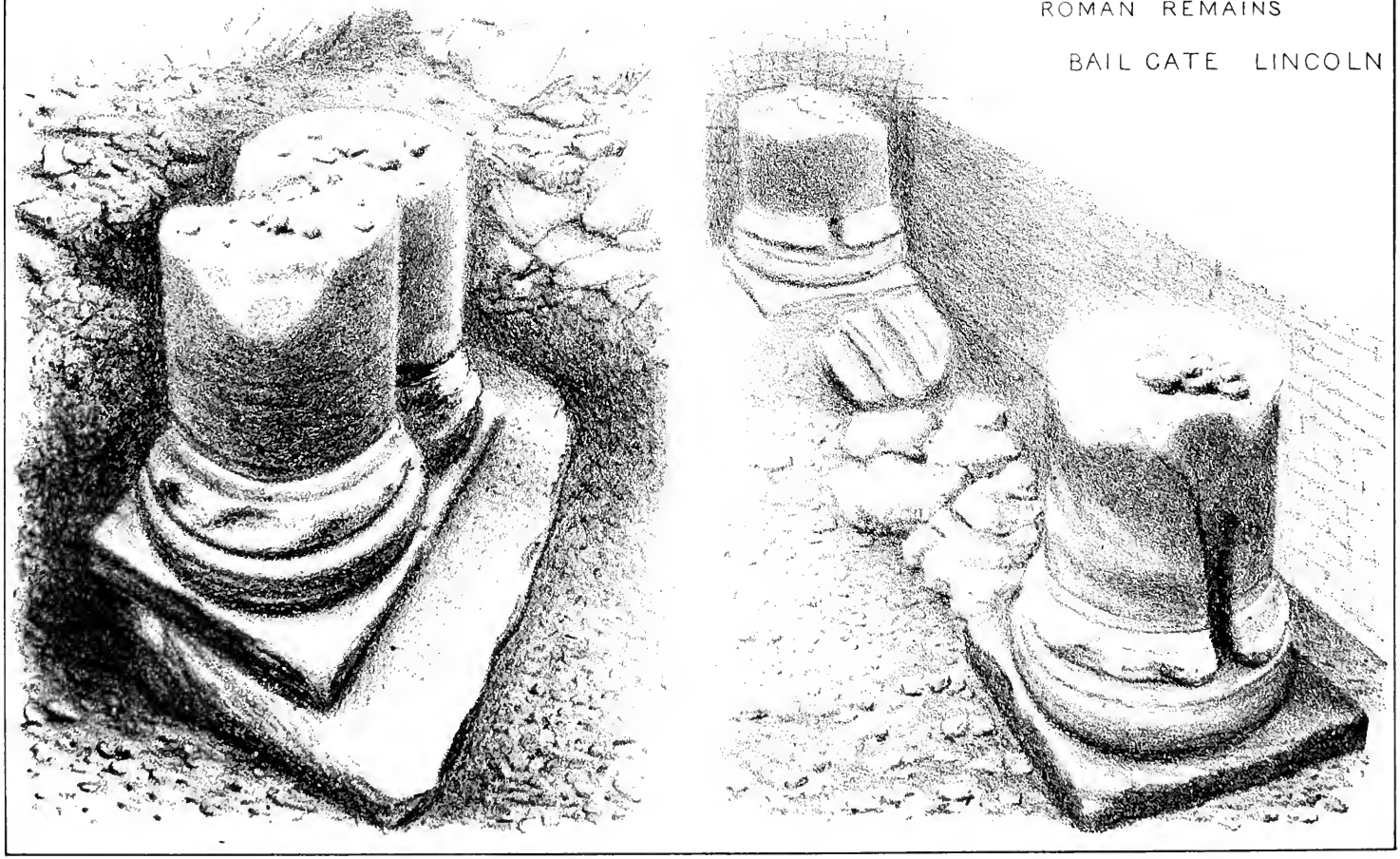
ments, articles of utility or luxury, personal ornaments, pottery—Samian and Caistor, many shapes of the latter beautiful and not familiar; urns from Cologne, and designs in common material. But the discovery claiming the interest of antiquarians far and wide, which should arouse the modern occupants of the ancient city to the value of their connecting link in the chain of history, that which reflects honour upon Mr. Allis of Bailgate, is the uncovering and preservation of the remains of one of the most interesting buildings found in England. Going southward from Newport arch, the site is on the right hand, and in the north-west section of the old Colonia—and almost parallel with the present street. Let Mr. Allis tell his own tale.

"Here, till 1878, stood three old tenements, which I purchased and cleared for building purposes. In digging we exposed a round flat stone, and going deeper, at nine feet below the present level, we reached what proved the base of a column, with a remaining shaft of about 6 feet. The excavation was pushed on until four columns were laid bare, standing on two fronts, north and east, and two columns at the angle being conjoined. The shafts standing upright, are about six feet, the diameters of three being 2 ft. 6 in., and the other (at the angle) 2 feet. These columns stand on a stone floor, raised a step above the ancient Via, which is exposed three feet in front, and this intermediate 3 feet appears to have been the ancient flagged footway. The columns have each a square perforation towards the base, as though for fixing a movable fence or barrier. In digging in the garden at A, the men came on a cross wall, at right angles with that running west from the double columns. It is built of concrete, bonded with tiles, 12 in. by 12, and 2 in. thick. The so-called Mint wall is in a right line with the double columns, and gives the idea of a very large and important building." This excavation was but six feet in diameter, and not continued, so the extent of the wall is unascertained. Around these columns were found very many fragments of glass and pottery, together with mortaria, a bronze key, and fragments of iron-work. Many of the bits of glass are very beautiful, indicating at once art and luxury. Above these lay the *débris* of Norman and mediæval occupation.

But to what building or buildings do these columns belong? They occupied a front and conspicuous position on the Roman city, near the gate leading north, near the quarters of the garrison. Have we here the Prætorium? Legend and tradition say so, and in Roman fortification the Porta Prætoria was the principal, and next the enemy; and the chief opponents of Roman rule were found north of Lindum. Or, here, the portico of a public bath? Perhaps without further excavation it were impossible to decide; but I descended the excavation marked A, and particularly noticed the construction then laid bare. It appeared to be a tiled seat, running parallel to the columns in front. The question immediately arose—could this have been a seat in the *sudatorium*, *calidarium*, or *frigidarium*, of a Roman bath? In the model of the York baths, uncovered by the new railway station, and also by it destroyed, seats similar appear. But the vicinity of the huge fragments of Roman work in a line with the double columns, the *Mint wall*, 70 feet long, and 36 feet in height, 3 feet thick, of stone, throw us back on our former position. Can the portico have belonged to the Prætorium? and is the Mint wall one of the defences of the garrison? This wall is 141 feet from the back wall of the house built by Mr. Allis over the remains; but I am informed that the relics of a wall of similar construction lie in the right line of the double pillars, and between them and the east end of the existing Mint wall. Supposing this wall to have been continuous, then the northern run of this building could hardly have been less than 200 feet.

There are in Lincoln few and scanty sources from which reliable information may be drawn. This "Mint" wall, so called by tradition—But why? The silver pennies of our early kings were certainly coined in this city. A Roman denarius, or first brass, stamped "Colonia Lindum", would be just now invaluable, as enlightening, if not settling, the question of locality. This massive wall is unpierced by window or doorway. Can it belong to a range of Imperial buildings, including the treasure house and mint quarters of the Colonia?

And the doubled column, at the right to the Roman road—I believe myself correct in claiming for it a unique position. Why should a less and greater column be thus


ROMAN REMAINS
BAIL GATE LINCOLN

engrafted? Not being an architect, I dare but humbly pen my thoughts. If the position were other than it is, I could offer no suggestion. Two *façades* must have run east and north. Judging by the diameters of the columns, one must have been more imposing than the other. Can a principle of economy, then, have led to this union?—the same saving principle which made them unite their broken Samian cups by leaden rivets. Although "Temples" were built in Britain by the engineers of Agricola, so far as present discovery teaches, the temples and the gods have perished together. And this seems to be a natural sequence, not to the spread of Christianity, which might have adapted, by right of conquest, the heathen temple to a Christian fane, but the spirit of iconoclasm, which refusing utility, refused also to see beauty in the standing structures of the departed Roman power. If temples were generally razed, as undoubtedly they were, the argument will be, these are not the pillars of a temple portico, nor have cross walls of marble or stone been found within the area. Is it, then, the site of Prætorium, or public baths?

A concluding remark. How very extraordinary it is, that these columns and their flank wall must have stood for centuries by the public way; and slowly through those eons the accretions of earth and city refuse clomb, and buried them nine feet beneath, till this year of grace, 1878; and yet no written memorial exists; no black letter, no parchment, no Saxon scroll, no Roman chronicler, says a word about them. Like the Sphinx, their history is their own, not the world's. Could the Corporation of Lincoln be moved to purchase the old property touching the southern limit of this discovery? By proper and thorough excavation the enigma would be solved, and Lincoln possess, very probably, the noble remains of a structure without rival in Britain, and finding a compeer only in the Forum of Pompeii.

The following inscriptions are on the Roman tombs:

DIS MANIBVS NOMINI SACᴰᴵ
BRVSCI. FNI CIVIS SENONI:
HCARSSNAE CONIVGIS IVC
HOVINDF

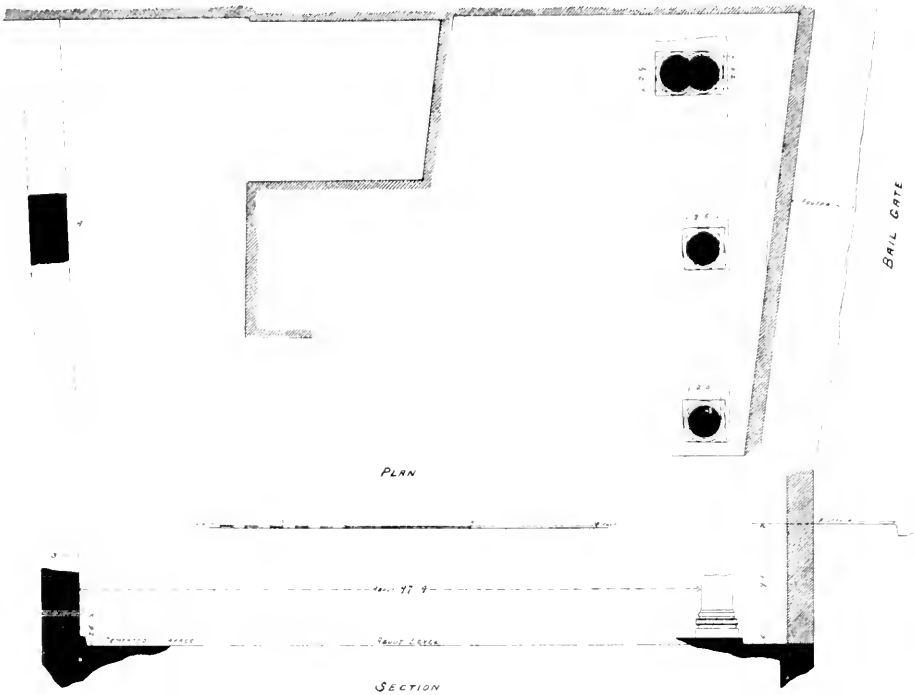
I. VALERIVS. I. F.
CLA. PVDENS. SAV.
MIL. LEG. II. A. P. F.
⊱ · DOSSENNI
PROCVL. I. A XXX
AFRA ID SP
H. S. F.

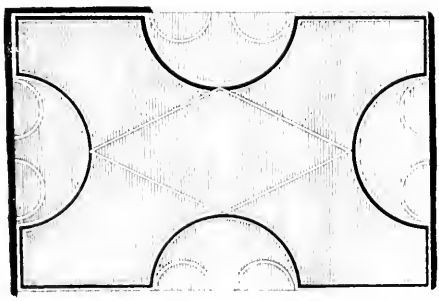
The reports of our zealous friend Mr. Allis almost assume the form of a diary. Under date of March 1879, he writes of several interesting and important discoveries in Bailgate, and the entrance of the cathedral, close by the Exchequer gate. My observations on the columns in 1878, and wreck of buildings connected with them, led me to pronounce the discovery as in all probability that of the Prætorium of Colonia Lindum, this opinion being strengthened by its vicinity to the Newport arch, the northern gate of the Roman town and garrison. In excavating for the municipal drainage works, and opposite the columns, were uncovered a series of pedestals, standing *in situ* on foundations of stone slabs, and composed of layers of tiles of peculiar shape, cruciform, with one face rounded, each pedestal built of five or six tiles, each tile having a depth of 2 inches. Seven were unearthed, standing 10 feet apart from centre to centre. Here lay also a portion of the shaft of one of the portico columns, bearing marks of fire.

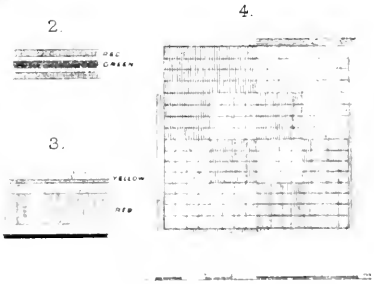
In the Via Principia of the Roman camp stood the Prætorium, and, before headquarters, the images and altars of the Gods and emperors, and standards of the army. Here, too, were the auguries delivered, and (*apud signa*) the soldiers deposited their money, as in a sacred place. A law introduced by Camillus at the siege of Veii forbade the impleading of a soldier without the camp. Here, before the standards, justice was administered. If the pillared building be the Lincoln Prætorium, then these pedestals, with almost certainty, are those on which the standards of the garrison of Lindum were erected. The cylindrical holes probably were for receiving the holdfasts of a base or socket, or in which stood the statue of the emperor or staff of the ensign.

The progress of excavation also revealed the plan of Roman sewerage, the cloaca running down the centre of

ROMAN REMAINS. LINCOLN.







1. Painting of Wall near large pavement to resemble Sienna marble.
2. Lines on Wall.
3. Border at bottom of Walls.
4. Pavement, red & yellow, of small room 11 ft. east of large pavement.



Bailgate—a tunnel perfect in its architecture, 4 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches wide, the vertical sides of masonry, the floor and roof of stone slabs. All goes to demonstrate that the present Bailgate is the old Roman Via. Nearer the Exchequer gate and precincts the tessellated floor and walls of a house have been discovered, but preservation proved impossible. Sufficient, however, has been exposed to show the remains of an abode of luxury and taste. The floor was of tesseræ, without pattern, but enclosed westward by a highly ornamental band of colour. A wall, standing between 3 and 4 feet high, retained its frescoed and coloured patterns, a trellis, with circles and bands of imitative marbles. Fragments of blue, red, and green fresco lay on the floor, with pottery, flanged roof, and other tiles; a terra cotta female head, the hair carefully dressed and retained by combs. It is a subject for regret in the interests of archæology generally, and of Lincoln in particular, that further excavations have not laid bare the plan and details of this Roman mansion.

Again, on April 2, Mr. Allis writes: "To-day the workmen have unearthed the head of a column, with an inscription." I wrote immediately, and stated my belief that from its position it could be no other than a milliarium, and would prove a most valuable addition to our knowledge of Roman Lincoln. I urged care, and asked for a copy of the inscription. As hope, so was realisation. Standing in the centre of the four great ways of the old city, standing as it stood 1,600 years ago, the stone intact still declared the power and state of the emperor, and told the wayfarer the distance to the next Roman station on the Trent.

My first information was only of size and place; a stone column *in situ*, 7 feet 3 inches high, $16\frac{3}{4}$ in. at base, $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. at apex, and, as may be gathered from the sketch, with bevelled edges. Probably on the first dispatch the stone had not been cleansed, since the only approach to an inscription lay in the letters A. A. F., and the numerals XIIII. I am indebted to Mr. Wordsworth, son of the Bishop of Lincoln, for the deciphering and rendering the inscription. This gentleman gives it as follows: "Imp(eratori), Cæs(ari), Marco, Piavonio, Victorino p(io) fel(ici) inv(icto) Aug(usto) Pont(ifici) max(imo) tr(ibuncia) p(otestate) p(atri) p(atria). Ab S(egeloco) m(ilia) p(assuum) xiiii." ("Under the

Empire of Cæsar, Marcus Piavonius Victorinus the pious, happy, unconquerable Augustus, chief pontiff, invested with Tribunician power, father of his country. From Lindum to Segelocum fourteen miles.")

The letters are rather scratched than carved, but the above is the general sense. Victorinus was one of the "thirty tyrants"; the rebellious generals of the reigns of Gallienus and Valenian. His rule was but of two years, an able but profligate man, yet accepted by the soldiers as imperator. In the Itinerary of Antoninus Segelocum is the Roman station next Doncaster, and distant from Lindum fourteen stadia. The stone is now in the cathedral cloisters, but it occupied the intersecting point of the four of the upper town Viæ. In itself an object of great interest, its value is enhanced as being a rare monument of a brief reign, and one intimately connected with the past history of our country, and its geographical features.

It is much to be desired that Lincoln should possess a museum equal to the importance of its history, and worthy of her antiquities. Mr. Allis, for what he has done in discovery and preservation, as well as information so kindly given, deserves all praise. But an influence from high quarters should supplement his work, or the interest of the last few months may prove rather spasmodic than permanent, and the antiquities of the upper town remain still the unknown, because the uncared for.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(*Continued from p.* 188.)

Friday, August 23rd, 1878.

Lowering clouds, a cold wind, and heavy, fitful showers of rain preluded the visit to the ancient abbeys of Thorney and Crowland. Thorney is remarkable on many accounts beyond its monastic remains. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us it was founded in A.D. 662 by Saxulf of Medehamsted, which we know as Peterborough, so that probably it had the purer form of monastic life. It was then known as *Ancarig*—a term that has greatly exercised the later historians of the place. The Danes ravaged it in 870, and for more than a hundred years history knew it not. In 972 it became an abbey after the Benedictine type. The first abbot of Thorney occupies a place in the history of English art as the author of a MS. volume of drawings, known as the *Benedictionale of Æthelwold*, which is preserved at Chatsworth, and the work is thought to have been executed by his chaplain, Godman, also abbot of Thorney. The abbey thus founded by Æthelwold lasted till the Conquest. On the 13th of November, 1089, the new edifice was completed, and, according to Ingulph, the historian of Crowland, there were many celebrities present. Ten years later, on St. Luke's day, the towers and spires on the west front were completed. These have long since disappeared, but one is referred to in a survey of the abbey, made in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The party was met by the Rev. Joshua Cautley, rector of the parish, and Mr. Herbert Watson, the Duke of Bedford's agent, who led the way to the abbey, where the Rev. R. H. Warner, M.A., traced the history of the church from its foundation. The paper has been printed above at p. 290.

The abbey of Thorney was mitred, and the researches of the Historical MSS. Commission have brought to light many documents relating to the abbey. Amongst its more modern history is its grant to the Russell family and the restoration of the church in 1636. About this

time it was the favourite refuge of the Walloons. The register of deaths contains many notices of them, and their last resting-place is in the churchyard. Mr. Warner was followed by Mr. C. Lynam, who gave an architectural description of its chief characteristics, assigning an early Norman date to the first portion of the building, and one of the fifteenth century to the other parts. He called attention to the remains of the clerestory, which gave the height of the walls, referred to some curious fragments of stained glass, and exhibited a rubbing from a quaint inscription on the memorial brass of one of the French Protestant refugees, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settled at Thorney in large numbers, and devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits. Mr. Lynam's paper has been printed above, at p. 285.

The record book or register of the old congregation of these refugees, written in French, commencing early in the seventeenth and closing in the eighteenth century, was exhibited by the courtesy of the rector. The church has a grand nave, and is of a cruciform character, with the aisles demolished, and the arches, once open to the interior, now filled in with walls and windows, doubtless removed from somewhere else. The same fate has befallen the western window, which at one time must have been of large extent; and nothing remains of choir, transept, or monastic buildings, a perfect sweep having been made of them. The building is in a poor condition, the walls being brown washed, and the plastered ceiling, which is in the form of a huge vault, is coloured to match; the east end of the church is modern. The figures on the west front and the curious turrets of Perpendicular date were carefully inspected.

Under the guidance of the rector and Mr. Watson the party then crossed over the road and paid a visit to the abbot's house, now modernised and converted into a commodious dwelling. Here were pointed out some of the cloisters of the southern portion of the church, but not the monks' cloisters, as some had considered they might be, those being always adjacent to the church itself.

The members soon after set out in carriages for Crowland Abbey, about five miles from Thorney, and here, in the midst of a heavy downfall of rain, they arrived soon after eleven, and at once set to work to explore the interior of the old church, under the guidance of the Rev. Canon Moore, Vice-President. The extant portion of the building is a ruin of the nave of the ancient conventual church; the north aisle, with its western tower, being still used as the parish church of the town. The beautiful west front and many other portions present a twisted appearance, owing to the failure of the foundations. The front is for the most part of very beautiful Early English work, with many

niches and figures. The whole has been cut into for the insertion of a large sixteenth century window. Portions of beautiful Norman work attest that the front was once wholly Norman. The north tower and spire are of the fourteenth century, thus making up a singular combination of different parts of very diverse styles and dates.

If Saint Guthlac, who originally founded a cell here on the side of a despoiled tumulus at the latter end of the seventh century, had felt inclined to resent the pilgrimage to the once famous abbey, dedicated to himself and to his special patron, St. Bartholomew, he could not have acted more harshly with respect to the weather; for, though it was St. Bartholomew's-eve, it seemed as if all the evil spirits of the fens, who so tormented the saint, had poured upon us the vials of their wrath, so heavily did it rain, and so dismal did the abbey appear in its gaunt, grim decay. Compared with trim and neat Thorney, Crowland is a dull, decayed village. Many of the cottages look as mouldy as if they had remained untouched since the Dissolution, when the glory of Crowland departed. The wondrous triangular bridge still exists in the village street, though even the deluging rain failed to make a stream to run beneath its finely moulded and ancient arches, which for five hundred years have attested the skill of its builders. The mythical statue of Cromwell (for the villagers will have the seated effigy on the bridge to be Cromwell, with a loaf of bread in his hand) looked forlorn in the wet. It may be that the figure was originally intended to represent Æthelwald, King of Mercia, one of the first benefactors of the abbey; others, again, think it to be a figure of a saint from a niche in the church.

The story goes that about the year 710 Æthelwald was a fugitive, and sought refuge with his kinsman Guthlac, who prophesied his future greatness. In acknowledgment of the fulfilment of this prophecy Æthelwald built a church of stone as a memorial to St. Guthlac, and around which the monastic buildings gathered. They were destroyed by the Danes when they invaded the country in 866. Ninety years later Abbot Thurkytel began a new church, but it was not till the latter days of the Confessor that the present building was begun; and indeed it is possible that some of the older foundations lately secured were of this date. When Abbot Ulfkytel reigned over the abbey the great Earl Waltheof was lord of the surrounding country, and became the great benefactor of the abbey. Waltheof, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, as well as husband of the Conqueror's niece, and a Saxon, possessed immense influence, and when he met with his treacherously-contrived death the monks of Crowland begged his body, and it became in their eyes, and in those of the surrounding inhabitants, sanctified, and his tomb was visited as a shrine. We are indebted to a Norman

monk, Ordericus Vitalis, for this and other particulars, though there are many wonderful stories of this place told in the fabricated chronicles attributed to Ingulph, a monk of Crowland.

Mr. Birch's work on St. Guthlac, now in the press, will give some new and interesting information concerning the early history of this place.

The Rev. Canon Moore read a paper on an obscure part of the history of Crowland Abbey, which has been printed above at p. 132.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, thanked Mr. Moore for his excellent paper. He said he did not know how anyone with a knowledge of ancient architecture could contradict Mr. Moore's statements as to the date of the buildings and their arrangements, and he also highly complimented the canon on the beauty and correctness of the plans and drawings he had submitted to them. He quite endorsed the idea that the figure on the bridge had been removed from the gable on the west front of the abbey to its present position. He earnestly hoped the galleries might be removed, and the much needed accommodation be given by the erection of side chapels. The carved oak screen under the east gallery he considered of the date of the fifteenth century, and had been shifted. The great screen in the east end of the nave was originally intended to separate the conventual church of the monks from the church of the people.

Mr. Bloxam agreed with Canon Moore's ideas of the arrangements of the abbey and its buildings.

Canon Moore, in reply to further remarks, said he believed the abbey was largely destroyed directly after the Dissolution, and further after that time by Cromwell. Crowland was, and always had been, staunchly Royalist, and the abbey was defended by Captain Welby against the Parliamentary forces.

There were but few, as they listened to the able and comprehensive review of the history of the church and monastery, given by the Rev. Canon, who saw the finely-groined roof of the north aisle, and who joined in the universal deprecation of the huge eastern gallery as not being ecclesiastical in character, who regretted their visit, even in the rain. The remains of the west front, with its early effigies and fine proportions, were grand, even in their shattered decay. There was much exquisite detail of the Early English period about this, which contrasted well with the late Norman arch at the eastern end. Much matter for study offered itself here if time had permitted, and not amongst the least interesting features was a series of photographs taken from the well known Harley Roll in the British Museum, illustrating the life of St. Guthlac, exhibited by the Rev. Canon Moore, and the large stoup, and the details of the north tower, which still exist as a porch to the church.

On the party leaving the abbey, the rain still continuing, they for the most part remained in their carriages on reaching the famous three-arched bridge, which is so arranged as to cross what are now three paths, although, in the memory of many present, there used to be a stream of water flowing under two of the arches, a small branch of the Nene river. Part of the structure of the quaint old bridge is no doubt early fourteenth century work, although there may be record of a Saxon origin. The crowned figure in stone still standing on one side of the parapet of the bridge, is too much mutilated to allow of a conjecture as to whom it represents, but from the appearance of an orb in its hands some have thought that the statue is one of the early Saxon kings, but whether Ethelbert or any other monarch it is now impossible to determine. There is much to say of Canon Moore's theory that it represents Our Lord and was removed from the church. On reaching Thorney again the ladies and gentlemen were received by Mr. Herbert Watson, and through the kindness of the Duke of Bedford were entertained at luncheon in what had been in former days a portion of the conventual buildings.

The archæologists afterwards proceeded by train to Spalding. On reaching that ancient town they were received at the parish church by the Rev. Canon Moore, the rector, and after an examination of the building he delivered a comprehensive lecture upon its history and architecture. The church was founded by the prior and convent of Spalding late in the fifteenth century, and it well attests this date, although the eastern wall may probably be older. It bears evidence of a remarkable increase in size at various dates, to meet, doubtless, the requirements of the town. It was originally a cruciform church, with nave and aisles, but it now presents the peculiarity of double aisles on each side of the nave, which has been heightened. The church possesses a capital tower and spire of early fifteenth century work at the south-west end, and there is a curious chapel, that of the Guild of St. Thomas-à-Becket, now the grammar school, at the east end of the south transept. The site of the priory was afterwards examined. The remains are not numerous, and mainly consist of a long row of fifteenth century buildings now formed into cottages.

Returning to Wisbech by railway, several of the beautiful South Holland churches were pointed out to the archæologists *en route*. In the evening a meeting was held in the Council Chamber, where a paper, entitled "Notes on Symbolism in Early and Mediæval Art", was read by Mr. Ed. B. Ferry, and another by Mr. C. H. Compton on the "History of Yarmouth".

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24TH, 1878.

To-day the Members of the Congress went by train to Peterborough, where carriages were to carry them on to the site of the great Roman station of Durobrivæ, between Chesterton and Castor. We shall probably never know whether "King Hal", in the midst of all his bluffness, really had a place in his heart in which the memory of Catherine of Aragon induced him to spare the great abbey church of Peterborough, where her remains were interred. He is reported, indeed, to have said that he would leave her the "goodliest monument in the country", and, indeed, her weary widowed existence in her dower-house of Fotheringay, which she once loved so fondly, deserved a monument, for, "after life's fitful fever" she ought to "sleep well".

"—— Although unqueened, yet still
A queen and daughter to a king."

She died at Kimbolton, January 8, 1535, and lies under a slab of blue stone in the north aisle of the choir, on which are the expressive words, "Queen Catherine, A.D. 1536."

Upon those who gazed on the western gateway on Saturday, and saw the large and unique western porch, with its three pure and elegant early English arches towering above them, at once so simple and so grand, there came a thrill of delight that this great church was preserved, even though it might not be owing to any lurking love or even respect for the "chaste wife" so ruthlessly unqueened. For this church carries us back to a period long anterior to the mission of St. Augustine. As far back as A.D. 655, Saxulf, a Mercian thane, founded a monastery on this spot. We are told that the fen men, the "Gyrvii" as they are called, seem to have preserved the Christian faith even in the dark hours which preceded the dawn of Christianity in the Saxon kingdoms. From hence went forth the missionaries in the Mercian kingdom even as now the Bishop of Peterborough has the shires of Northants and Leicester within his see. Medehampstede, as Peterborough was then called, suffered from the Danish invasion in 870; but, like Crowland, it rose in renewed vigour when Edgar was King and Athelwold was Bishop of Winchester. Ere a second century had passed, Abbot Leofric, a nephew of the "Grim Earl" who ruled at Coventry, held this abbey, with five others, and made it the richest and most beautiful in the kingdom. It became known, from its wealth of rich metals and gems, as the "Golden Burgh". Abbot Leofric fought on the side of the English at Hastings, and ere a Norman abbot could take possession the fair burgh was plundered, and the monastery partly burnt, by the followers of Hereward the Wake. Its golden glory then departed from it, and the

present goodly fabric arose—the choir, dating from 1118; the transepts from thirty or forty years later; whilst the nave was not finished until close to the end of the twelfth century, when the Romanesque-Norman was gradually but surely changing into the pure and chaste outlines of the geometric style which we know as Early English. In this style the western transepts and stately west front are executed. They form the step of the Latin cross-like plan which forms the ground plan of the church. At the latter part of the fifteenth century, when the Perpendicular style was fashionable, the choir aisle or new building, was erected. Indeed it was hardly finished ere the discontent arose which culminated in the dissolution of the monasteries. Thus this cathedral furnishes fine examplars of all the styles of church architecture from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, the fourteenth century being represented by the western porch, the room over which is at present the chapter library. The stately nave is very much akin to that at Ely, though the organ loft here is but a poor substitute for the beautiful oak screen and gorgeous lantern tower of the former. As seen on Saturday, the organ pealing forth a solemn dirge, the effect was grand and imposing. At the spot where Mary Queen of Scots was buried for a little while, in the south aisle, opposite to that of the previous and equally unhappy tenant of Fotheringay, Mr. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., gave a brief sketch, to those of the party who had remained in the city instead of going to Stamford, of her obsequies and the subsequent removal of her body to London. A strong expression of regret at the removal of the funeral achievement was made. It was stated that this was done by the late Bishop Jeune. The curious shrine preserved near this Queen's burial place was the subject of some discussion, but the opinion expressed by Mr. M. Bloxam, that this cist contained the remains of the sisters, Kyneburgh and Kyneswith, the saintly sisters of Penda, King of Mercia, in whose time the abbey was founded, received almost universal credence. It was a recorded fact that Abbot Ælfsi moved the remains of these two ladies from Castor, during his abbacy (1005 to 1058). The age of the shrine is not older than this, and could hardly have been intended for the bones of the victims of Danish violence, Abbot Hedda and his monks, in the year 870. The remains of the monastic buildings at Peterborough are now included in the buildings belonging to the grammar school, the Bishop, and the Dean and Chapter. There was no time for inspection of these, or the merciless spoliation of the place by the Parliamentary soldiers when on their way to besiege Crowland. A glance at the market house, the adjacent church, and the different buildings, was all that could be given.

The change from the low-lying fens to the umbrageous groves and

pleasant roads of Northamptonshire was very cheering. On the roadside at Thorpe was seen the strong stone tower attached to a dwelling house, which is an intermediate type between the castle and the semi-fortified dwellings of the sixteenth century. After passing the remains of a roadside cross, and skirting Milton Park for some distance, the party crossed the Nene and entered Huntingdonshire, passing along through the grounds of Chesterton House, celebrated as one of the seats of the Dryden family, and one of the haunts of the poet. By Overton we went to Chesterton and Water Newton. Between these points lies the great irregular rectangular Roman castrum, known as "the castles", and supposed to be the site of the Roman station Durobrivæ, though it is possible that this term included the villas, mansions, and dwellings on both sides of the river, as well as the castrum. The Ermin Street, along which the Great North Road passes for some distance, passed through the camp, and crossed the Nene between it and Castor, below the present island formed by two branches of the river. The outlines of the vallum of the camp are boldly shown, and the fosse was evidently filled with water. It is about 734 yards long by 430 yards broad at the widest part, but diminishes to 200 yards towards the south. On the tumulus, which occupies a high point in the area, and around which fragments of the well known Castor ware yet abound, Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a paper on the "Camp", and its mention in the *Iter* of Antoninus. He touched upon the various remains which have been found in the neighbourhood. The interesting potters' kilns, the remains of the cemeteries, and the immense stone coffin, now at Chesterton, and the ustrina, a little to the east, where bodies were burnt. Many of the remains found are figured in Mr. E. Tyrrell Artis's *Durobrivæ*, a series of plates published in 1821.

A most interesting letter was read from Mr. C. R. Smith, V.P., F.S.A., who suggested the formation of a local committee to explore the castrum, and he gave many valuable hints as to the mode of procedure. There was not time to visit the smaller camp, about a mile south-west, which was spoken of as the probable summer camp of the garrison, or, as one remarked, an old camp of exploration.

The scene was very rural and picturesque from here. On the east were the wood-fringed heights of the Nene, whilst on the south the ground sloped to the river, and then rose gently to the grey tower of Castor church, beyond which the "dumpling hills" of Northamptonshire made their appearance. On the west the rows of ash trees which fringed the horizon showed that this graceful tree was the "weed" of Northamptonshire. Here also was exhibited by the agent of the Dowager Marchioness of Huntley a fine specimen of a flint instrument found in the neighbourhood, and which is figured in Mr. John Evans' work on such prehistoric remains.

Proceeding from the camp, the party were driven to Castor, some five miles off, where on alighting they inspected a portion of a Roman pavement and remains of an arch in the cellar of a cottage close to the churchyard, and which, although known for some time, had only recently been further opened and exposed. A general hope was expressed that the owner of so interesting a place should continue the excavation of it, as there could be here no doubt of fruitful results of an extremely valuable nature following. The site of the church—one of the great architectural features of the excursion—which is on a rising ground behind the cottage in question, is most probably that of Roman buildings of importance, and there are many mounds of remains and masonry in the village. Many of such earthworks were examined here by Mr. Artis in 1821, and pavements brought to light.

At the church the Rev. J. J. Beresford, rector of Castor, met the party, and from the pulpit read a carefully prepared description. The church is cruciform, the transepts and chancel are Early English. The central tower rises in three stages, divided by rich corbel tables. Each stage is arcaded, the arches decorated with billet moulding. The pillars are twisted, and otherwise ornamented, and are full of scallop and other ornamental work. A perforated parapet of the fourteenth century surmounts the whole, and inside this is a spire of the same date. In the interim the Early English piscina, and the remains of another which had been repaired with a fourteenth century coffin lid, were very curious. The carving on the caps of the tower piers showed rustics bull-baiting, fruit gathering, and other rural occupations, the general style not being unlike St. Peter's at Northampton. There are also a priest's room in the roof, portions of a carved screen, and a good specimen of a south door, bearing an inscription, "Ricardus Beby, Rector Ecclesie de Castre fecit." It is singular that this is the only mention of the Reverend R. Beby preserved. Over the porch is an early piece of carving, and over the priest's room a dedication stone, showing that the church was dedicated on the 17th April, 1124—a fact borne out, we were told, by the Chronicle of Peterborough. In the churchyard also there is a fragment of an early (probably Saxon) cross. The church originally belonged to a Saxon monastic establishment, and is dedicated to the Saxon Princess Kyneburg, daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, who founded it.

Leaving Castor, the greater portion of the party proceeded to Stamford, which they reached later than was intended. At the station they were met by the mayor and clergy of the town, and were conducted by them to the town hall, where a handsome luncheon awaited them, as well as a hearty welcome, the bells of St. Mary's Church, immediately adjoining, ringing out a merry peal.

Those few who managed to proceed by the earlier ordinary train

found the authorities and many magnates of Stamford waiting to receive the party at luncheon, which the hospitable mayor had provided in the town hall. The programme was a long one, for Stamford is particularly rich in antiquarian remains. The first object on reaching the Midland Station, under the guidance of the Rev. Albert C. Abdy and the Rev. C. Nevinson, was the site of the castle built by Edward the Elder to keep the Danes in check, who garrisoned the castle on the other side of the Welland, for Stamford was one of the five burghs of the Danelagh; and whilst Æthelflæd, the "Lady of the Mercians", was fortifying the western frontier of the territory granted by her father, Alfred, to Guthrum and his Danes, her brother kept them within bounds on the south. The brave daughter of the great Alfred died ere her brother was in possession of this old and much-coveted town. The lawmen remained here till *Domesday Book*, and the burghers held their privilege by prescription till Henry III's time, when they received a charter. Stamford in these early days had one of the most celebrated mints in this part of the kingdom, and the indefatigable antiquary and geologist, Mr. Samuel Sharpe, F.S.A., had enumerated some hundreds of pre-Conquest coins issued by the Stamford moneyers, whilst the later ones are hardly to be numbered by tens. Stamford was in after days somewhat eclipsed by Northampton, but it was an important place during the Scotch wars. Kings visited and armies passed through it. The almost ever restless King John was often here, and in his reign and that of his son many of the churches were re-edified, for the traces of the Early English are not only numerous, but singularly fine. The beautiful tower of St. Mary's and the arcades below the windows of All Saints' are of this period. There are signs also of the struggle of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, for St. Martin's Church, with its fine and lofty interior, was first destroyed by the Lancastrians in 1460, and rebuilt in 1482 by John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln. The Eleanor Cross was destroyed during these fearful times, and so enraged the townsfolk against the Lancastrians that they rendered material assistance to Edward IV at the battle of Losecoat. After Burghley was built, Elizabeth frequently visited her great minister, and in St. Martin's there are yet the monuments of the father and mother of the great Lord Burghley, "Richard Cecil, Esquire, and Jayne, his wife". The great lord treasurer's tomb is also here, and a most elaborate canopied tomb it is. Amongst the other monuments to the house of Burghley we look in vain for that of the "maiden fair", for whom—

> "Deeply mourned the Lord of Burghley,
> Burghley House, by Stamford Town",

of whom the Poet Laureate has sung so simply and sweetly, and whose

ballad is bought on every hand by the country people. There were many gateways, doorways, and crypts, telling of the old days of Stamford. On the one side was the gateway through which Charles I passed on his way to Southwell. At St. George's, Bacon's statue of the famous Lady Cust stands face to face with that of William Burges, Garter King of Arms, who did so much to restore this church after it was burned in the fourteenth century. The present Perpendicular character of the church is due to this old herald, whose will, dated February 26, 1449, directs his body to be buried within the church. The chancel window, showing Edward III and the first twenty-five Knights of the Garter, was given by him.

The party also examined a curious crypt of the thirteenth century, under a house opposite the town hall. Passing by the sites of St. George's Gate, of the Black Friary, and of St. Michael Cornstall Gate, the party examined the gateway of Grey Friars, and then found themselves at the beautiful remains of the Priory Church of St. Leonard. These consist of two periods of Norman work, the easternmost arches being the oldest, and the west front the most recent, probably dating from about the year 1170. It was, however, pointed out by Mr. Loftus Brock that no pointed arches were visible, all being circular. The sites of the White Friars and Brasenose College were passed, and the party stopped at the remains of St. Paul's Church—a building of late Norman date, now used as a grammar school. After these places were noted and commented on by the Rev. Mr. Nevinson, he led the way to the beautiful Bede House known as Browne's Hospital, in Broad Street, where the ancient documents, which date back to the time of Edward IV, were laid out for the inspection of the party, and the buildings, chapel, etc., fully described. A hasty glance only was given to All Saints' and St. John the Baptist churches, the ancient castle mound, the remains of the Early English manor hall, and the fortifications near the river. These latter were marked distinctly with the traces of the bullets fired at them during the Parliamentary War. The regalia was good, but not very old, and a brief inspection of the charters closed the visit to Stamford.

In the evening the concluding assembly was held in the council chamber, where an exhibition of ancient manuscripts and jewellery (the former lent by the corporation and Mr. Algernon Peckover, and the latter by Miss Peckover) was provided for the edification of the company. The collection was arranged in large glass cases by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., *Honorary Secretary*, and much interest was taken in it by those present. After some time had been spent in an examination of the contents of the cases, the Mayor asked Mr. De Gray Birch to favour them with some observations upon the collection.

Mr. Birch said that the exhibition of ancient manuscripts and jewellery before them was one of great interest, and it was only due to those who had contributed to make up the collection that they should receive the thanks of the meeting. Before he said anything about the MSS. he should like to say one word with reference to the results of the Congress, which had been a very successful one from many points of view, but chiefly in churches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They had seen very little Roman architecture or remains, except what they had come across in the form of banks, which was the reverse of what they found in Wales. He then called attention to the ancient jewellery belonging to Miss Peckover, which he said was of a high standard. Side by side with the jewellery were a number of ancient manuscripts, to each of which he had attached a ticket, giving the date and probable place of execution. He then drew attention to a deed lent by Mr. H. Prigg of Bury St. Edmund's, as coming from Walsoken Priory, and said the charter was only remarkable for one reason—that the names of every one of the persons who had been admitted into that religious house had been written upon an erasure. Pointing to another manuscript, he said it was written in the well known Ely hand, which was as easily recognised as many notable hands of the present day. There was a beautiful fourteenth century MS. in the corporation collection—"The Mirror of Human Salvation"—to the state of which he wished particularly to call attention, as it contrasted very unfavourably with the condition of Mr. Peckover's manuscripts. He did not know whose fault it was, but it was very important that whoever had the custody of those documents should endeavour to put them into a proper state of repair. He strongly advised the corporation to spend a few pounds in having them properly bound, and then to put them into safe keeping. He would say that for a country town or small city they could not see such a collection of manuscripts in any library in East Anglia as they saw there. They were chiefly theological works, but were none the less interesting on that account, and the corporation ought to take care of them, if not for themselves, for others who were to follow them. If they did not do so they would regret, when it was too late, not having spent a small sum of money upon them, as that money would not be badly laid out. He would now turn to Mr. Peckover's collection, which, although of another kind, was quite as interesting. Amongst them was an Oriental MS., written upon paper made from the leaves of the mulberry tree. He also pointed out an Abyssinian roll, which was one of the many relics of that expedition by which King Theodore lost his life. The pictures of this manuscript were of purely native style, and were doubtless copies of early engravings taken to that country by Jesuit missionaries. There was also a copy of a Greek Testament of the

twelfth century, at the end of which were some lines by the author, testifying to his joy at having finished a long manuscript. They all hoped to have some reward hereafter, if people in this world did not praise them; but it could be easily understood that when a man had spent his whole lifetime upon any object he should have some thanks, and the best way in which they could praise him was to preserve his works. Mr. Birch then mentioned some gold work upon a MS. of the twelfth century, and observed that it looked as beautiful and as fresh as when it was first done. Other notable MSS. in the collection were a vellum of the seventh century, which contained four pictures of saints; a psalter of the thirteenth century; a beautiful book of the fourteenth century, used by a bishop, and called his lectionary or Prayer Book; a MS. of the fourteenth century, written in France, and illuminated in the French style, which he brought forward in illustration of the Lynn cup. Upon it was to be seen much the same style of dress and figures, and the same scenes, as on the cup in goldsmith's chased work; and when he looked at the enamelling on the cup and the illumination of this MS., he could not help saying that they were of the same period. A Latin copy of the Psalms was next commented upon. It was curiously illuminated, and written in a peculiar hand, the thick slopes of the letters being squared off at top and bottom. It was of the twelfth century, and he attributed to it a German, perhaps even an Icelandic or Norwegian origin. There was also a theological work of the reign of Henry III, which, from a literary point of view, was one of the most interesting and valuable manuscripts on the table, but it was in a bad state of preservation. It was very valuable to churchmen, for it was a tangible record of the troubles of the Church, and if it was carefully preserved it would be one of the most valuable works in the corporation library. It was thought worth while to show the seal of the Wisbech Corporation, which contained figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, each with the accustomed emblem—St. Peter with his key and St. Paul with his sword. The translation of the inscription was, "The common seal of the inhabitants of Wisbech." It was a very interesting seal, in fine preservation, and although it was not in the finest style, it was as good as many of the new seals which were now used by public bodies. It was used for sealing formal documents, and far better than many he had seen. There were one or two other remarks he should like to make. It was only by these congresses, and by the opportunity which they afforded of bringing these treasures together, that the members were able to see such an exhibition as the one before them; and he believed it was only by such machinery that they had the chance of seeing and knowing what they had in the country. They might live all their lives with the most beautiful things

around them in their neighbours' houses and in their own chests and yet not able to see them.

The Mayor said they were all very much obliged to Mr. Birch for his able remarks, and he had no doubt the company would now like to look over the collection again.

Mr. Walford here rose and said he had Mr. Wright's permission to ask a question. Oliver Cromwell, who was closely connected with this district, had a cousin, General Desborough, whose daughter married an ancestor of his (the speaker's), and when his father's property was sold in Suffolk there was a "Pardon" of General Desborough's missing, which was signed by Charles II. It was of course on parchment. He could not think it was destroyed; and probably it was lying in the possession of some person in the Eastern Counties. He had advertised for it, but could hear nothing of it. He should be happy to purchase it, with the view of placing it in the British Museum, but if any one in this neighbourhood would assist him in recovering it, it should be deposited in the Wisbech Museum.

Mr. Kerslake protested against the system of preserving such records as these by rebinding them. They had many instances of restoration of churches, but in some cases it was absolutely necessary. If MSS. were to be preserved, let them be put into cases, which might be decorated as they liked, but the state in which they found the MSS. was an essential part of them. He was certain it was mischievous to bind them, and he begged leave to protest against the practice. It was very destructive, he knew from experience, to bind such records.

Mr. Birch said there must be some misapprehension on the part of the speaker. When he recommended the MSS. to be bound, he did not mean the ordinary bookbinder's style, and the cutting off the edges. By binding he meant the careful stitching of the leaves together in the very holes in which the original stitches had been. The binding of MSS. required careful manipulation, so as not to destroy any portion of them.

Mr. Kerslake said that it was only necessary to keep the MSS. in cases. The best binders often did the most mischief, and they ought not to be allowed to touch them. In Dublin there was a MS. that had been completely ruined by rebinding.

Mr. Birch replied that he did not mean by rebinding that they should be cut down from quarto to octavo, as was sometimes done, but leaves of MSS. must be sewn together to preserve them at all; and several exhibited in these cases were in loose sheets.

Mr. Kerslake said the state in which they were found was an essential portion of them as MSS. He considered they ought to be placed in cases, as they might be required to be exhibited.

The Mayor said the corporation were desirous of getting some in-

formation as to the best manner of preserving the MSS., and he had no doubt after Mr. Birch's remarks something would be done.

After a short interval Mr. Brock rose, and, addressing the Mayor and the company, said a resolution had been placed in his hands returning thanks to the bishop and clergy of the diocese, and testifying to the extreme courtesy which the Association had received from the former, as well as the clergy generally, in opening the churches which they had the pleasure of visiting, and the results of this Congress were in a great measure owing to the courteous reception which they had experienced. They had also been permitted to make remarks within the sacred edifices, and it devolved upon him to express his own thanks, as well as the thanks of the Association for their kindness. They would all look back with great interest to the beautiful churches which they had seen, and it would be a red-letter mark to add to their records of the district. They would leave Wisbech with the remembrance of many important results accruing from their visit. He could only hope that their meetings here during the week had been the cause of directing more attention to the archæology of the district. He begged to propose a vote of thanks to the bishop and clergy of the diocese.

The Rev. E. H. Littlewood said he was sorry that more of the clergy attached to those churches which had been visited were not present that night to acknowledge the vote of thanks just proposed. The parish he represented could not boast of a grand old fabric like those which had interested the Archæological Association, which were of interest to those who loved the old Established Church of England. For his own part, he felt that it was only natural that the bishop and clergy should welcome the Archæological Association. They had something to show them, and he trusted the members had learned something from what they had seen. Some of them were looking very close now-a-days into new truths, but he could not help thinking that there was a great deal more to be learned from the old and the past, and the piety of the past, than many of them thought. The vote of thanks was unanimously carried.

Mr. Morgan said that, on behalf of the British Archæological Association, he offered their most sincere thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech for the kind manner in which they had been received, and the very kind manner in which the Mayor had accompanied them on most occasions. He wished to give them some little *resumé* of what they had seen, but his mind was so full that he hardly knew where to begin. He could only say that he did think that very much good would result to the society from what they had seen, which would not be a dead letter with them. It was with great pleasure that he offered those thanks; but it was a pleasure considerably mingled with pain. They would like to stay at Wisbech a little

longer; but that must not be. They had been with friends, and treated as friends. He could not close his remarks without mentioning the name of the Mayoress and the number of ladies who had thought fit to accompany them on their visits, to whom they returned their hearty thanks, as well as to the Mayor and Corporation, for the exceedingly kind and hospitable manner in which they had received them.

The Mayor, who was warmly received upon rising, said he thanked them on behalf of himself and the Corporation of Wisbech for the very hearty manner in which they had brought forward their names on this, the last night of their visit. They said at first that they hoped their anticipations would be realised, and he believed they had been. It had afforded him very great pleasure to accompany them in their peregrinations. He had personally made some friendships which he hoped would last. They had been very much instructed by what had been laid before them that night; and he for one must express his sorrow that that was the last of their visit, and he hoped and believed that they would profit by it. He wished them God speed, and he hoped that in looking back to the time spent there, they would have many bright memories of the Fens.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Congress Secretary*, proposed "The Local Committee", and in doing so said that a task of a very pleasing character devolved upon him in having to propose a vote of thanks to those gentlemen. The Association had received very material assistance from that Committee; and in the very long experience he had had in organising Congresses, and in being connected with these meetings, he could safely aver that he had never met with such good feeling, such application, and such cheerful earnestness, as he had found in that room by the members of the Local Committee. He assured them that the Association could have hardly been able to carry out the work, and he hoped useful work, which they had done, without their assistance. He could not individualise, and therefore he would only venture to say that, as a body, he had never known such help as had been given to that Society. It was Mr. Pearse, a gentleman so eminent in that town, who was the means of bringing the Society there. They were much indebted to him, for while giving his time to the relief of others, he had taken much interest in the local work. They were largely indebted to all the members of the Local Committee for their kindness, and he should ask Mr. Carrick, in the absence of Mr. Pearse, to say a few words in reply.

Mr. R. Horman-Fisher, F.S.A., proposed "The Local Secretaries", a vote of thanks which he thought was a good rider to the last resolution. He asked, if the Local Committee could themselves have devised such glorious means for their amusement and their edification and

their learning, where would they have been without its being carried out by the Local Secretaries? They had all noticed the indefatigable pains taken by those two gentlemen, Dr. Lithgow and Mr. John Leach. Dr. Lithgow had invariably been at their startings, to see that they were comfortable and happy; but to Mr. Leach they owed all the arrangements connected with the railways. He could say that, of all the Congresses that he had attended, they had never had their travelling arrangements so perfect as they had had there; and the credit of those arrangements was due to those two local gentlemen. There was also a large amount of work in the seeing after the places the Association should visit, having letters passing to and fro, and making a large amount of correspondence. They were much indebted to those gentlemen for their pains, which must have been very great. Therefore, on behalf of the British Archæological Association, he begged to return sincere thanks to them for the trouble and labour they had taken.

Dr. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, F.R.S.L., briefly replied, observing that it would be affectation on his part to say that the duties had been a sinecure. He returned his sincere thanks to Mr. Horman-Fisher for the way in which he had spoken of Mr. Leach and himself. He assured them that the work they had done had been a labour of love; but more credit was due to Mr. Leach than to himself. He hoped and trusted that Mr. Wright, who had gained the affectionate regard of all with whom he had come in contact, would be long spared to that illustrious Association. For his own part he thanked them very much.

Mr. Leach also responded, and thanked the Association for the way in which they had spoken of him and his work. By division of labour the Secretaries had, he was pleased to find, been successful in carrying out all that was required of them. Their object had been to please them, and it was very gratifying to find that such had been the case. He felt that he was speaking to old friends, for he had been a member of the Association for the last twelve years; the only one, he believed, in Wisbech till within the past few months. He was pleased to find that the travelling arrangements had been so successful. To say that the work had been no trouble would be an absurdity, for he could assure them that he had never undertaken anything that had caused him so much anxiety. He was sorry for the delay that had occurred that day; but the arrangements had been as perfect as human foresight could make them. It was one of those things that could not be accounted for; but all was well that ended well. He wished the Society many years of prosperity; and should they ever again pay a visit to the neighbourhood of Wisbech, he hoped they would find some centre not very far from the town, and then he should be glad to render them what assistance he could.

Mr. W. H. Cope proposed a vote of thanks to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Bedford, the Mayor and Corporation of Wisbech, Mr. H. Sharpe, and the Mayor of Stamford, for their countenance and hospitality to the Association. They would be very sorry to leave Wisbech without tendering their best thanks to the inhabitants for the handsome manner in which they had come forward to welcome the Association; and they also desired to thank Mr. Sharpe for allowing them to open the barrow upon his property, and for the hospitality shown by him and Mrs. Sharpe.

Mr. Sharpe responded, and expressed his regret that Mrs. Sharpe and himself had not the opportunity to entertain them for a longer time. He hoped the members of the Association would go away from Wisbech with a good impression.

The Mayor, on behalf of the inhabitants, thanked the members of the Association for honouring the town with a visit, and said it was gratifying to find that the Congress had passed off so well. For himself, he could say that he had very much enjoyed the week. In saying "Good night", he must say that he never filled the chair with so much diffidence as he had during that week.

Mr. Birch proposed a vote of thanks to the local gentlemen who had read papers, and observed that he would take good care they should appear in the Society's *Journal*. He coupled with the resolution the name of Mr. Peckover.

Mr. Jonathan Peckover, F.S.A., replied, and expressed his thanks for the resolution. He said he felt that the outward appearance of the Fen country was not very tempting, and he was afraid it was not very archæological; but there were many things of interest, and he hoped the Congress had not spent an uninteresting week. The people of Wisbech were glad to give all the information in their power, and hoped in return to gain information from the members; in which they had not been disappointed, for new light had been thrown upon them with regard to many things. He hoped that although they had gained a great deal of information, the fruits of the Congress were yet to come in the Society's *Journal*.

The Rev. J. Smith begged to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Birch, who had contributed a great deal of information.

Mr. Birch having briefly acknowledged the compliment, the proceedings concluded.

It would hardly be right to leave this town without some acknowledgment of the great courtesy shown by the inhabitants. The Museum and Club were thrown open to the visitors. The evening meetings were well attended by the neighbouring gentry, and the Museum was indeed a great source of attraction. Though not a local collection in the full sense of the word, it had much to interest all.

Monday, August 26.

On Monday the members of the Association proceeded to Cambridge, when, under the direction of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Mr. W. M. Fawcett, M.A., and Professor W. Wright, LL.D. (members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society), they proceeded to inspect Peterhouse, Queen's, and Corpus Christi, Colleges, paying also visits to King's College Chapel, the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the churches of St. Mary the Less and St. Benedict, before the day's work was completed.

A simple rivulet down the High Street, a peculiarity not often met with, but still to be seen in Glasgow and other places, is a reminder of one who has come down to us in proverb and in history in connection with "Hobson's choice". It is pleasant thus to be reminded of Hobson the carrier, for when the Association met at Evesham, they passed the last resting-place of his daughter Dorothy, who had married Sir Simon Clarke of Salford Priors, in the county of Warwick, whose mural monument is richly and profusely embellished with armorial bearings. It is a matter of Shakespearean notoriety that Sir Simon Clarke, her husband, was one of the patients of Dr. Hall, the husband of Shakespeare's daughter Susannah, and the case is recorded in the Doctor's library. A portrait of this favourite Royalist, whose son came to a miserable end, is still preserved at Abbot's Salford, with that of a lady whose lace-like ornaments are alike the objects of envy of Nottingham and Brussels lace-manufacturers. This reminiscence of the utility of perambulating societies in connecting the links of history was one of the features of the meeting to-day in this city of colleges, mansions, schools, and old streets.

Apart from Hobson, the colleges, and the schools, apart from even St. Benedict's, Cambridge has a bygone history, and is a lesson for archæologists, which the large numbers who have remained over the week sufficiently attest. The annals of Cambridge began, according to Mr. Cooper, in an age when Shakespeare's Cymbeline was yet young, and Imogen a child of the future. Students, it is asserted, were here then; but it is difficult to compare this statement with that of the late Roman historians, who see in the mythical Cantab. the Kymric Cair Grannth, which they would identify with the Roman Camboritum. The remains and relics of the Roman settlers abound on every hand. We see in the various museums their pottery as well as the ruder, earlier, yet suggestive potsherds of their predecessors and their later descendants. The Saxons left their mark here. The Danes did not spare it. The coins of the various periods bespeak an

early mint in this seat of learning and erudition in times long past. We begin in the middle of the eleventh century to trace the name of modern Cambridge in the *Domesday Book*, "Grantabrycge"; and when Ely was the "camp of refuge", William, the great Norman conqueror, frequently came here. Jews were allowed to settle here, and ere a hundred years had elapsed it had become the seat of learning,—a seat which was disputed by Stamford and by Northampton at various times, till Simon de Montford expelled the Jews, and his brother-in-law demanded that the wandering students should return to their Alma Mater, whether on the Cam or Isis.

When the Association reached Cambridge this morning, the very excellent Mayor (the very first Mayor, by the by, who has been a graduate at the University, and who is Recorder of Sudbury) showed us a series of charters, the first granted in 1227, and then a series of four, all in the reign of Henry III, showing that the town was willing to pay for the privileges granted by that too complaisant monarch. There are charters, too, of his son Edward I, and of many succeeding kings, not forgetting a late one of Philip and Mary. The Mayor, too, showed the town regalia, the great mace of the time of Queen Anne, and an embossed support for it, which dated from the same period. Four later maces belong to the Georgian era. Some of the Corporation plate was sold by the Municipal Corporation when the reforming era afflicted the town.

Before leaving King's College Chapel, the roof of that wonderful building was examined, a large party ascending to the top of it, where they were greatly interested in the massive stonework of the interior, and the grand views obtained from the outside.

At the Fitzwilliam Museum, Professor Colvin, M.A., pointed out the principal treasures of that classic and elegant building. The party were much pleased and instructed by the Romano-British antiquities, the statuary, Greek coins, Egyptian mummy-cases, and mediæval illustrations. The chapel, hall, library, and combination-room, of Peterhouse were next visited; and the stained glass, of the sixteenth century, in the east window of the chapel was deservedly admired.

At the church of St. Mary the Less, close by, the Rev. Mr. Hicks pointed out its principal architectural features, and then the party proceeded to Queen's, the college of Erasmus, where due attention was paid to the curious cloisters of red brickwork, of the fifteenth century, and the many other features of interest in this celebrated old structure. Professor W. Wright pointed out the treasures of the library, in which, among other valuable objects, were a noble folio MS. of St. Augustine, and a very interesting transitional Prayer Book of the reign of Henry VIII.

Afterwards, passing through the quadrangle of St. Catharine's Col-

lege, the party entered by the gateway of Corpus Christi College, opposite, and proceeded at once to its noble and admirably arranged library, the gift chiefly of Archbishop Parker. Here the Rev. Mr. Lewis, the librarian, pointed out the chief objects of interest among the MSS., of which this College boasted a goodly collection, and specially drew attention to the famous copy of the Augustinian Gospels (so named after St. Augustine, who is said to have used them), the original draft of the Forty-two Articles (*circa* 1562), Bishop Clifford's Pontifical, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which scholars from all parts of the world come eagerly to see, and which is so closely identified with our Alfred the Great.

The next place visited was the church of St. Benedict, about the eleventh century in date, and said to be the oldest in Cambridge. Passing thence, the archæologists proceeded to the service at King's College Chapel, where they were greatly interested by its solemn and beautiful musical performance.

It is so much the custom to inspect the Colleges at Cambridge, that many who lingered in the old halls, libraries, and museums, of the various schools, so seductive to the mediæval student, if not to the young *alumni*, were anxious to see some of the less known points of the old borough. Near the headquarters of the Association they had seen the quadrangle of the old Falcon Inn, and the gables of the "Castle" in St. Andrew's Street. They had seen the turret-steps which Newton trod when a student at Trinity. They had gazed on St. Benedict's Tower, under whose shadow King Harold might have stood, for the "long and short" work, and the balusters, suggestive of Deerhurst, point to a pre-Norman, if not a pre-Romanesque, era. Some even thought of Cromwell's House at Castle End, now partly demolished and in decay, but whose memory and appearance are yet preserved in Mr. W. B. Redfarn's sketches of "Old Cambridge", which Mr. W. P. Spalding, of Sidney Street, brought under the notice of the Association in connection with a well executed and useful plan of the town, for the guidance alike of Associates and visitors. Amongst these sketches are the singular and quaint houses in Petty Cury, near the headquarters of the Association, which are doomed to destruction. They are relics of "Old Cambridge" which old inhabitants of the town of Cambridge will be glad to secure. Such glimpses as these of the past and present of the University town were all that the Associates and visitors could secure in the time from noon to the hour of dining.

At the evening meeting to-night a somewhat animated discussion followed Mr. Morgan's reading of a communication from Mr. Roach Smith on the Roman station at Castor, which the Association visited on Saturday. Mr. Roach Smith pointed out the peculiarities of the place, and dwelt on the fact that there were not only two camps, but

the remains of an important community outside the *valla*. The settlement must have been one of great importance, as also the means of communication, judging from the quantity of pottery, found in different parts of the county, which had been made at Castor. He thought, in all probability, it was a walled station, and suggested that this fact ought to be ascertained.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess suggested that, as he had visited every known Roman station from Barough Hill, near Daventry (an undoubted Roman station on a former British fortification), along both banks of the Nene, he felt more than a passing interest in Castor. Judging from what had been found in the recent excavations at Irchester, he had but little doubt that the station at Chesterton was a walled camp, and the fosse was evidently a wet one.

The Rev. R. L. Baker, who had superintended the excavations at Irchester, had no difficulty in obtaining funds. He felt sure that the public spirit of Northamptonshire would not be found deficient in this instance, for the exploration of Castor and Chesterton would add a chapter to their county history, and a laurel to the labours of the Association. The connection of Castor with a series of other fortified positions gave it so much importance that the story of its existence ought to be told.

Mr. Brock followed, confirming the importance of investigating the camps at Castor and Chesterton.

Mr. Morgan read a chronological account of the Colleges at Cambridge, which has been embodied in his Report on the Congress, printed in vol. xxxiv.

Tuesday, August 27.

The proceedings of this second and last day spent at Cambridge commenced as early as 9 A.M., when the Rev. S. S. Lewis, M.A , F.S.A., the indefatigable representative of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, assisted by the Congress Secretary, Mr. Wright, F.S.A., led the party to Clare College, which, under the guidance of Mr. Taylor, one of the Fellows, was viewed, and its history explained.

At Trinity Hall, the next college visited, the Rev. G. Atkinson, M.A., made some interesting comments in the Law Library, and drew attention to the remains of a lock on one of the reading-desks, to which a long iron bar was formerly attached, which, crossing the open volumes, prevented their abstraction by the students. A curious semicircular wine-table was also pointed out, on which an ingenious contrivance at the end raised or depressed a small railway, on which two leathern cases on wheels, for holding decanters, ran backwards and forwards.

On passing the famous "Gate of Honour" at Gonville and Caius College, Mr. Bensley, Fellow and Librarian, made some observations on the structure, which some maintain was the work of John of Padua in 1570; and others, that of Dr. Caius himself, who, having travelled in Italy, brought back with him a feeling for classic design.

Trinity College was now reached, and here the party were met by the Revs. R. Burn, A. H. Heaton, and F. G. Howard, who undertook their charge while examining the interesting buildings which now form this one large College, although originally consisting of several brought together after the Reformation. Thus Henry VIII, and not Edward III, is looked upon as the founder, although the principal entrance-gateway gives due honour to the latter's name in the lately restored coats of arms and gold letters. In the Master's Lodge were seen some fine specimens of early paintings and portraits, Mr. Burn especially pointing out one of Mary Tudor, in whose time the chapel was finished; and who, in one of the newly restored painted windows in it, is represented standing by her regal father, holding the model of the building in her hands. A portrait of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, "the queen of a day" as she has been called, was also noticed; and after a close inspection of the many fine reception-rooms, with their interesting antique contents, the party proceeded to the noble library, where Mr. White, the Sub-Librarian, received them, and gave a short but most valuable account of the more or less recent discoveries in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Orwell, close to Barrington, in Cambridgeshire, and which, begun in 1860, have been continued ever since. The Greek and Roman coins, and other articles of Roman manufacture, placed along the cases, chiefly found in digging into the foundations of the old College buildings, were particularly noticed; and the gorgeous Canterbury Psalter, with its interesting illuminations connected with that old city, was much admired.

St. John's College was next on the programme. At the library the Rev. Professor Mayor gave a history of the College and its foundation, and claimed for it an earlier origin than even Peterhouse, generally conceived to be the oldest college in Cambridge. Here Mr. Loftus Brock called attention to an Irish MS. of the seventh or eighth century, in which were illustrations of crosses very similar in their interlaced patterns and designs to those seen by the Association in Cornwall the year before last, and those figured in Sir Henry Dryden's work on *Celtic Crosses*. The combination-room and hall, with the fine portraits belonging to each, were then examined and commented on by the learned Professor, and attention directed to those of Margaret Beaufort and the Countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of Henry VII; the latter having the post of honour over a smaller portrait of Bishop Fisher of Rochester, at the end of the grand old

dining-hall. The chapel was then visited, the generally admitted masterpiece of Sir Gilbert Scott's many restorations; and then, Professor Mayor being publicly thanked for his great attention and kindness to the party, the members proceeded to view the ancient church of St. Sepulchre, better known as "The Round Church", in Cambridge. This church is one of the four founded by the Knights Templars, of which that in London, the one at Northampton, and that at Maplestead in Essex, are undoubted examples. The Round Churches at Dover and at Ludlow Castle have sometimes been named as of similar foundation; but that idea has now been abandoned.

The party now reached Magdalene College, and by the courtesy of the authorities were permitted the use of the ancient hall for their luncheon. Afterwards they repaired to the Bibliotheca Pepysiana, and there were soon occupied in examining the original volumes of the famous *Diary* of the celebrated writer, written in short hand, together with his other well known collections of books, engravings, and rare tracts. A copy of the pocket-book of Sir Francis Drake was particularly pointed out as the smallest, though not the least interesting, of the works Pepys had bequeathed to Magdalene College. The mediæval walls of the town were traced in the gardens surrounding the College, and then the company proceeded to Castle Hill to inspect the Fosse of Camboritum, the Roman wall, and the Castle Mount. On the road they visited the very ancient but small church of St. Peter, where Mr. Loftus Brock referred to its very early architecture and almost Saxon font. A glance was then given to the lately built church of St. Giles's, over the way, where, to the credit of the builders, an early Norman archway of the previous church was preserved within a side-aisle, as well as a later one of Early English work, near to the chancel.

The so-called "School of Pythagoras" was also visited, and found to consist of the remains of a building of the fourteenth century, and no doubt the school of a chapel once standing near.

The party then set off for Jesus College, of which Dr. Corrie, one of the Vice-Presidents, is the Master. Here, in the chapel, Mr. W. M. Fawcett, M.A., the Hon. Treasurer of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, gave an interesting account of its history and architecture; and at the conclusion of his lecture received the thanks of the Congress authorities, who, with the remainder of their members and friends, here terminated their successful labours for the year.

Biographical Memoir.

Richard John King, Esq.—By the lamented death, at his residence, The Limes, Crediton, in February this year, of Richard John King, Plymouth has lost one of its most distinguished literary sons, and Devonshire almost the only writer of the present generation who could have adequately grappled with the difficulties of producing a worthy county history. Much of Mr. King's work was anonymous, and his name, therefore, is less known to the public than those of many authors of inferior note; but in literary and antiquarian circles he was well known as an authority of the highest character, especially on matters connected with the local history, customs, and folklore, of the west of England. His knowledge of the county history of Devon in its minutest ramifications was alike extensive and profound, and we may fairly add, unequalled. He was a patient and careful worker, scrupulously accurate in all his citations, and gifted with a style of singular gracefulness and vigour. As no man knew so much about Devon, so no man wrote so well about matters Devonian; and those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance could readily trace his authorship. Retiring in his habits, but always kindly and ready to help with his advice or assistance others engaged in like pursuits, Mr. King was no mere bookworm, no literary recluse. He took his part in the proceedings of learned associations, and engaged in discussions with a readiness and a geniality that won for him universal friendship and esteem.

Mr. King's literary tastes were developed while he was at Oxford, where he took the degree of M.A. He published, in 1842, *Selections from the Early Ballad Poetry of England and Scotland*, and from that date until the present year was never really out of harness, though literary work, however toilsome, was to him always a labour of love. Among his separately published and acknowledged works may be mentioned also his *Anschar*, a novel of northern incident; *The Forest of Dartmoor and its Borders*, two essays in introduction to a larger work on the history of Devon, which unfortunately was never carried further; Murray's *Handbooks to the Cathedrals of England and Wales*, seven volumes; Murray's *Handbooks* to Kent and Sussex; Surrey and Hampshire; Yorkshire; Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Essex; and Devon and Cornwall, the latter revised and partially rewritten; and a volume of gathered papers published two years since under the title of *Sketches and Studies*, and chiefly selected from Mr. King's contribu-

tions to current periodical literature in the *Quarterly*, *Fraser*, and other reviews and magazines. This list, however, is but a bare epitome, and by no means represents the extent of Mr. King's literary work, amidst which he found time to be a frequent, as he was a valued, contributor to *Notes and Queries*, and to carry on an extensive private correspondence upon the subjects in which he felt so deep an interest.

Mr. King filled the office of President of the Devonshire Association in 1875, when it met at Torrington; and his address on that occasion was a learned and critical contribution to the early history of Devon, full of suggestions for further investigation. Of the Association he was a most earnest and active member, and at the time of his death was engaged on no less than eight of its special committees, being also the Secretary of those on Devonshire Folklore, and the Public and Private Collections of Works of Art in Devonshire. He was likewise engaged, with several other members, in translating and editing, with a view to publication, the *Devonshire Domesday*. His death leaves a gap in the literary ranks of Devon which there is no one ready to fill.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

These paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

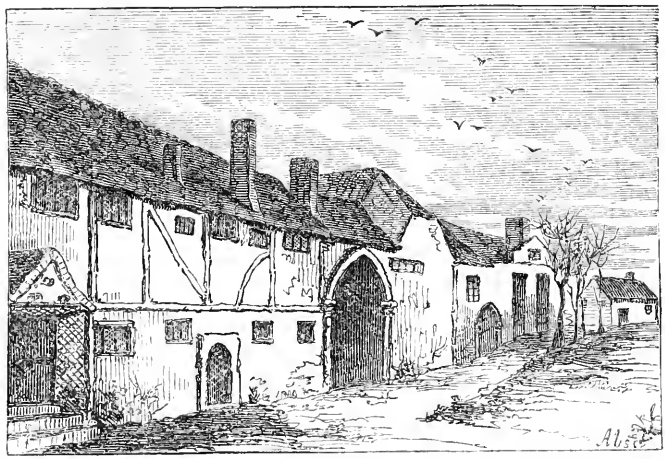
One of the most remarkable objects of antiquity obtained from Asia since the Assyrian sculptures is the Hamathite inscription which has just been placed in the Oriental Gallery of the British Museum. It is composed of dark basalt, about 4 feet high, and probably formed part of a doorway. On it are five horizontal lines of an as yet unknown character, undoubtedly resembling in some peculiarities the Egyptian, but so distantly connected with this now well known language that as yet no approach has been made towards its decipherment. The inscription is manifestly *boustrophedon*, and probably reads from top to bottom. The characters are raised by sinking the field of the inscribed lines about three-eighths of an inch. They consist of animals' heads, human heads, hands and feet, birds, a figure resembling an o, trees, crooks, baskets, yokes, thrones or carved chairs, and short lines or a line between two squares, these latter probably being numbers. From certain groups recurring with variants there is probably some grammatical system underlying the arrangement of characters, which nevertheless partake strongly of the pictorial and ideographic element. The

Rev. Dunbar I. Heath, whose labours upon the Egyptian language are well known, is assiduously studying the inscriptions, of which several are now extant.

The Pompeian Centenary.—An archæological celebration has been arranged for the 25th of September which is worthy of the interest and attention, not only of Italians themselves, but of cultivated persons in every part of the world. It is intended to commemorate the eighteenth centenary of the destruction of Pompeii. Invitations have been sent to all the archæological and artistic academies and institutions of Germany, France, England, and other countries. During the last three months all excavations have been suspended at Pompeii, and no fewer than forty new excavations have been fixed upon to be made on the occasion of the centenary. To witness a fresh excavation in the buried city is often a very wonderful and interesting experience. Sometimes, however, no object of interest rewards the seekers. But often it is otherwise. In the time of the late King of Naples, distinguished visitors to Pompeii used to be complimented by the opening of some fresh excavation in their honour. It is related that when the late Lord Brougham visited Pompeii such a compliment was paid to him, the result being very striking. A point was selected under which it was confidently conjectured there must be a dwelling house, and spade and pickaxe went to work. There was the house, and there was its closed portal. A few skilled strokes opened it, and revealed for one brief moment a human figure standing there within it. The eye had barely time to take cognisance of this weird appearance—an earthy phantom, revealed to the light of the sun after nearly two thousand years of dark oblivion—when in a flash it crumbled and was gone. A few handfuls of impalpable dust alone remained to tell of that long-buried human creature. It may be that some similarly striking incidents will reward the research and curiosity of the learned and artistic eyes which will gaze upon Pompeii on the 25th of this month.

A large volume is now in the press, entitled *Pompeii, and the Region overwhelmed by Vesuvius in the Year LXXIX*, and it will be published on the occasion of the centenary. The work will contain papers written expressly by distinguished naturalists and archæologists. Naturalists have discussed questions of physical science connected with Pompeii, and the catastrophe which destroyed it, illustrating its *flora*, and the principal phenomena of its destruction. Archæologists have added to the goodly number of studies already existing upon Pompeian monuments, and especially have enriched the collection with valuable observations on those which have been discovered within the last ten years.

Ancient Canterbury.—Our Associate Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., of Canterbury, has just published his volume entitled *Canterbury in the Olden Time*, in its second edition, by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. It has been enlarged, and is illustrated by numerous plates of objects of interest in the ancient and mediæval history of the city. This attractive and useful volume will be perused with deep attention by all who care to know the early history of one of our most ancient cities, as containing everything that can be desired by the visitor to a locality every inch of which is to the antiquary sacred ground. It contains an account of many important objects found from time to time in the city, many of which have been herein faithfully illustrated. To preserve, as far as possible, descriptions of buildings and establishments which have now either completely perished, or left such faint shadows of their existence as will in a short time inevitably pass away, is at all times a laudatory action. Mr. Brent has, in this respect, performed his self-appointed labour in a thoroughly earnest manner, which commands the esteem of his fellow antiquarians.



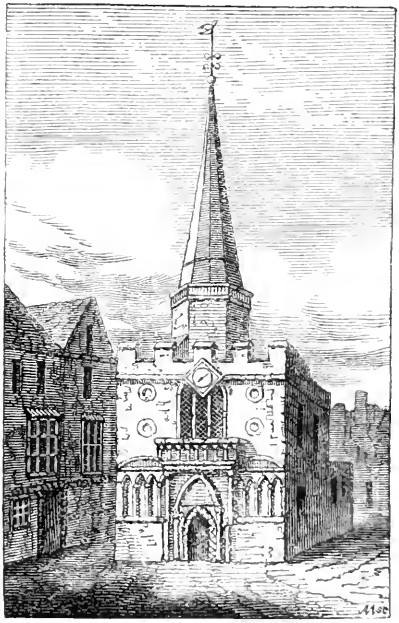
In endeavouring to give an idea of the sayings, doings, and opinions, of the people of the olden time, he has applied his research to the original sources, collating his information by the opinions of contemporary writers. The records in the possession of the Corporation afford an almost inexhaustible mine; but the author acknowledges that he found it desirable to select for his use but sparingly, lest by repetition of details his readers should be wearied.

The volume commences with an introductory chapter respecting the origin of Canterbury as a series of human dwelling-places collected together upon or beside the river Stour and its branches; a consideration of the earliest settlers; a description of the respective British,

Celtic, and Roman aspects of the place, as wave after wave of irresistible progress passed over the spot. Naturally the Roman occupation has left more traces than the others, and Mr. Brent has been enabled, by drawing upon the resources of his rich collection of Roman antiquities, to illustrate this phase of olden Canterbury very copiously. The *fictilia*, bronzes, golden *armillæ*, glass objects, enamelled jewellery, and Samian ware, the greater portion of which have been found recently, are all of a high class, and testify to the excellence of the work done by Roman artificers in the city.

The sections devoted to Saxon and to Norman Canterbury are full of useful suggestions to the thoughtful student of British archæology. The greater part of the work, however, is devoted to the mediæval history of the city; and in this branch of the subject Mr. Brent exhibits a thorough acquaintance with his theme. There is no building, no tradition, no relic, which he passes over without discussion and consideration. Becket's life and glorious martyrdom, the various manners and customs, the Dane John, the corporate government, and an endless variety of similar subjects, are separately treated.

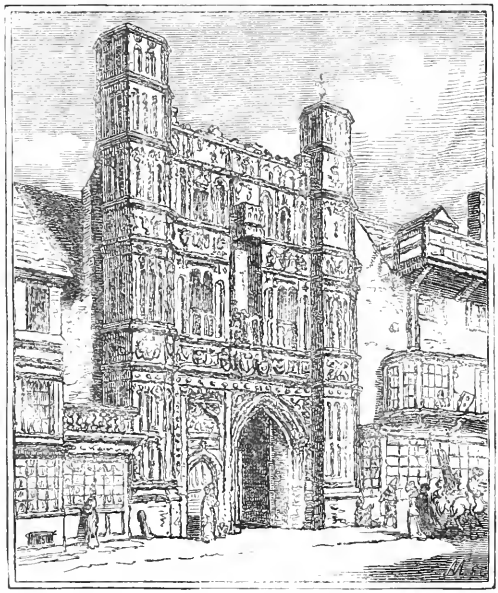
Among ancient buildings, now destroyed, one of the most interesting is the Nunnery of St. Sepulchre, a woodcut of which is given opposite, from an ancient drawing. It is believed to have been founded by Archbishop Anselm in A.D. 1100, for a Benedictine prioress and a few nuns. A portion of the wall of this religious house only remains; but in the time of Henry VIII it was brought somewhat prominently into public notice from the fact that here the sisterhood sheltered Elizabeth Barton, the ill-fated "Maid of Kent", who allowed herself to be made the tool of certain scheming ecclesiastics, for which she was sacrificed to the resentment of the King, as she had inveighed against the spiritual authority which he had assumed. An account is preserved, in the British Museum, of her effects, seized after her condemnation, and handed over by the prioress to the civil authorities.



The old church of St. Andrew, of which we select the accompa-

nying illustration, had a nave, chancel, and spired tower. It stood in the middle of the street, opposite Mercery Lane, but not so far west. It was pulled down in 1763, and a new church was built further back, behind some houses to the south. Some of the monuments, at first removed to the Cathedral, were afterwards placed in the new church in 1764. Curiously enough, some of the gravestones and monuments of old parishioners and others, lying in the main street, are still found from time to time when city improvements lead to deep drainages or sewer connections.

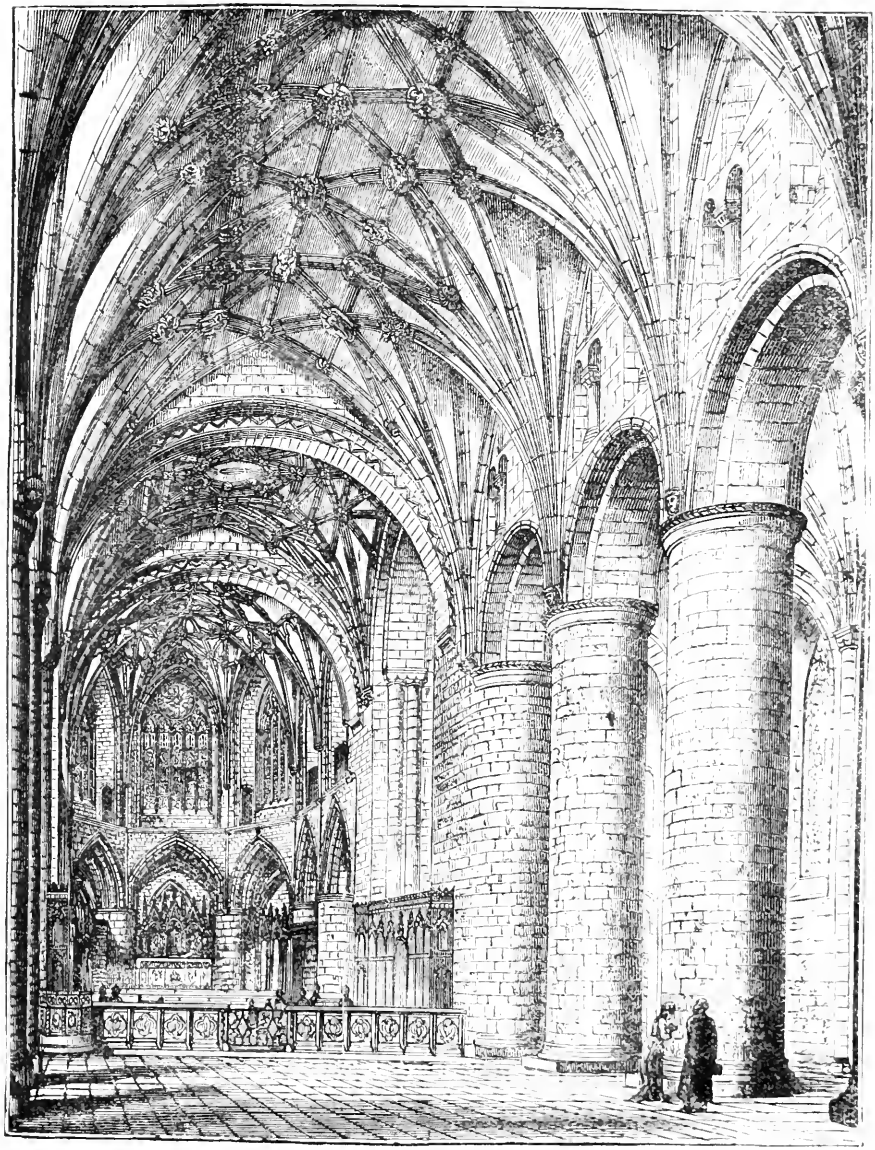
Christ Church Gate, of which Mr. Brent gives an illustration, representing its state before the ancient turrets were removed, is a well



known object to all archæological pilgrims to the historic fane. The cathedral buildings, as well as those of St. Augustine's Abbey, are treated in detail, and meet at the author's hands with the notices they merit.

In concluding this short notice of Mr. Brent's work we can cordially recommend it to our readers as a book written in a thoroughly conscientious and unpretending manner. Everyone knows that Canterbury has a literature of her own, but when we have wearied ourselves with the ponderous tomes of Hasted and the old historians it is a relief to turn to the more handy and portable volume just issued. As a supplement to the works that have gone before it, and as a handbook full of the latest local information, *Canterbury in the Olden Time* should find a place, not only in every Kentish library, but also among the

bookshelves of the British antiquarian, the local historian, the man of letters, and the student of life as developed by the successive races of our island, with whom Canterbury and Kent have always held a foremost position.



Tewkesbury Abbey.—Those who revere our ancient churches, as well as the lovers of ecclesiastical art generally, will welcome the progress

made, under great difficulties, in the restoration of this, one of the grandest and most interesting of the abbey churches of England. The great Norman tower and nave, the massive columns and arches of the latter as perfect now as when the church was dedicated in the year 1123 by Earl Robert, son-in-law of Fitz-Hamon, the first founder; the striking apsidal choir of the early part of the fourteenth century, with its surrounding ambulatory and chapels, harmonising wonderfully with the work of earlier date (the illustration of this view of the proposed restoration of the choir by the late Sir G. Scott, is kindly lent by the proprietors of the *Graphic*); the scarcely equalled fourteenth century glass of the choir clerestory windows; the beautiful series of chantry chapels associated with the historic names of Warwick, Beauchamp, Despenser, and Clare,—all give an exceptional interest to Tewkesbury Abbey as a monument of ancient ecclesiastical art. In its restoration the greatest care has been taken to preserve these achievements of the skill and piety of our ancestors, to obscure no feature of historic or archæological value, and to add nothing but what is necessary to make the sacred building fitted for the reverent performance of the services of the Church. Attention may be directed especially to the carefully designed choir and sanctuary pavement, reproducing throughout specimens of ancient tiles found in the building; and to the restoration, by the Freemasons of Gloucestershire, of one of the beautiful thirteenth century chapels east of the north transept. These features of the restoration will attract the notice of every visitor to the Abbey. It will be readily understood that such a work has severely taxed local resources, while the appeal to national liberality has encountered great difficulties in the present state of the country. The progress made in the restoration has fully justified the opening services being held in September of this year; but much has still to be accomplished.

The Restoration Committee appeal earnestly to churchmen, as well as to all interested in the restoration of a building so full of architectural and historical interest, to aid them with funds to complete what may truly be called a great national work. Contributions may be forwarded to the Hon. Secretaries, 33, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., by whom further information, lists of subscriptions, etc., will be gladly supplied.

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DECEMBER 1879.

ANCIENT RECLAMATIONS IN THE ENGLISH FENLANDS.

BY J. W. GROVER, F.S.A., MEMB. INST. C.E.

(*Read August* 21, 1878.)

I PRESUME that many visitors to Wisbech, on the important occasion of this Congress, will, for the first time in their lives, become acquainted with the great English Fenlands, and will, perhaps, at first sight be little impressed with the scene before them. My object in this paper, however, is to awaken that just interest which, without doubt, this strange country's story possesses; and if these flat, rich pastures, and regions of dykes and dams, may perchance lack some of those stirring tales of chivalry and daring, with the recital of which Mr. Motley's pen has consecrated the lowlands of Holland and Zealand, yet I venture to think that the English Fenlands on their part have a story of much enterprise to tell, although, happily, that enterprise has been more confined to contests with nature than with man. Yet even these English Netherlands are sacred to the genius of liberty and freedom, for it was here that the brave Hereward, the "last of the English", as Kingsley calls him, made his stand against the Norman conqueror. That tale has been told so many times, and by such distinguished men, that it will be sufficient to remind you of it: indeed, I hope that at this Congress the exploits of Hereward will meet with an abler chronicler than myself. He is a local celebrity, and therefore I must leave him in local hands, that justice may be done him by his countrymen.

But, *en passant*, I would draw your attention to a very

remarkable commonplace form of error, which is that of ascribing all the great and heroic qualities in the world to *mountaineers*, and forgetting that in the world's story the *lowlanders* have had an equal, I may say a greater, record of their own to hang up in the Temple of Fame, and have shown quite as great a national life, and love of the sacred cause of freedom, as their more elevated contemporaries. Thus we see that in the universal desolation which overtook Italy on the destruction of the Roman empire, a few sand-flats in the Adriatic gave a refuge to some bold patriot-spirits, where, for more than a thousand years, republican Venice defied the despotisms of the world. The struggle of the gallant Dutch republic, in the sixteenth century, against the then most powerful empire in Europe, is a conspicuous example of the patriotism of the lowlander. But no more striking instances need be sought than those found in the story of this English Fenland.

In South Lincolnshire there is little doubt but that the three great families of the Hollands, Welles, and Lords of Kyme, made so successful resistance to the Conqueror, that an arrangement was made in their favour, so that they might preserve their estates. It was in the Fenlands near Ely where the great Hereward, five years after the battle of Hastings, established his "Camp of Refuge", and whence he carried on that guerilla warfare which made his name so famous. Later on, in the time of Stephen, we find that Nigel, Bishop of Ely, and Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, established another camp of refuge on the same Isle of Ely. In the time of John many partisans of the popular cause fled thither for the protection of their life and property; and after the battle of Evesham, in the time of Henry III, the same island became a refuge for the patriot barons, where they were besieged by the King and Prince Edward. Nor did they surrender until, by the "Provisions of Oxford", those liberties were secured which were, to use the words of a modern writer, "to prove in no mean degree the foundations of England's greatness.

Thus we see that these lowland plains were consecrated to the genius of freedom; and before I quit this part of the subject I would draw your attention still further to another remarkable fact, that just in proportion as we find a country lacking great natural features, so do we find that architec-

ture there develops itself in its most majestic forms; as if the very sameness and monotony of the horizontal landscape induced men to raise lofty piles and spires pointing heavenwards, as thereby seeking to elevate their thoughts above the abject level of the plain. We do not go to Wales or Cornwall or Cumberland to seek our noblest churches; but we find them in flat Lincolnshire and in the Fenlands where we now are. As the plains of Lombardy have developed that fairest of all cathedrals at Milan, so the flat ground by the Ouse at York supports our noblest minster. Here, around us, we have Ely, Lincoln, Peterborough, all pointing heavenwards above the lowland plain; as we see abroad the majestic piles of Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, and Antwerp, rising from similar abject surfaces. The mountaineer's thoughts are carried upwards by the very conformation of the land in which he lives; but the lowlander can alone have his thoughts raised heavenwards by the loving labour of his hands, and by his own innate conception of the beautiful, the great, and the good.

Before the drainage of the Fenlands was accomplished, the appearance presented by unassisted nature must have been distressing in the extreme. The eye then could have seen nothing but a vast morass, the home of the heron, the wild swan, and the cormorant. A few miserable, half-savage representatives of humanity perhaps obtained a precarious subsistence amidst the reeds and rushes of the bogs, and struggled through a life amidst frequent attacks of ague and rheumatism. The Fens, to those who have not visited them, still possess a bad name; but an inspection of them will dispel the misconception. As the traveller journeys through the district he will be surprised to find that there is not a more fertile and better cultivated place in the kingdom. On every side he will note rich pastures, abundant cornfields, and comfortable homesteads well stocked with healthy cattle. As Cobbett once observed, "here are the largest beasts and fattest sheep to be found from John o' Groats to Land's End"; and the general appearance of the population will prove to him that this district is now as favoured as any other in these islands. Although he will find the landscape monotonous, the sight of the great artificial canals and drains will in some measure compensate him for the absence of more striking features; and he will be impressed

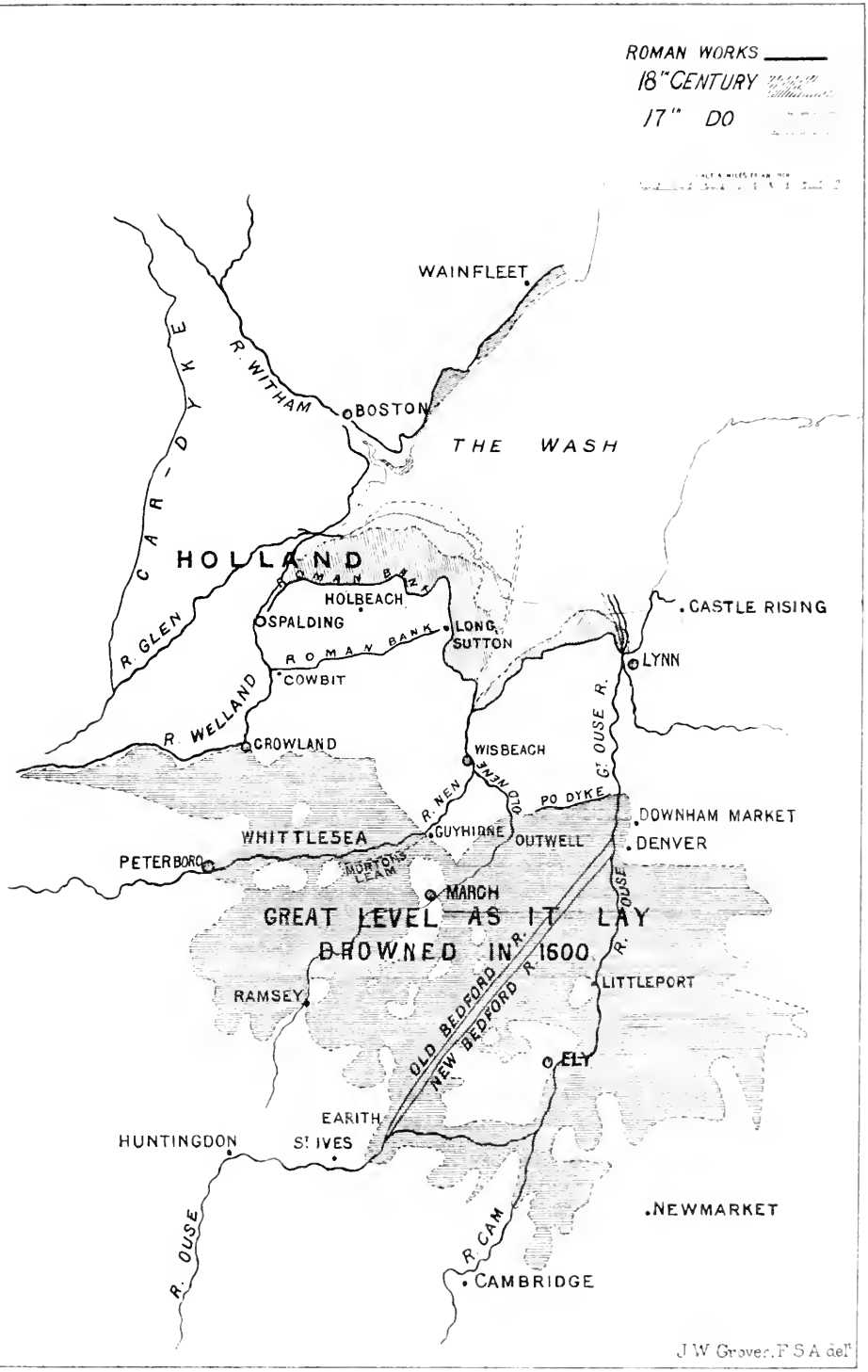
with the evidences of that enterprise and perseverance which have transformed a morass into one of the most smiling and prosperous parts of the kingdom.

My object in this paper is to record, as briefly as the limited time allotted to me will permit, the various works which have from time to time been executed in this district.

First of all I must explain that the general surface of the Fenlands in the neighbourhoods of Boston, Spalding, Wisbech, and Lynn, was, near the outfall of the river, from 10 to 18 feet lower than it now is ; and it is also supposed, on good authority, that the upper part even of the great level of the Fens was, in ancient times at least, 5 feet lower than at present. Hence it follows that the lower part was covered daily by tidal waters, and resembled those salt marshes which are found at this time about these coasts. The upper part, although, as I have said, 5 feet lower than at present, was sufficiently high to grow forest trees.

The first great engineers who approached the district seem to have been the Romans. To their labours, without question, belongs the honour of having erected those stupendous embankments by which this vast tract of country is protected from the sea, and without which neither the towns of Boston, Spalding, nor Wisbech, could have been built, as the spring tides must regularly have covered their sites. It is computed that these immense banks extend for about one hundred and fifty miles along the old sea-border of the Fenlands ; and a good authority states that at least eleven millions of tons of material must have been used in this construction, or about as much as would, on an average, be used in making an ordinary English railway of two hundred miles long.

It appears, however, that the Romans did not execute the outer bank, which bears their name, first of all. Other banks in the interior of the district have been attributed to them. The most noteworthy of these, and probably one of the earliest, is that which is called "The Raven", sometimes "The Roman Bank", extending from the Welland, near Cowbit, and running in an easterly direction to the Delph bank which joins the outer sea-wall. As the Roman occupation extended over some three hundred and seventy years, it is quite possible that a considerable lapse of time might have occurred between the construction of the Raven and the



J.W. Grover, F.S.A. del.

outer bank. It is here worth while to note that whereas certain Roman fortresses are said to have been traced at Whaplode Drove, Gedney Hill, and Sutton St. Edmund's, all just inside the Raven bank, no Roman station has been discovered outside of it in the ground reclaimed by the outer wall.

It is necessary to explain here that the formation of great embankments involves considerable difficulties; for although they serve to exclude tidal waters, they, on the other hand, prevent the escape of the flood-waters and natural rainfall of the district, for which some means of escape must be provided. The Romans, with their customary astuteness, seem to have understood this thoroughly, in a way which many great modern engineers have failed to do, and they constructed an immense artificial canal now known as "Car Dyke", which is supposed to have extended at one time all the way from Ramsey to Lincoln. It has been thought that this canal was used by them for purposes of navigation also, from the fact that along it they erected forts at seven places, viz., at Northborough, Braceborough, Billingborough, Garrick, Walcot, Linwood, and Washingborough. But the primary object of the great work was, without doubt, the interception of the upland interior fresh water and its conveyance to the river. At the beginning of this century Rennie reverted to the Roman system in draining the East and West Fens. The Car Dyke extends for a distance of about forty miles, and it has a width of nearly 60 feet.

To show how much the safety of this country depends on these great Roman works, it may be mentioned that in 1810 the sea broke through the sea-wall, and inundated the country from Wainfleet to Spalding, causing immense havoc. The town of Boston was drowned, the water rising as high as the pulpit in the church; and many cattle were drowned, and numbers of corn-ricks and hay-stacks were swept away. In considering, however, the permanency of Roman works, and their effect upon the modern state of this country, it is important to remember that many of the sites of the ancient Roman cities are now actually occupied by modern towns. Lindum is Lincoln; Causennis, Ancaster; Vaniona, Wainfleet; Durobrivus, Castor on the Nene; Cambridge was Camboritum; Durolipons stood, probably, near Godmanchester; and in Icklingham we have Icano possible.

Some local authorities seem to make Boston the modern representative of *Causennis*.

The site of the Roman station at Wisbech is in the fort between the ancient beds of the Nene and the Ouse; but the first historical mention of Wisbech appears only in the charter of a grant made in the middle of the seventh century by Wulfere, King of Mercia.[1]

The Romans have left various other traces of their dominion in this country. A village called Colne is supposed to derive its name from a Roman *colonia*, and lies two miles west of Earith Bulwark in Hunts., which was a work of the same people. At various other places their encampments have been traced, viz., at Stamford, North Kyme, Horncastle, Burgh, etc.

As is usual, where there were stations there were also military roads. The principal ones which have been located hereabouts were,—1st. The Ermine Street, which is supposed to have derived its name from Herminius, started from London, and passed Cambridge, Ancaster, and Lincoln. 2. The Salt Way branched off from the latter, and went to Leicestershire *viâ* Saltley. 3. The Foss Way, which came from Aquæ Solis (Bath) to Newark, and thence to the west side of the Fens and to Lincoln. 4. A road (name unknown) from Doncaster to the north of Lincoln; thence, *viâ* Horncastle and Little Steeping, to Wainfleet. 5. The Via Deviana crossed Ermine Street near Huntingdon, and thence to Cambridge. 6. Akerman Street, from Cambridge to Ely and Littleport. This road crossed the Little Ouse near Brandon, and passed by Southrey, Downham, to Lynn. 7. The Icknield Way, which was probably a British track, ran south-east of the Fenlands, along a line from Kentford and Newmarket, thence southward till it crossed the Devil's Ditch. 8. Bullock Road ran from Verulam (St. Alban's) to Chesterton on the Nene, and having a branch to Godmanchester, is usually considered a British road. 9. The Fen Road commenced in Norfolk, passed on to Swaffham and to Denver, and north of marsh by Whittlesea to Peterborough. I give these roads chiefly on the authority of Miller and Skertchley's *Fenlands*, p. 40.

There is a remarkable statement in Gough's *Camden*,[2] in

[1] Kemble, *Codex Diplom.*, vol. v, p. 4.
[2] Introduction, p. 139; 2nd ed., 1806.

which it is said that "Zosimus tells us that Probus sent into Britain the Burgundians and Vandals whom he had conquered, who, settling here, proved of great service to the Romans whenever any disturbance happened. Where they settled I know not, unless it was in Cambridgeshire, for Gervase of Tilbury mentions an ancient county called Vandalsburg." In another place he says, "Below Cambridge was a place called Vandlebury, from the Vandals who made a camp here, where they ravaged part of Britain. The plain where they pitched their tents, on the top of the little hill, is trenched round, having only one entrance."

It has been thought by some writers that these Vandals might have been employed in the construction of the Roman reclamation works in the Fens. I have been unable to find any good authority, however, for this statement. The only ground which seems to exist for it is the fact of the Emperor Probus having been fond of drainage works: indeed, he lost his life in a mutiny of his legions in draining the marshes of Sirmium. Other writers say that the Romans employed a colony of Belgians for the purpose.

I have dwelt thus at length on the works of the Romans, because to them really is due the very existence of dry land at all in the Fens. All that has been done since has been to improve and develop only. The stupendous works of these ancient conquerors of the world, in excluding the tidal waters by their great sea-walls, rendered subsequent drainage schemes feasible and desirable, and gave the English nation one of its most valuable and fertile provinces. This statement is best proved by the disastrous results which followed a breach in the old Roman dam in 1810, to which I have already alluded.

After the departure of the Romans, when the flood of Teutonic barbarism swept over these islands, the great sea-defences were suffered to fall into decay, and the deplorable state of the Fens can be gathered from the Life of that famous Saxon Saint Guthlac, wherein we hear of "inundations and overflowing of rivers upon the level ground, making deep lakes, rendering all uninhabitable excepting some places which God of purpose raised to be habitations for his servants who chose to dwell there; for in such places do they (the monks of Ramsey, Thorney, and Crowland) and many others beside them live, to which there is no access but by navigable vessels, except unto Ramsay", etc.

The story of St. Guthlac is thus given in Dugdale, p. 18, and it is worth quoting, for it gives us some idea of the "horrors" of the Fens in Saxon times :

"There is in the middle part of Britain (saith the writer of this Saint's life) a hideous fen of huge bigness, which beginning at the banks of the river Gronte, not far from the Castle bearing that name, extends itself from the south to the north in a very long tract, even to the sea: ofttimes clouded with moist and dark vapours, having within it divers islands and woods, as also crooked and winding rivers. When, therefore, that man of blessed memory, Guthlach, had found out the desert places of this vast wilderness, and by God's assistance had passed through them, he enquired of the borderers what they knew thereof, who relating several things of its dreadfulness and solitude, there stood up one amongst them, called Tatwine, who affirmed that he knew a certain island in the more remote and secret parts thereof, which many had attempted to inhabit, but could not for the strange, uncouth monsters and several terrors wherewith they were affrighted. Whereupon S. Guthlac earnestly intreated that he would show him that place. Tatwine, therefore, yielding to the request of this holy man, taking a fisher's boat (Christ being his guide through the intricacies of this darksome fen), passed thereunto, it being called Cruland, and situate in the midst of the lake, but in respect of its desartness formerly known to very few; for no countrymen before that devout servant of Christ, S. Guthlac, could endure to dwell in it by reason that such apparitions of devils were so frequently seen there.

"Not long after, S. Guthlake being awake in the night time, betwixt his hours of prayer, as he was accustomed, of a sudden he discerned all his cell to be full of black troops of unclean spirits, which crept in under the door, as also at chinks and holes, and coming in both out of the sky and from the earth, filled the air, as it were, with dark clouds. In their looks they were cruel, and of form terrible, having great heads, long necks, lean faces, pale countenances, ill favoured beards, rough ears, wrinkled foreheads, fierce eyes, stinking mouths, teeth like horses', spitting fire out of their throats, crooked jaws, broad lips, loud voices, burnt hair, great cheeks, high breasts, rugged thighs, bunched knees, bended legs, swollen ankles, preposterous feet, open mouths, and hoarse cries; who with such mighty shrieks were heard to roar, that they filled almost the whole distance from heaven with their bellowing noises; and by and by, rushing into the house, first bound the holy man, then threw him out of his cell, and cast him over head and ears into the dirty fen; and having so done, carried him through the most rough and troublesome part thereof, drawing him amongst brambles and briars for the tearing of his limbs."

It seems, moreover, that some descendants of the ancient Britons inhabited these watery wastes in Saxon times, and were looked upon as even worse neighbours than the fiends themselves; for we read that the Saint was disturbed one night by a "horrid howling", whereat he was much terrified, thinking that the howlers might be Britons. Determined,

however, to investigate the cause, he bravely turned out of bed, and looked out into the gloomy night air, when he discovered, to his great comfort, that the noises only proceeded from fiends and devils. Finally, however, being provided by St. Bartholomew with a whip or scourge having three tails, he was able to keep his assailants at a respectful distance. This whip is figured on the Crowland halfpenny, and also on a shield on Kenulph's Cross.

I give this story to show what an uncomfortable place the Fens must have been in Saxon times. To quote the words of an eminent writer: "We may with great probability look upon the undrained Fen as a vast, open plain, covered, for the most part, with deep sedge, dotted with thickets of alder and willow, abounding in shallow lakes, temporary and permanent, and overflowed in its lowest parts nearly if not every winter."

A vast period of blank succeeded the departure of the Romans. Nothing seems to have been done till Norman times. The first work then appears to have been the reclamation of Deeping Fen by Richard de Rulos in the time of Henry I. Between the years 1248 and 1569 we read of various inundations in consequence of the defective state of the drains and banks. The establishment of a court of sewers did something towards improving matters; and we are told that, in one case, a defaulter was placed in a breach in the sea-wall, and built in. This reminds us of the dwarf who stopped the hole in the dam at Haarlem with his body, observing that "little people sometimes do great things".

It was in the reign of Edward I when the important question of drainage was much agitated. Courts of sewers, as they were called, were appointed; but very little was done till the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. John of Gaunt is said to have contemplated the improvement of the Fens. In the year 1438 one Gilbert Haltoft procured a commission for draining and settling the marshes in the vicinity of Outwell. The first real improvements, however, seem to have been due to an enterprising churchman, Bishop Morton, and to him Wisbech is peculiarly indebted. He made the cut known as the Leam, which crosses the northern part of the Great Level from Guyhirn to Standground, and this he afterwards extended to Wisbech. The object was to improve the fall of the Nene

by preventing it from making its circuitous course by Whittlesea, Ramsey, and Marsh, below Wisbech. Although suffered to fall into decay for a time, it is said to have improved the outfall. The Wars of the Roses seem to have prevented this great man from carrying out his improvement schemes, as he was much occupied with weightier affairs of state, and amongst other things arranged the alliance between Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York. He was made Lord High Chancellor of England in 1487. It was not till the reign of Queen Elizabeth that a commission was issued, headed by the ancestors of the Fitz-William, Cecil, and Montague families, with the object of draining part of the North Level.

The consideration of Morton's Leam involves some general explanation as to the river-basins of the Fen-country. The principal rivers are the Witham, Welland, Nene, and Ouse, which, together with some minor streams, drain an area of 6,000 square miles, or about one-ninth part of the whole of England. The area of the Fenland is over 1,300 square miles. It has been observed by Messrs. Miller and Skertchley that an important town, generally of Roman foundation, stands at the entrance of each river into the Fens, and another at its mouth. The Witham has Lincoln and Boston; Welland, Deeping and Spalding; Nene, Peterborough and Wisbech ; Ouse, St. Ives and Lynn.

Originally the tide flowed as far as Lincoln, raising the water in Swanpool 2 feet ; but in the year 1500 an engineer named Mayhare Hake, of Gravelines, was instructed to put a sluice across the river to stop the tidal flow. Another sluice was erected at Langrick in the year 1543. These sluices seem to have had a bad effect, for they not only caused the silting up of the rivers, but they caused the landowners to neglect the maintenance of the river-banks, which were of much greater importance.

In the times of Elizabeth, and more especially in those of James I, commenced the real work of draining the Fenlands within the ancient Roman walls. The latter monarch proposed to drain Deping, Spalding, and Pinchebec Fens, Thurleby, Borne South, and Crowland Fens ; and it was agreed that Thomas Lovell should undertake the work. Nothing, however, seems to have come of it.

In the year 1638 Sir William and Sir Anthony Ayloff

made another attempt, and seem to have succeeded fairly well; but owing to the disturbances in the civil wars, the country people seized the lands, and the works were neglected.

In the year 1630 Sir Anthony Thomas undertook to deepen the cuts leading to the natural outfall at Wainfleet, and to the artificial ones at Boston. This he seems to have executed so satisfactorily that not more than 1,673 acres remained under water. The East, West, and Wildmore Fens were finally drained by Mr. Rennie in 1801, 1803, and 1818, by adopting the Roman system of separating the inland from the Fen waters by a catch-water drain. The works have not in the result proved wholly successful, and in 1867 an Act was obtained for putting up pumping machinery for draining the Fens.

Looking to the south of the river Nene, on the map, we notice the Great Bedford Level, the history of which is one of the most important in the Fenlands. In the year 1630, in the reign of Charles I, a Dutch engineer, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, undertook this great work. He seems to have been an eminent man in his calling, and has furnished Mr. Smiles with one of his most illustrious examples of *Self Help*. By his bargain he was to receive 95,000 acres of the reclaimed land as his reward. The obstinacy and insular prejudice of the Fenmen, however, were too much for him, and his contract was annulled. At this time, however, Providence put it into the heart of a great English nobleman, Francis Earl of Bedford, to come to the rescue. Thirteen gentlemen joined him, and the "Adventurers" (for so this company was called) made Vermuyden their engineer. The Old Bedford River, Sam's Cut, Sandy Cut, near Ely, Bevill's Leam, Peakirk Drain, and Hill's Cut, were the chief drains made, and others were deepened and improved.

In the year 1637, at a Session of Sewers held at St. Ives, the Level was declared drained, and the 95,000 acres were adjudicated. It appears, however, that this decision was premature, for the works were found ineffective; and we find the King declaring himself the undertaker of the new works which were found necessary. Before, however, he had done much, the civil wars broke out, and the work was stopped. The works he actually accomplished were a bank on the south side of Morton's Leam, extending from Peter-

borough to Wisbech; and a new river, about two miles long, between the Horseshoe and the sea, below Wisbech.

Wells, in his *History of the Fens*, speaks thus of the character of the Earl of Bedford: "He was a man of a noble and finely gifted mind. He stood high in the counsels of his sovereign, was the owner of extensive Fen possessions, and above all, was the friend and neighbour of the Fenmen. A more striking instance of self-devotion to the wishes of the people and the real benefit of the state, appears not upon the records of history." It is sad to find that his labours terminated in "a tremendous pecuniary sacrifice, and base ingratitude was destined to be his ultimate and only public reward". Such, alas! is too commonly the fate of all great public benefactors, no less in the nineteenth than in the seventeenth century.

During the commotion of the civil wars this great and good man died, and he was succeeded by his son William, who inherited his titles and his virtues. He concluded a treaty with Vermuyden, and fresh operations were commenced. The various banks, sluices, and drains, then executed, formed the most important works which have been executed since the times of the Romans. After four years' labour, in 1658, during the period of the Commonwealth, the association saw their engagements completed, and were adjudged their reward. Thanksgivings were offered up in Ely Cathedral for the completion of an arduous undertaking which from its first inception by Francis Earl of Bedford had occupied twenty years.

For a few years nothing seems to have been done; but in 1657 the common people of the Fens, conceiving a dislike to the works, proceeded to demolish them, and were only kept in order by a special proclamation from Charles II. In 1663, however, an Act was passed by which the original association, consisting of the "adventurers" and "participiants", as they were then called, became transformed into a corporation for governing the Level; this corporation consisting of "one governor, six bailiffs, twenty conservators and commonalty, with necessary powers and clauses". In 1697 the Bedford Level Corporation divided its territory into three districts,—the Middle Level, from Morton's Leam on the north to the Old Bedford River on the south, and having Huntingdonshire on its west, and Marshland on the

east; and contained about 120,000 acres; the South Level, extending from the northern one to the upland country, contained 173,000 acres; the North Level, from Morton's Leam to the river Welland, covering some 48,000 acres.

After the completion of his great work, and the rescue of a province from the waters, Vermuyden's name disappears from the history of the Fenlands; and like most great benefactors of the world, in the general good he seems not to have participated; and it is said he died in poverty. Some say in the workhouse; but this has been contradicted. It is certain that he mortgaged all his property to pay his army of Dutch labourers; and he not only reaped no reward, but had an action brought against him by the Bedford Level authorities; and we find him afterwards petitioning Parliament for redress. Amongst others employed under him we find a number of Scotch prisoners who had been captured by Oliver Cromwell at the battle of Dunbar, and also some of the Dutch prisoners taken by Blake in one of his engagements with Van Tromp. One of his sons, it appears, was a colonel in the Parliamentary army; and one of his daughters, Caroline, married a Mr. Thomas Babington. It is sad to find so often that great benefactors of mankind do so little for themselves. It is an old and true saying, "If you do pioneer's work, you must expect a pioneer's fate"; and I suppose it must ever be whilst human nature remains as it is, that no great work is to be accomplished without the sacrifice of some great man, generally the originator, in its execution.

It has been fashionable amongst some writers who should know better, to criticise the works of this truly great man severely. He did so much that people think he might have done more. There is a good French proverb, "*Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*"; and this really explains the controversy. In dealing with works of internal drainage it is impossible to foresee all the results which may arise in coming centuries. All we can say is that Vermuyden did what he did well; but he still left room for posterity to improve on his labours.

The waters of the Level were not discharged by the Ouse outfall of the Lynn as swiftly as had been anticipated, and in 1720 a Mr. Kinderley gave it as his opinion that the great bar or impediment to the outlet of the waters was the

wide and crooked channel of the Ouse near its mouth, and this could only be remedied by making a straight cut. A violent opposition met this proposal. Six Acts of Parliament and ninety-nine years of discussion ended at last in the Eau Brink cut being made at a cost of £300,000. As, however, the object of this tract is not to record the modern engineering works in the Fens, I will not pursue this subject further, but will retrace my steps.

In the year 1720, North Forty Foot Drain was made by Earl Fitzwilliam for the drainage of the land north of Kyme Eau, by means of which a quantity of water which formerly entered the river at Langrick was carried direct to Boston. Thus the current in the river was weakened; and although in the year 1720 vessels of 250 tons could ascend the river daily, in 1751 vessels of 40 tons, drawing only 6 feet of water, could only reach the town. Matters were made worse by the erection near the town, afterwards, of the Grand Sluice. That Sluice has been condemned at various times by eminent engineers, but it still remains; and whilst it does, no permanent good can be done.

The river Welland is the only river in the Fens which has preserved its ancient course, as is proved by the Roman banks near Spalding. Until the drainage of the Fens, in the seventeenth century, the river divided at Crowland,—one portion flowing through Spalding as now; the other, known as the South Holland Drain, joined the branch of the Nene at Noman's Land Hirne. In 1660 this was the principal channel. Now it is a mere ditch.

The Spalding Channel became defective in the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century the adjoining lands were often flooded. It was improved when Deeping Fen was drained by the Ayloffs.

Vermuyden embanked the east side of the river to prevent the floods from coming over the North Level. In the year 1794 a new cut was made from the Reservoir to Foss Dyke; but the river continued to silt up till it was taken in hand by the late engineer, Mr. James Walker, who, by an admirable system of training banks of fascine work, so strengthened the current that it now gives little trouble.

Of the Nene we hear little till the reign of Henry VII. At present the river passes from Peterborough to Guyhirn along an artificial cut called New Leam, parallel to which is

an older cut known as Morton's Leam, from the name of its engineer, Bishop Morton aforesaid, who constructed it about 1478-90. The original section of the Leam, according to Dugdale, was 40 feet by 4 feet; but as this was too small, it was afterwards increased, in 1570, by 20 feet. In 1538 this channel having been silted up, it was cleaned out; but it seems to have gone back into decay, for we are told by Dugdale, speaking in 1631, that the Morton's Leam had to be "new made".

In the year 1721 Kinderley proposed and partially executed a scheme for straightening the channel. The river then ended four miles below Wisbech, instead of twelve as at present. The cut was not, however, carried out beyond the end of the river; and hence the river below began to decay, and in 1804 we read of persons making hay in its bed.

With respect to the Ouse, which enters the Fens at Earith, where it formerly branched, sending one stream in a north-easterly direction to the Nene at Benwick, and another southwards, by Ely, to Littleport; and thence northward along the Old Croft and Old Welney River to Upwell, where it received the waters of the Nene and the northern branch or West Water, and thence passed by Wisbech to the sea. It will be noticed that the present course from Earith is quite different, and is now that formed by the Old Bedford and New Bedford Rivers to Denver: hence the northern branch and the West River, as it was called, have fallen into decay. The Old Croft River has become obsolete, and from Littleport the waters flow along the ancient but artificial cut known as Brandon Creek, anciently called Heming's Lode; and so by the channel of the Little Ouse past Denver, Downham Market, and Lynn, to the sea.

Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney General to King James, in his "Opinion", in 1617, as given in Dugdale, p. 372, says: "1. The river of Ouse (its outfall by Wisbech decaying) was not only cut straight, but by a new river made from Littleport Chaire to Rebbech was let fall into Ouse Parva (or Brandon Water), and thence by Salter's Lode to Lynne Haven; its former course from Littleport being by Wellenhee to Welle, and so to the North Seas at Wisbech. 2. The West Water (a part of Ouse Magna), having its course from Erith Bridge to Chattering Ferry, and thence to Bennick, and so to March, was, for the crookedness of the way, con-

veyed by a new passage called Leame (through Chatering, Dodington, and March), and thence by Elme Leame to Wisbech, a course of sixteen miles; and so continueth all this way. 5. A great part of the Ouse and Nene united, descending from Benwick by Great Crosse to Wisbech; but Wisbech outfall decaying, they both fall by March to Welle, and so into Ouse at Salter's Lode."

This was the state of things in 1617. We then come to the formation of the Bedford Rivers. Their object was to convey the highland waters from Earith direct to the sea, by a saving of ten miles between that point and Denver Sluice. The great sluice at the Hermitage turns the river into the Bedford canals, and the Denver Sluice prevents them from re-entering at the northern end. The formation of the Bedford Rivers necessitated the double sluicing of the Ouse; and they further involved the making of Tong's Drain and Downham Eau, for the relief of the Middle and South Levels respectively; which they did not seem to have accomplished, for we find that the sluices so deteriorated the river in 1695, that it was proposed to remove them because "where boats and barges usually passed in the old river beyond Ely, grass and fodder is now cut". In the year 1713 nature took the difficulty in hand, and a high tide "blew" the Denver Sluice "up"; but as the Hermitage Sluice remained, there was not sufficient water in the old river to produce a scour. Moreover, the waters from the Bedford Rivers, instead of flowing seawards, turned back and flowed up the old bed of the Ouse, and drowned the unfortunate South Level.

For thirty-seven years matters remained in the most unsatisfactory condition; but in 1750 the Denver Sluice was rebuilt by Labelye, a Swiss engineer, who built Westminster Bridge; yet we find in 1777 both the Middle and South Levels were "in a most deplorable condition".

Kinderley, in 1720, suggested the straightening of the river by the Eau Brink Cut to Lynn; but it was not completed till 1821. It shortened the course of the old river two miles and a half; and the low water mark at its upper end fell from 6 to 7 feet, a great benefit. It is stated that if the cut had been carried into deep water, beyond Lynn Harbour, its effect would have been still more beneficial. In the year 1827 the river Ouse was still further rectified

by a straight cut from Ely to Lilleport Bridge; and since then another channel, called New Cut, has been made from Lynn into the Wash at Vinegar Middle.

It is the object of this tract to set forth the archæological facts connected with the drainage of the Fens rather than the engineering ones; but, *en passant*, I should observe that the great error which all the early drainers fell into was that of looking after the internal condition of the rivers instead of providing for their outfalls. They began, in fact, at the wrong end. Their works should have commenced at the mouths of the rivers; and had these been properly attended to in the first instance, vast expenses would have been saved. But their chief obstacles seem to have been rather interposed by human nature, for we find that Vermuyden's great works were obstructed on various occasions by the Fenmen, who filled up the cuts and pulled down the banks which he had constructed. As Mr. Smiles says in his life of this great man, "difficult as it was to deal with the unreclaimed bogs, the unreclaimed men were still more impracticable." They looked upon the Fens as their commons, where they could fish and shoot wildfowl; hence they met the "Adventurers", as the reclaimers were called, with a furious but happily ineffectual opposition. Violent pamphlets were also published against Vermuyden, the most notorious of which were *The Drayner Confirmed*, of 1629; and another of about the same date, called *The Anti-Projector; or the History of the Fenn Project*.[1] The agitation found vent in popular ballads which were sung in the streets of the Fen towns about the time of the Commonwealth. A stanza from one of these, *The Powtes* (peewit's) *Complaint* will give an idea of their nature:

"Come, brethren of the water, and let us all assemble
To treat upon this matter which makes us quake and tremble;
For we shall rue if it be true that Fens be undertaken,
And where we feed in fen and reed they'll feed both beef and bacon."

In another we find the Dutch pointed at as the chief offenders:

"Why should we stay here and perish with thirst?
To th' new world in the moon away let us goe,
For if the Dutch colony get thither first,
'Tis a thousand to one but they'll drain that too."

[1] Small 4to. London, 1628.

When, as I have before explained, Charles I undertook the drainage of the Fens, the political troubles of the time reached their climax. In 1637 Hampden's trial on the ship-money question took place, and in the Fen districts the agitation was used for political purposes. It was made out that the King's venture was merely intended as a means for raising money ; and in this agitation one Oliver Cromwell, Member for Huntingdon, took chief part. He "stumped" the district, making violent speeches against the reclaimers, and soon became known as "the Lord of the Fens"; and so successful was his opposition that the King and his commissioners were forced to abandon the works. They also attacked the Lindsey Level, a district of about 35,000 acres, which had been drained by Lord Lindsay, and let in the waters upon it, killed the cattle, and destroyed the farm-buildings.

Vermuyden, undaunted by adversity, appeared in 1642 with another pamphlet, entitled *A Discourse touching the Drayning of the Great Fennes*, etc., which met with many answers ; but in 1649 authority was granted to William Earl of Bedford and others to prosecute the undertaking which his father had begun, and in 1652 the works were declared to be completed. On the 27th of March 1653 the Lords Commissioners of Adjudication, accompanied by the "Company of Adventurers", headed by the Earl of Bedford, the magistrates and magnates of the district, attended worship in the Cathedral of Ely, when the Rev. Hugh Peters, Chaplain of the Lord General Cromwell, preached a sermon on the occasion.

When we reflect on the vast magnitude of the work, it being no less than the annexation of a territory of 680,000 acres to the area of our country, we may well join the great Dutchman in the pious remark with which he concludes one of his speeches. "I presume", says he, "to say no more of the work lest I should be accounted vainglorious, although I might truly affirm that the present or former age have done nothing like it for the general good of the nation. I humbly desire that God may have the glory for his blessing and bringing to perfection my poor endeavours, at the vast charge of the Earl of Bedford and his participants." The best idea, however, of the work of this truly great man will be obtained by an examination of the map herewith, which

has been compiled from Dugdale and other sources, and where the "*great Fennes*", as they "*lay drowned*", according to that authority, are shown. The other works, both of the Romans and later times, are also shown generally, and will be best understood by an inspection of the map.

In conclusion I will make one remark. The object of our Congresses I conceive to be not only the publication of information on the great works of past times, but the recording of the names of great men connected with them. I trust that this Wisbech Congress will give due honour to the great name of Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, to whom our country owes so much; and perhaps the British Archæological Association may, in bringing his name forward at this time, be the means of obtaining public recognition of his great services, and of recommending a suitable monument, for he has deserved as much from his adopted country; but his memory has been hitherto forgotten.

GUNNERKELD STONE CIRCLE.

BY C. W. DYMOND, M. INST. C.E., F.S.A.

(*Read March* 5, 1879.)

THIS remarkable, though little known, megalithic monument is situated at Gunnerkeld,[1] a mile and a half north of Shap, in Westmorland, and four or five hundred yards off the Appleby road, where it crosses a hollow three-quarters of a mile east of the point at which that road leaves the one from Shap to Penrith. The site is in the midst of a valley dipping toward the north-north-west, on a low, grassy tongue formed by a gentle depression on one side, and a little *wady*[2] on the other. It is on the border of a region fertile in prehistoric antiquities beyond most others in Britain. A mile to the south of Shap, the remains of a fine megalithic circle may be seen close to the fence of the railway which has swept away the larger part. Proceeding northward, close to the village, are the relics of what must once have been a grand parallellithon, second only, among our insular antiquities, to those at Avebury, and trending toward two massive boulders a furlong apart,—the farthest called *Thunder Stone*,—which lie on rising ground about a mile to the north-west. In another direction, a mile to the east of Shap church, poised on a brow of rock, is a third boulder which, though it may have been placed there by human hands, is much more likely to be a *bloc perché*, for reasons to be presently given. The chain of heights bounding the Shap valley on the east, crowned by tumuli alternating with stone circles and a British camp, looks down into a group of inclosures, regarded as the remains of aboriginal settlements, which are scattered over the lower slopes on the other side.

The plan, of which the accompanying illustrative Plate is a reduced fac-simile, has been laid down with the utmost

[1] In local parlance this word simply means "sportsman's spring". It should properly be *Gunner's Keld*; but the possessive *s* is usually dropped by the people of the north-west country.

[2] There is no English equivalent.

A COMPOUND STONE CIRCLE AT GUNNERKELD, NEAR SHAP, WESTMORLAND.

REFERENCE

Erect stones are filled in with — black | *Stone of doubtful posture is cross hatched*
Prostrate do do — — — — — — stippled | *Overhangs are shown in outline*

Ascertained local declination of Magnetic Needle 22° 30, W

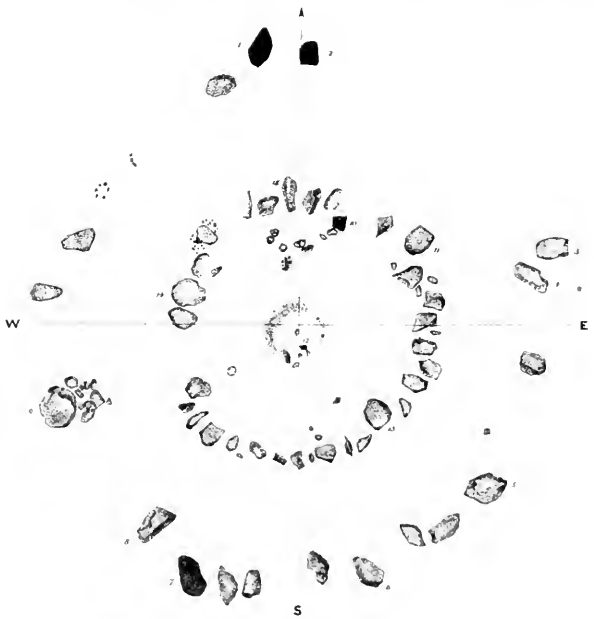
SIZES OF STONES

NO	POSTURE	HIGH FT. IN.	LONG FT. IN.	BROAD FT. IN.	THICK FT. IN.	NO	POSTURE	HIGH FT. IN.	LONG FT. IN.	BROAD FT. IN.	THICK FT. IN.	NO	POSTURE	HIGH FT. IN.	LONG FT. IN.	BROAD FT. IN.	THICK FT. IN.
1	E	4 6	— —	7 10	4 4	6	P	— —	7 5	4 6	— —	11	P	— —	0 3	4 7	— —
2	E	8 6	— —	4 8	3 4	7	?	5 4	9 0	5 0	— —	12	E	Sunk	— —	1 2	— —
3	P	— —	6 4	3 11	— —	8	P	— —	8 9	4 5	— —	13	P	—	5 11	5 0	— —
4	P	— —	7 11	3 6	— —	9	P	— —	8 4	7 4	— —	14	P	— —	6 10	5 7	— —
5	P	— —	9 3	5 10	— —	10	E	3 10	— —	3 0	2 10	15	P	— —	7 0	3 0	— —

E. Erect. — — P. Prostrate. — — ?. Doubtful



VIEW LOOKING NORTH — FROM A SKETCH



SCALE OF FEET

0 5 10 15 20 25

SURVEYED BY C. W. DYMOND, C. E., 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1870.

care from elaborate measurements. The local deviation of the compass was deduced from repeated special observations made in the district,—the needle being found to be influenced by circumstances which made this precaution necessary.

So far as my researches have extended, no plan of this megalithic group has hitherto been published; nor, save in a local guide-book, have I ever seen it even mentioned. It belongs to a class of which there are but few examples in Britain,—a class characterized by concentric monolithic rings. Yet it is not quite unique even in its own district; for, while exploring the fells at the distance of three miles and a half, I found another executed on a similar plan, of which the principal points are noted at the bottom of the page.[1]

The outer ring of the Gunnerkeld circle (if it may so be called) is 106 feet in diameter from north to south, and 97 feet from east to west. It consists at present of eighteen large stones, all prostrate,[2] except two at the north point, which form a fine *pylon*. The seats of two more which have been removed are distinctly visible on the north-west side; and large gaps indicate that several others also (perhaps as many as eight or ten) have probably disappeared. In front of No. 9 there is a group of weather-worn stones lying loose on the ground in a manner that gives no clue to their original arrangement. The inner ring—52 feet in diameter from north to south, 48 feet from east to west, and nearly concentric with the outer one—has, exclusive of five or six fragments, thirty stones, generally of smaller size than those composing the outer ring. All of them are prostrate, and the number nearly complete; for there is only room for three or, perhaps, four more in the small gaps

[1] It is situated on a high moor, a quarter of a mile south of Oddendale, which is two miles south-east of Shap; and consists of two concentric rings, apparently complete, of rather small, low stones,—some laid flat, and others set edgewise,—the outer one 86 feet in diameter, with twenty-seven stones, but nothing like a gateway; the inner, 23 feet in diameter, with twenty-three stones. A few small stones are scattered in the annular belt which averages a width of 31 feet; and many dot the smaller inclosure which, like that at Gunnerkeld, was doubtless devoted to sepulture, as it also bears evidences of disturbed central interment.

[2] One stone, No. 7 in the plan, is therein marked as doubtful; but, although in the view it has the appearance of being erect, its height and breadth are nearly equal, while its horizontal length is much greater than either. It should, therefore, properly be classed among the prostrate stones.

that interrupt the continuity of the ring. Within its northern arc, eight stones—most of them lying loosely on the surface, and all, save one, small and prostrate—are segmentally ranged. Their intent can only be conjectured, as there is no disturbance of the ground in the area which they inclose, to indicate that it may have been devoted to separate sepulture. A few other fragments are dispersed over the floor of the inner circle, in the centre of which is a pit, evidently made by the rifling of one or more graves. A stone, No. 12, small, flat, and thick, its top level with the surface of the ground, remains rooted *in situ* at the southern edge of the pit. It was, doubtless, one of the side or end stones of a destroyed cist. The question arises, with respect to the prostrate stones, Were they originally erect, and have they been overthrown? I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that they were never set up on end; and if so, these rings are of a type differing, perhaps of set purpose, from the true peristalith.

No. 7, the giant of the group, and a few smaller stones, are red granite. The remainder appear, for the most part, to be composed of igneous or metamorphic rock of various structure. The rock of the site is a thin-bedded, carboniferous limestone; but, to one who has taken note of the immediate surroundings, and has walked over the limestone heights toward the south, the source from whence these large blocks were obtained is evident. Every wall in the neighbourhood is mainly built of similar stone; and boulders of red granite are sprinkled by thousands on the uplands to the east of Shap, several miles away from the mountain-beds from which they were torn, and within comparatively easy reach of Gunnerkeld. This extensive local occurrence of *erratic blocks* deepens into conviction a conjecture which I entertained when surveying *Long Meg and her Daughters*,[1] that the stones there seen were not transported by human agency, but were found on the spot. The closest scrutiny has not revealed the existence of artificial marks on any of the stones at Gunnerkeld.

Much of the ground inclosed by the concentric rings has been somewhat disturbed. The floor of the inner area is slightly higher than that of the surrounding annular space;

[1] For a description and plan of these, see the volume of this *Journal* for 1878, pp. 31-33.

and there can be no doubt that it was a stone-cinctured sepulchral barrow. The purpose of the outer ring is not so evident. Emphasized as it is by the *pylon*, it suggests processional observances. At the same time we find the Oddendale circle wanting in that prominent feature which is the main support of such an idea. The position of the gateway and of the segmental chamber may be compared with those in the Keswick circle.[1]

[1] See the volume of this *Journal* for 1878, pp. 33-35.

THE HORNERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

BY C. H. COMPTON.

(*Read June* 4, 1879.)

AMONG the many trades or mysteries which in the early history of our country held a *quasi* corporate existence for the protection of native industry, that of horners, or buyers of horns and manufacturers of horn-wares, is one of the most ancient. Though we do not find any special mention of this trade until the reign of King Henry III, it must have then become an important branch of industry, for we find that that King, in the fifty-third year of his reign (A.D. 1268), granted an annual fair to Charlton, in Kent, for three days,—at the eve, the day, and morrow, of the Trinity. The time for holding this fair was afterwards changed to St. Luke's Day (October 18). Philipott, who wrote in 1659, speaks of this fair as kept yearly on that day, and called Horn Fair, "by reason of the great plenty of all sorts of winding horns and cups, and other vessels of horn, there bought and sold". This fair, retaining the same name, continued until its abolition, in 1872, under the provisions of "The Fairs Abolition Acts, 1871." It was formerly celebrated by a burlesque procession which passed from Deptford, through Greenwich, to Charlton, each person wearing some ornament of horn upon his head. The procession has been discontinued since 1768. It is said to have owed its origin to a compulsive grant made by King John, or some other of our kings, when detected in an adventure of gallantry, being then resident at Eltham Palace.[1]

In the reign of King Edward III the Horners of the city of London, though not incorporated by charter, were classed among the forty-eight mysteries of the City. In the fiftieth year of that King's reign a controversy arose between the King and the Corporation of London as to whether the Common Council of the City was to be elected by the wards or the mysteries of the City. This led to an ordinance being made by the City, with the consent of the King, that

[1] Lysons, *Env. of London*, vol. iv, p. 325. Ed. 1796.

the election was to be by the mysteries; pursuant to which ordinance forty-eight mysteries deputed members to the Common Council; the Horners ranking in the third class, or smaller mysteries, were deputed to send two members. Herbert, in his *History of the Livery Companies*, says, referring to this election, "of these a few, as the Fletchers, the Cappers, the Horners, and Spurriers, are extinct." This statement, so far at least as the Horners are concerned, is incorrect, as it is now proposed to show.

In the fourth year of the reign of King Edward IV the good men of the Worshipful Mystery of Horners, enfranchised in the city of London, having presented their petition to Parliament, complaining of the exportation of English horns unwrought, to the great prejudice of Englishmen of their own nation, it was by statute 4 Edward IV, c. 8, enacted that from the Feast of Easter in the year 1465, no stranger (*i.e.*, not a freeman of the company) nor alien should buy any English horns, unwrought, of any tanners, bochers, or other persons, within the city of London and twenty-four miles on every side next adjoining; and that no Englishman or other person should sell any English horns unwrought to any stranger, or cause them to be sent over the sea, so that the said Horners would buy horns at like price as they were at the time of the making of the Act, upon pain of forfeiture of all such horns. And the wardens of the said misterie should have full power to search all maner of ware pertaining to their misterie in all places within the city of London and twenty-four miles adjoining, and within the fairs of Stirbridge and Elie; and if they found any wares that were defective and insufficient, they might bring them before the Mayor of London, the mayor or bailiffes of the foresaid faires, to be forfeit one half to the King, the other half to the said wardens. But after the horners had taken so many horns as should be needful to their occupation, they and all other persons might sell all the horns refused to any stranger or other person, to send beyond the sea or elsewhere.

There are two deeds in the possession of the Company, one dated 24th March 1590 (33rd Elizabeth), between Nicholas Plasdon and others, citizens and horners of London, and John Cooke and John Escott, wardens of the Company of Horners, whereby they enter into mutual covenants not to

buy any horns within the city of London or suburbs, or within the borough of Southwark, or within twenty-four miles, according to the statute ; but only for the use of the whole Company, equally to be divided between them at the discretion of the wardens, and to provide horns for the use of the Company at the equal cost of the whole Company.

The other deed is dated the last day of February 1599 (42nd Elizabeth), and is made between William Ellam and others, citizens and horners of London, and John Okes and John Okeley, wardens of the Company, on the other part; and is to the same effect as the previously mentioned deed, except that the limit within which private trade was prohibited was extended to a hundred miles next in and about the city of London, and that the discretion given by the previous deed to the wardens was to be exercised by the wardens and *four of the assistants of the Company.*

Under the powers conferred by the Act (c. 7) passed in the Parliament held at Westminster, 19 Henry VII, which enacted that no master, wardens, or companies, should make any acts or ordinances except such as should be approved by the Chancellor and Treasurer of England, or Chief Justice of either Bench, or three of them, the Company, in the year 1638, made by-laws and ordinances for the government of persons using their art or mystery, which were approved and passed under the hands and seals of Thomas Coventrie, Chancellor, and Chief Justices John Branston and John Finch. From these by-laws it appears that the Horners were then a joint-stock trading company, the stock being held in shares or half-shares. The freemen of the Company were to reside in the city of London or liberties thereof, or within seven miles ; and no freeman should buy or take any manner of rough horns unwrought, or pieces of horns, or tipps, for his own use, within twenty-four miles next adjacent to the city of London, upon pain of forfeiture of a sum not exceeding 40*s.*, to be imposed by the master, wardens, and assistants, of the Company ; and the freemen were forbidden, under penalty of £40, to buy any horns or tipps of any cutler or persons that bought or sold again within the realm of England or dominion of Wales, without the consent of the master, wardens, and assistants of the society.

In the first year of the reign of James I an Act (c. 25)

was passed which repealed the statute of 4 Edward IV; but in the seventh year of that King's reign the Horners presented their petition to Parliament, stating "that by reason of the repeal of the prohibition the Company had grown so poor and decayed as in a short time, if remedy be not provided, they and theirs shall be utterly undone"; and the Act is thereby revived, except as to the powers of search in Stourbridge and Ely fairs, and the limitation of the price of horns thereby imposed; and a penalty was imposed of double the value of English horns sold unwrought to any stranger, or sent over the sea: one moiety of the penalty to the informer, and one moiety to the King.

Notwithstanding this statute, the exportation of horns still continued, and letters patent were granted by King Charles I, in the third year of his reign, prohibiting the exportation of horns until the Company should first have made choice of the best and most convenient number of the horns to supply the necessary occasions of the realm.

Notwithstanding the protection afforded by these Acts and letters patent, the exportation of horns continued, and for the preservation of the trade the Company obtained from King Charles I a charter of incorporation. This charter is dated the 14th of January 1641 (16th Charles I). By it the Horners, freemen of the city of London and Westminster, and liberties and suburbs of the same, are incorporated by the name of "Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Fellowship of the Mistery of Horners of the City of London", with power to purchase and hold freehold and leasehold estates of every kind, and all manner of goods and chattels, and to grant, alien, and dispose of the same; and by the same name to plead and be impleaded, and to have a common seal. One of the said fellowship is to be chosen the Master, two to be chosen Wardens, and ten or more Assistants of the Fellowship. The Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or the greater part of them, whereof the Master and one of the Wardens are always to be two, have power to make and alter, amend or make new, such reasonable laws and constitutions touching the trade, art, or mystery; and for punishment and reformation of abuses, wrongful practices, and misdemeanors; and for defraying the charges of maintaining and continuing the corporation; and after what order they shall demean themselves in their office, mystery, and

work; and to impose such fines, amerciaments, or other lawful punishments, upon all offenders as shall seem necessary; such fines, etc., to be raised for their own uses.

Robert Baker was appointed the first Master, to continue in office until the 2nd of February 1638, and until another person was elected in his place. Christopher Peele and Thomas White were appointed first Wardens. William Holland, Francis Hotham, Robert Dicks, Thomas Powlson, John Norbury, William Cowett, Andrew Purdew, John Swift, James Bayley, and Henry Smith, were appointed the first Assistants during their lives or good behaviour; and the Master and Wardens were, upon retirement from their offices, to be Assistants in the same manner. The Master and Wardens were to take oaths, before a Master in Chancery, to well and truly execute their office before taking upon themselves the offices.

Power is given to the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Fellowship, to meet in their common hall, or other convenient place, upon the 2nd of February, if it be not Sunday; and if it be Sunday, then upon the next day after, to elect a master and two wardens for the ensuing year; and they are to take their oaths of office before the late Master and Wardens, or two of them; and like power of election is given until the next 2nd of February, in case of the death or removal for misbehaviour of any master or warden during his term of office; and also in like manner to elect an assistant on the death or removal of any of the assistants appointed by the charter.

Power is given of oversight, rule, and search, of all persons occupying, importing, exporting, or using, the art or mystery of horners within the cities of London and Westminster and the liberties and precincts thereof, and of all manner of wares thereunto appertaining, to the intent that all delinquents might be discovered and punished. Power is given to the Company to purchase for ever one house or houses within the city of London, as their hall for their assemblies, not to exceed the clear yearly value of £40, so as the same be not holden of the King immediately *in capite*, or by knight's service, or of any other by knight's service, reserving to the King and his successors the annual rent of 20*s.* at the feast of the birth of our Lord God only.[1]

[1] This rent is not now paid.

The Company were to have one honest and discreet person as clerk, and Francis Newton, gentleman, was appointed the first clerk, to execute the office by himself, or deputy, for his life. "Only upon some apparent and foul misdemeanour there shall be just cause to remove him"; and on death his successor was to be appointed to hold office during pleasure. Richard Newett was appointed first beadle, and his successors were to be appointed in like manner as the clerk; both of which officers were to take their oaths of office on election.

In the first year of King William III the Horners' Company prosecuted a combmaker in London for using the trade of a horner by pressing horns. This was adjudged a breach of the statute of 5 Elizabeth, c. 4, which restrained any person from using any art, mystery, or occupation except he had been apprenticed for seven years. Holt, C.J., cited this case in a case of Hobbs and Young, decided by him in 3rd William and Mary (in Banco Regis), when he said a horner is a particular trade, and a very ancient Company in London.[1]

Neither horners nor the Horners' Company are mentioned in Stow's *Survey of London*, either in the first edition (1633) or in Strype's edition (1754). "Horners' Key" is mentioned in the first edition, where it is said, "I read in the 26 Henry VI, that in the parish of St. Dunstan in the East a tenement called Horners' Key, in Thames Street, was granted to William Harringdon, Esq." I have not been able to identify this Key with the trade of horners, but it most probably was originally used for the purposes of their trade.

In the year 1604 the Company obtained a lease of a storehouse and sheds in Wentworth Street, Whitechapel, for a thousand years, from Christmas 1604, at the yearly rent of £4, in which they carried on the trade.

The control given by the charter of Charles I to the Horners' Company, over the trade, has never been actually abandoned, but it has ceased to be exercised. The last occasion on which the Company enforced their rights against persons infringing their monopoly was in the year 1745. By the kind assistance of Mr. George Henderson, the Clerk of the Company (to whom I am indebted for the inspection

[1] Comb. Rep., 179, ed. 1724; Vin. Abr., tit. "Trade", A.; Bac. Abr., "Master and Ser.", D. 2.

of the ancient deeds before referred to, and for the original information I have been enabled to import into this paper), I have been furnished with an extract from the Company's minutes, dated 17 July 1745, by which it appears that the Court being informed that persons not freed of the Company had bought rough horns, and did press the same, and make the same into lanthorn-leaves, and sold and disposed of them within the city of London and twenty-four miles' distance, proceedings were ordered to be taken against persons so offending; and Mr. Henderson, who has this year entered upon the fiftieth year of his office as Clerk to the Company, well recollects seeing in the possession of the Master of the Company, many years ago, a large horn, which has unfortunately been lost, on which a silver plate was mounted, referring to a trial soon after the date of the entry in the minutes, in which the Company successfully established their right to the monopoly of the manufacture of horn within the city of London and twenty-four miles round.

There is in the Company's possession the counterpart of a lease of their property in Whitechapel, granted to a cork-cutter in 1796, in which the premises are described as theretofore used by the Company. They therefore ceased to be a trading company between 1745 and 1796.

The trade has greatly declined of late years owing to the substitution of other materials for horn, especially glass. The old horn-lantern, suggestive of Dogberry and Verges, may linger in the memories of some of us, though it would be difficult for the most rigid worshipper of the past to feel the satisfaction expressed by the historian of London,[1] when, in contrasting his own times (1811) with those of Edward I, he says, "What a contrast to the present tranquillity of a metropolis of more than six times the opulence, committed to the protection of a handful of feeble old men armed with long poles and lanterns."

But though the Worshipful Company of Horners has lost its control over trade, it has held its place among the ancient mysteries of London, though its horn has not been lifted up on high. In the Second Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in England and Wales (1837), it is classed as the fifty-fourth out of eighty-nine companies

[1] Hunter's *London*, p. 95.

there enumerated. A return of the admissions to the Company for the years 1801 to 1833 shows that the total number of freemen admitted during those years was only fourteen, of whom five were admitted by patrimony, five by apprenticeship, and four by redemption. Its property, at the date of the Commissioners' Report, consisted of the storehouse and sheds in Wentworth Street, Whitechapel, then let on lease at £30 per ann., and money in the public funds. It does not, and never did, possess a hall.

In the year 1846 the Company petitioned the Court of Aldermen for a livery, which was granted to them on the 1st of December of that year, the number of liverymen being limited to sixty. The present freemen of the Company are much below that number.

In the year 1789 the Company's ancient plate was sold. Its coat of arms, which is the device on its common seal, is *ar.* on a chevron *sa.* three bugles of the first between three leather bottles of the second.

I trust I have now made good the position advanced at the commencement of this paper, that the Worshipful Company of Horners is not extinct. The trade itself shows signs of revival, and only wants that encouragement which at the present time is so much directed to technical education to expand into an art which may keep pace with the skilled manufactures of the day. The freemen of the Horners' Company will learn with satisfaction that at the recent athletic sports at Dulwich College, horn cups mounted in silver were among the prizes given to successful competitors. To the sympathies of this Society, whose aim is to raise the buried past into the daylight of the present, I commend this ancient company. With her roots firmly planted in the past, may her livery be not like that with which Romeo clothed the moon when he said

> "Her vestal livery is but sick and green,
> And none but fools do wear it".

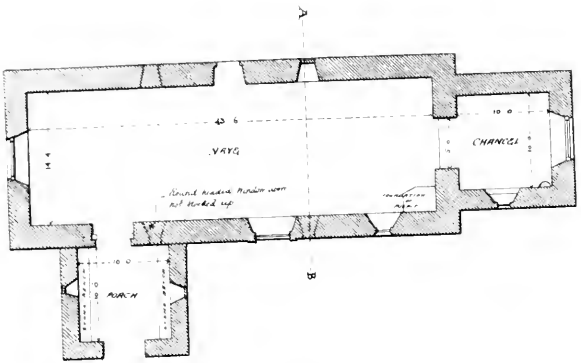
But, green with ever youthful vigour, may she realise the sentiment of the ancient toast which is given when the "loving cup" goes round at her feasts, "The Master, Wardens, Assistants, and Fellowship, of the Mystery of Horners of the City of London. May they flourish, root and branch, for ever!"

ON A PERFECT SAXON CHURCH AT ESCOMBE IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

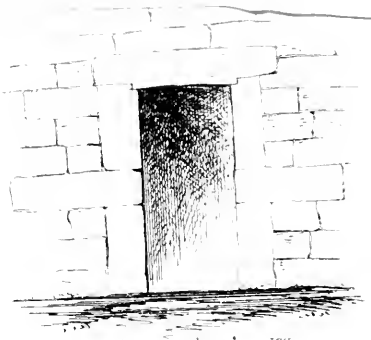
BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D., F.R.A.S., MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

It would have been thought impossible, in this age of knowledge and research, that there should have been still in existence, in so populous a county as that of Durham, a perfect Saxon church, entirely overlooked by, and unknown to, archæologists until a few week sago. But, strange as it may appear, such has been actually the case. The ancient parish church of Escombe is a perfect specimen of Saxon architecture. It stands in the centre of a small triangular village, bearing in every feature the impress of great antiquity, on the slope of a hill by the southern bank of the Wear, two miles from the market town of Bishop Auckland, but neither on nor near any main road, the lane which leads to it, and ends at it, being the only road in the vicinity. For centuries it was but a chapelry to St. Andrew's Auckland, until, in the lifetime of the present generation, it was made an ecclesiastical parish. Hence, no doubt, the obscurity in which it has remained.

About seventeen years ago, the churchyard having become so excessively crowded that a new burial-place was absolutely necessary, a new building was erected about half a mile from the village, nearer to Auckland, to serve at once the purposes of a church and of a cemetery chapel ; and the old parish church was abandoned for the lately erected edifice. With praiseworthy regard, the present vicar, the Rev. T. E. Lord, who succeeded to the benefice some time afterward, though not fully aware of the extremely interesting character of the ancient edifice, had the walls of the churchyard round it raised, the ground kept somewhat in order, and trespassers restrained ; but the building itself was left to the forces which, with marvellous rapidity, impress upon any deserted edifice the symptoms of decay. At the present moment many shingles from the roof have slipped from their places, and lie shattered in the churchyard. The glass of the windows is gone. The floor is damp



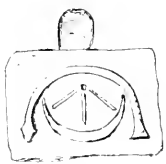
PLAN



SKETCH OF DOORWAY IN NORTH SIDE



SKETCH OF BELL TURRET



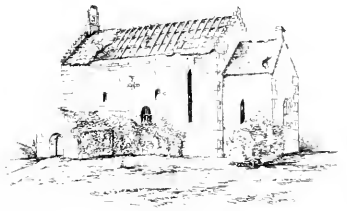
SKETCH OF ORNAMENT AT D
SOUTH SIDE



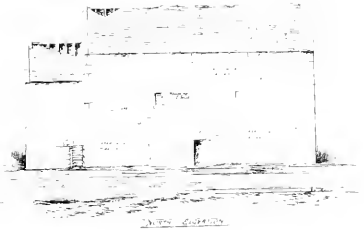
SKETCH OF ROUND HEADED WINDOW AT C
SOUTH SIDE

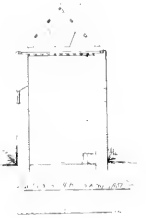
J.W TAYLOR, DELT
BISHOP'S AUCKLAND

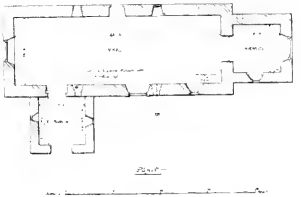
Saxon Church at Escombe, Durham.



















J.W. TAYLOR, DELT

and mossy. And the time when the building would have to be spoken of as a ruin is hastening on apace.

It was the good fortune of the writer to be the first to recognise and make public the true character of the building: indeed, no trained archæologist can set eyes on it for a moment without detecting it. It is recognisable at the first glance, and succeeding examination only confirms undeniably and abundantly the immediate conclusion. Since its discovery by the writer he has had the pleasure of conducting over it the Archæological and Architectural Society of Durham and Northumberland, who were deeply impressed with the existence and condition of the church, and, holding their meeting for the day upon the spot, passed a resolution,—"That it is extremely desirable that a fund should be raised, with as little delay as possible, for the complete repair and restoration of the old parish church of Escombe, with a view to its permanent preservation." It has also been visited by many other antiquaries, and in particular by Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, well known as one of the able Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and as the editor of several of the volumes published by the Surtees Society, who has affirmed publicly that "the church is Saxon from end to end", and that "he knows nothing equal to it in interest". In addition to these testimonies I may mention that the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries has, in its corporate capacity, contributed a liberal donation to the fund already instituted for the thorough repair of the building.

The church consists of a nave, chancel, and porch. The dimensions are very striking. The nave measures, inside, 43 ft. 6 ins. by 14 ft. 4 ins.; the chancel, 10 ft. by 10 ft.; the porch, 10 ft. by 10 ft. The nave is separated from the chancel by an arch, the walls of which are 2 ft. 5 ins. in thickness. The thickness of the outer walls of the church is between 2 ft. 4 ins. and 2 ft. 5 ins.; of the walls of the porch, 1 ft. 10 ins. The height of the nave from floor to wall-plate is 23 ft. 4 ins.; of the chancel, 18 ft. 6 ins.; of the porch, 5 ft. 9 ins. The height of the nave from floor to ridge is 33 ft. 10 ins.; of the chancel, 26 ft. 8 ins.; of the porch, 11 ft. 4 ins. There is a step from nave to chancel, of 4 ins.

The illustrations which accompany this paper, and which

are the work of Mr. J. W. Taylor, architect, of Bishop Auckland, to whom I am glad to have this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations, will give a vivid conception of the church. The great height of the building, in proportion to its length and breadth, and the shortness of the chancel, are very remarkable. They remind those who have seen the ancient Saxon church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon,[1] lately restored by the zeal and energetic exertions of Canon Jones of Bradford-on-Avon, very strongly of that church, and strikingly accord with the pictures of churches extant on early illuminated MSS.[2] The chancel-arch is lofty, 11 ft. 3 ins. from the floor to the spring, 13 ft. 10 ins. from the floor to the crown. The width is 5 ft. 3 ins. It is simple, but thoroughly characteristic.

The walls of the church are, as will be concluded from their thickness, exceedingly massive. They are built of Roman stones brought from the neighbouring Roman station (about two miles off) of Vinovium. Many of them have the peculiar Roman broaching or tooling upon them. One has a pellet within an annulet; another has the letters LEG. VI. As the stone stands in the wall, these letters are inverted. Many more evidences of Roman work may exist in the stones, at present undiscernible, as the whole church, with the exception of the west end, was covered in early times (probably in the Early English period) with rough-cast plaster, the falling off or removal of which in some places has revealed those mentioned. Against the west end apparently stood the priest's house, the line of the roof of which, of the same pitch as that of the church, but lower, is very marked. A striking feature in the walls are the massive quoins at the angles, with alternating faces and edges, somewhat after the manner of long and short work. The size of these quoins may be judged from an average one measured by the writer, which was 3 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. by 11 ins. Another one measured was 4 ft. 11 ins. in length. They go from the ground to the wall-plate at each of the angles of nave, chancel, and porch. The seats in the porch are massive stones of the same character, with Roman tooling on their faces.

[1] Described and figured in *Journal* for 1875, vol. xxxi, pp. 143-152.

[2] See the dictionary of subjects in *Early Drawings and Illuminations*, by W. de G. Birch and H. Jenner. London, 1879. Bagster and Sons.

The original windows are five in number, two in the south wall of the nave, two in the north wall of the nave, and one in the west end. The two in the south wall are round-headed, the heads being formed of single stones, and the height of their sills above the floor being 13 ft. 2 ins. The height of each window, from sill to crown, is 2 ft. 8 ins.; the width, 1 ft. 3 ins. They are deeply splayed. The height from splay to splay is 5 ft. 7 ins.; and the width, 2 ft. 5 ins. The two windows in the north wall are square-headed. Their height above the floor is 13 feet; from sill to head, 2 ft. 6 ins.; width, 1 ft. 3 ins. They likewise are splayed, but not so deeply. Height, from splay to splay, 4 ft. 10 ins.; width, 2 ft. 5 ins. The height of the window in the west wall is 25 ft. 9 ins. above the floor; from sill to spring is 3 ft.; from sill to crown, 3 ft. 6 ins.; width, 1 ft. 3 ins.; width of splays, 3 ft.; height from splay to splay, 4 ft. 3 ins. This window is immediately under a characteristic bell-gable, and the tolling of the bell through so many centuries has worn a furrow 7 inches deep and 8 inches wide in the stone which forms the head of this window inside, and in the stones above them.

Besides these windows there are two Early English insertions, one in the nave, and the other in the chancel. The church must have been an "old" church when these were put in. There are evident indications that, at the time when they were inserted, other extensive repairs and "improvements" were effected in the church. As has been already intimated, the church received then, as far as can be judged, its external and internal coats of plaster. The roof was also thoroughly repaired. There are six massive couples of principals tied by footbeams and struts correspondingly ponderous, belonging, without doubt, to that date. But four of the footbeams of the earlier roof remain; and the spars on the south side are those of the earlier roof, repaired where they had begun to show signs of decay, while the spars on the north side were all renewed. One of the original windows on each side of the nave was also blocked at this time. The two new ones which were inserted are long, narrow, lancet-windows shouldered internally. The lines of the one in the chancel are brought down nearly to the floor, to form sedilia. There is also a piscina, apparently of contemporaneous construction. The disturbance of the massive masonry

by the Early English builders, for the insertion of these two windows, is strikingly apparent in the outside walls.

Besides the Early English insertions there have been three in much more recent times. One is a wide, pointed, window in the south wall of the nave ; the others are wide, round-headed, windows in the east and west ends. The original window under the bell-gable was also blocked at some period, and an original door, of most interesting character, in the centre of the north wall. This door is perfect. It is 5 ft. 9 ins. high from floor to head, 3 ft. wide at top, 3 ft. 4 ins. or 3 ft. 5 ins. at bottom. I cannot give the width at the bottom exactly, as at the present moment it is encumbered with rubbish. These are the inside measurements. Outside it is 2 ins. less in height, and 4 ins. less in width, as the head and jambs are all recessed 2 ins. inside. The head is formed of one massive stone ; each jamb of three of similar character, two perpendicular, and one between them horizontal. I doubt whether any other ecclesiastical doorway of equally early age, so perfect and so interesting as this one, exists in England.

I must now draw this paper to a conclusion. The importance of the thorough repair and preservation of the church I need not enlarge upon. I am happy to know that, if funds can be raised for its restoration, it will again be employed for the celebration of divine service, in which respect it will meet a felt want, and be of great advantage. Unfortunately, owing to great commercial depression, aggravated by the loss and distress caused to numberless families by a recent prolonged and extensive strike, funds are very difficult to raise at the present time in the north of England. I confidently, however, commend the work to the sympathies and liberality of all genuine archæologists throughout the country, and especially to members of the British Archæological Association, assured that it is impossible so interesting and perfect a monument of our Saxon forefathers can, now that it is brought to light, be suffered to hasten to irretrievable ruin.

ON AN EFFIGY OF ST. THOMAS, EARL OF LANCASTER.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

(*Read June* 4, 1879.)

In the year 1824 was discovered, in a walled-up crypt underneath the chancel of the parish church of Warrington, a richly embroidered chasuble of the close of the fifteenth century, the orphreys of which display a series of panels, on each of which is a saintly figure, one being that of Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, the grandson of King Henry III. Our much valued Associate Dr. Kendrick has called my attention to this remarkable effigy, as he believes that it presents a novel feature in the way of knightly harness. But before proceeding to discuss the point in question it may be well to produce a brief description of the orphreys, as embodied in a letter addressed to Dr. Kendrick by the late Canon Rock, bearing date February 16, 1870. The reverend gentleman says:

"The orphreys are of the time of Henry VII, done in what is commonly called *opus plumarium*, or feather-stitch. The diapering in gold thread is by far the better part of the work. Among the figures are Abraham with a short sword, or rather the sacrificial knife, upraised in his hand; and lower down, Melchisedech with a closed book in his hand, as shown on, I think, the front part of the orphrey; but the back one is very far the better one. There the crucifixion is very English. Above, an ugly dove, emblem of the Holy Ghost, is shown. Two angels, one on each side of the head of Our Lord, are catching the blood spirting into two chalices on the right side of Our Lord's hand and heart; and into one chalice on the left, from the other hand. The two upright lilies growing by the lower part of the cross are full of beautiful meaning, to signify the perpetual virginity both of Our Lord Himself, of the blessed Mother, and of His beloved disciple St. John, who, in our Anglo-Saxon, sometimes used to be called the 'virgin man'.[1] Below we see St. Paul with a sword and book of his Epistles. But now

[1] The description of this portion of the orphrey strongly reminds us of a piece of a like ornament of the same era, engraved in this *Journal*, vii, p. 164.

comes the by far most curious figures, one of St. Thomas, known by his lance; the other, the figure in armour with a battleaxe, of Thomas of Lancaster, the beheaded Earl of Lancaster, in the reign of Edward II, A.D. 1322, and who had his head cut off by a battleaxe after being taken prisoner by the Royalists at Pontefract. The northern counties (Lancashire in particular) deemed him a martyr who suffered for the public cause, against the faction of the De Spencers. This Earl was called a saint. The hill where he was beheaded, near Pontefract, used to be frequented as a place of pilgrimage; and a particular office for Mass was drawn up for the celebration of his festival, and may be found in print. This figure of St. Thomas of Lancaster is a very curious thing, and makes this orphrey very valuable."

Of this last mentioned effigy, which is full 7 inches in height, I am privileged to exhibit a tinted rubbing, which we will now examine in detail. Behind the Earl are two palm-branches, emblematic of martyrdom, and his head is surrounded by a rayed nimbus. He wears a salade of the globose type so common in the fifteenth century, with a movable vizor, and mentonniere or chin-guard, which, like the rest of the armour, is of a golden colour. The cuirass, which seems to consist of two members, has a tapul, or salient ridge, down its centre; and a lamellar skirt, or waist-piece (sometimes denominated the great brayette), with a deep red fringe round its lower edge. The spurred solerets and lower portion of the greaves are visible; but the cuisses seem to be covered with trunks composed of green and yellow stuff. The brassards are of clumsy, inelegant form, with mitten gauntlets; the right hand being raised in the act of benediction, the left grasping the long stout handle of a large-bladed pole-axe, with lance-shaped spike above and hammer at back; and this formidable weapon leads us to the novel feature in this interesting piece of embroidery.

Dr. Kendrick has observed that on the left side of the cuirass, and just above its lower plate, is a massive ring, through which the stock of the axe *appears* to be passed "by way of a support when not in actual use". Now the question is, is this really a ring attached to the cuirass as a rest or socket for the weapon? or is it nothing more nor less than a boss surrounding its haft, and there placed to prevent its slipping down beyond a certain distance when wielded in fight? I greatly incline to the latter idea, which



St. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.

From an Obrehey of the Fifteenth Century.



seems strengthened by a reference to one of the Harleian MSS. (No. 4826), wherein is delineated Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, holding a very similar poleaxe to the one shown in the orphrey, and the haft of which is provided with two great bosses,—one half way down, the other near the end. Demmin, in his *Weapons of War*, gives representations of the glaive, voulge, and war-hammer, with bossed hafts, but not a single example of a cuirass with an annular rest for either lance or axe; so that we may fairly conclude that the appearance in the embroidery is due entirely to the unskilful use of the needle.

The fate of the rare chasuble of which this figure formed a part, is a melancholy one. Soon after its discovery in 1824, it was sold for a few shillings to a Roman Catholic priest at Warrington, who had the orphreys removed to decorate a modern vestment. Well may Canon Rock say, in his letter to Dr. Kendrick, "What a pity the orphreys were taken off from the true old chasuble, and put upon the modern satin; and that, too, of a skimpy, small fiddle-shape, quite different from the fine old English shape in use before the change of religion in England in the reign of Henry VIII. The real old chasuble, however decayed and torn and discoloured, would have been a hundredfold more valuable than the present one with its orphreys sadly cut short. Such mutilations and restorations are to be deeply regretted."

A few words more regarding the rebel Earl of Lancaster. Randal Holme gives a drawing of a representation of the saint, in stained glass, which in his time existed in one of the windows of the Priory at Warrington; and Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, has copied the account. In Rishanger's *Chronicle* may be seen a record of the burial-place of Thomas Earl of Lancashire being visited by some pilgrims from Warrington, who were thereby miraculously cured of their various diseases. In London and elsewhere have been discovered little leaden, or rather pewter, brooches representing knights in armour holding battleaxes. May not some of these appertain to St. Thomas of Lancaster, and been worn as signs by those who visited his place of execution, and the tomb wherein rested his mortal remains in the Priory Church at Pomfret ?[1]

[1] For some interesting notes upon this Earl, by Lord Houghton, see *Journal*, xx, p. 16.

NOTES ON AN INSCRIBED STONE PRESERVED IN ELY CATHEDRAL.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., HON. SECRETARY.

(*Read June* 18, 1879.)

DURING the visit of the Congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Wisbech in August 1879, to the Cathedral of Ely, the notice of some of the members was directed by the Ven. Archdeacon Emery and by Canon Luckock, who kindly acted as guides to the body of visitors, to an inscribed stone deposited in the south aisle of the Cathedral, between the sixth and seventh piers of the nave, to the east of the south door, and carefully protected by a suitable fence, by order of the Dean. The subject of the inscription was afterwards raised incidentally during a discussion upon another subject, and I promised to put my remarks upon this national relic into the form of a short paper, which I here lay before the consideration of the Association. My notes are divided into the following heads:

1. Description of the stone.
2. History of its discovery and removal, with notices of it by local historians and antiquarians.
3. Suggestions in relation to its age and purport, and a conjecture of the original reading.

1. The stone of which this relic consists is that commonly called "Ovin's Cross". It is of a light, warm, grey colour. It measures, lying as a flat parallelopiped, 2 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. by 1 ft. 2 ins. high. The upper surface has a roughly squared mortice-hole in the centre, to receive the foot of a cross; but a portion only (3 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.) of the superimposed stone now remains, and it would be idle to conjecture what has been there originally, beyond the fact that the drawings which I shall shew give the shape of it as an imperfect shaft with chamfered angles.

The inscription on one of the long narrow sides of the stone, as at present found, may be read from the figure of the same in the accompanying Plate, from a plaster-cast very kindly placed in my hands, for the illustration of this

paper by the Ven. W. Emery, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely, having been specially prepared by Mr. T. Wood, Mason of the Cathedral, under the Archdeacon's supervision.

It will be observed that the vertical line bounding the inscription, on the right hand side, is, as it were, round the corner, the stonecutter not having been able to get in the original words without roughly rounding the stone's edge on the right hand, and encroaching somewhat upon the second side of the stone.

2. Of the discovery and removal of the stone, the first and best account is, I think, preserved in *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual Church of Ely*, by James Bentham, M.A.[1] At pp. 50-51, this writer says, in reference to Ovin, the "Major Familias Sanctæ Ædilthridis" of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,—

"And that his memory was formerly held in great veneration in the Isle of Ely appears by a memorial of him still in being,—a very ancient inscription on a stone found some years since at Hadenham, near Ely. This stone, which seems to have been the Base of a Cross, is square, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and 14 inches thick. In the middle of the upper part is a square mortice, into which is fixed, with lead, another stone erect, about 4 feet high, and then broke off, which probably terminated in a Cross."

Then follows the inscription :

+ LVCEM . TVAM . OVINO
. DA . DEVS . ET . REQVIĒ
. AMEN .

And Bentham continues thus :

"A prayer that was used by travellers and pilgrims at S. Ovin's Cross, possibly erected in his lifetime,[2] since the words are capable of

[1] Cambridge, 1771, 4to.

[2] "For the following remarks on this inscribed stone I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Stukeley, F.R.S., and late Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, whose opinion concerning it I had desired in the year 1756: 'The inscription at Hadenham (says he) I took fifty years ago, when a lad at Cambridge. The stone was the foot of a cross erected by S. Ovin, house-steward to S. Audry. He lived at Winford (about a mile and a half from Hadenham), so corrupted from Owin's Worth, *Ovini prædium*, a tenant of Tondbert's, Prince of the South *Girvii*, whose estate, the Isle of Ely, was Audry's jointure: so came she and Ovin acquainted. Ovin is a Welsh name; for the Isle of Ely was possessed by the old Britons long after the Saxons had taken hold of England, as before was the case in Roman times. I have long ago taken drawings of S. Chad's habitation, by the neighbouring church of Lichfield, where your Ovin heard the Angels at S. Chad's obit. There is his Well and a little Monastery. The habitation joins on the north-west angle of that church." (Bentham's note.)

a very good sense, and applicable to one still living,—'Grant, O God, to Ovin thy light' [to direct him in this world] 'and rest' [with thee in heaven] 'Amen.' However, if it was erected after his decease, for his soul; yet doubtless, whilst his memory was fresh in men's minds. And, indeed, the stone and inscription carry with them the marks of great antiquity; as may likewise be inferred from the purity of the *Roman* capitals, which begun very early to be corrupted by a mixture of *Saxon;* but in this instance there is only one, viz., the capital E, which is of the *Saxon* cast, the rest being purely *Roman.*"[1]

William Stevenson, in his *Supplement* to Bentham's work, published at Norwich in 1817, in the *Addenda*, p. 28, shews how the desire of Bentham to preserve this stone had been carried out. He writes thus: "It has been deposited, under an arch, at the west end of the north aisle of the nave; and the annexed representation of it, cut in wood by that ingenious artist Mr. Berryman, is a very faithful one." As this illustration is exactly the same as that published by Mr. Hills, which I go on to describe, but larger, I have thought it unnecessary to reproduce it here.

The next account I find is in G. Miller's *Description of the Collegiate Church of Ely.*[2] This writer states that the stone was found at Haddenham, and says, "It is in all probability a work of the seventh century.....At any rate it cannot be brought lower than a very early part of the eighth century." At p. 174 of this work is the plan of the Cathedral, shewing the position of the stone "at the west end of the north aisle, under an arch in the wall". The plan also of the Cathedral, which is contained in Ellis' edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, clearly shews the place of deposit in this site.

But in T. A. Hills and Sons' *Handbook to the Cathedral Church*, which was first published in 1852, I find, in the tenth edition, September 1877, at p. 16, a woodcut[3] of the inscribed stone with the upright shaft in its place, evidently a reduction from Stevenson's woodcut, which I have already taken into consideration. The place of deposit, however, had been changed, for I find in this eminently useful and

[1] "By the favour of a friend I have lately procured this stone (which had long time served only for a horseblock at Hadenham), intending, with the leave of the Dean and Chapter, to remove it into some place in the church of Ely, and thereby to preserve so venerable a monument of antiquity." (Bentham's note.)

[2] London, 1808, pp. 57, 58.

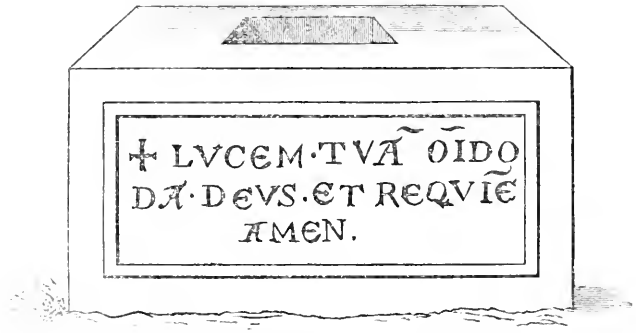
[3] Kindly lent, by the proprietors of that work, to the British Archæological Association for use on this occasion.

interesting work, at pp. 39, 40, the notification that the monument is placed in the south aisle of the nave, near a doorway which is under the fourth window from the western end. The relic is there spoken of as "the lower portion of a stone cross with a square pedestal".



Professor Hübner, of the Berlin Academy, whose critical judgment upon Latin and Christian epigraphy is generally considered to be of great weight, gives the following account of the inscription, and records his opinion as to the *age* in so decided a manner, that I quote his own words for the benefit of those among us who cannot inspect his book, entitled *Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ*: Berolini, 1876, large 4to, p. 61:

"169. *Haddenham, Cambridgeshire,*[1] *the tombstone of Ovinus* (?), *Ethelreda's steward, who died about a.* 680. Sed videtur multo recentior esse. Mensura non indicata.



+ *Lucem tu(am) Oi(n)do da Deus et requie(m). Amen.*"

3. There are two divisions into which my remarks under this section divide themselves :—*a*, the tampering with the inscription ; *b*, the original reading of it.

a. When I first saw the stone, without any previous

[1] "Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, i, p. 12, tab. 11 (inde Gough's *Camden*, ii, p. 234, tab. 13). Etiam *Onido* aut *Omido* nomen solvi posse adnotat Rhys." (Hübner's note.)

knowledge of it, I was struck with the peculiar circumstance that while all the inscription, with the exception of the end word of the first line, was perfectly plain, it was evident that this third word had been wilfully injured by scraping into the depressions of the letters, and cutting new ones over parts of others. No one can deny this after looking for a few moments at it.[1] It is not to be wondered at, then, that I was scarcely surprised to find that the writers who have described the stone differ from each other in their rendering of the garbled word. The results of the writers' statements respecting the first line are as follow, if we may, for the sake of greater perspicuity, tabulate the readings :

Bentham, 1771 . Stevenson, 1817 .	+ LVCEM . TVAM . OVINO
Stukeley, 1724 . Gough . .	+ LVCEM . TVĀ . OĪDO
Hübner, 1876 .	+ LVCEM . TVĀ(M) . OI(N)DO
Rhys . . .	„ „ ONIDO aut OMIDO

b. To proceed to the conjecture as to the original reading of the stone.

I am quite willing to concede that the stone is a memorial of Ovin, and of the remote age, namely the eighth century, attributed to it by the writers whose opinions I have placed before you ; but I am equally unwilling to believe that the doubtful word was originally the name of Ovin. That it reads so now is as clear as that it has been *made* to read so by some too zealous antiquarian who could not make out the inscription as it originally stood, and allowed, even if he did not himself perpetrate, the injury.

My belief is that when Stukeley found it, in 1706 (*i.e.*, "fifty years", as he says, before his opinion given in 1756 to Bentham (see *ante*, p. 389), the end word of the first line had been rendered indistinct by weathering, or by careless treatment, during the "horse-block" period of its history, and that his reading *Ovino* (a pure but ingenious conjecture on his part) was accepted unchallenged by every one else,

[1] Since the reading of this paper I have paid a visit to the stone, and am fully confirmed in my opinion as to an alteration in the last word of the first line. There is a vertical stroke plainly visible, but not deep, down the middle of the first *o* ; and the last *o* in the word is so deep that it could never have been so cut in the original form of the inscription. It owes its depth to later hands.

and at some time or other the word was made to read thus more clearly than it did when it was first found.

But there are very grave, and some insurmountable, reasons against this reading.

The inscription is clearly intended to be metrical. The words "*Da Deus et requiem*" are not only metrical in quantity, but arranged in a poetical way; hence we must admit that the perfect whole should be metrical. Professor Hübner records, in his work already quoted, the following *metrical* inscriptions:

No. 134. "Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse Deus",

from *Llanfihangel-y-Traethan* (or St. Michael of the Estuaries), in Merionethshire.

No. 171. "Aio hanc petram Guthlacus habet sibi metam",

the cross of St. Guthlac, well known to East Anglian archæologists. These are all that I can find out of a series of upwards of two hundred Christian inscriptions.

Parenthetically, it is worth while for those who would arrive at a true estimate of Professor Hübner's ability to delineate British monuments, to compare his figure of this cross with that given by the authors of *The Fenland*. I reproduce the two here in order that those who are familiar with the stone itself may decide which of the two figures best resembles it. The woodcut (fig. 1) from *The Fenland* has been kindly lent by the publisher, Mr. J. Leach of Wisbech. The inscription reads thus: "*Aio hanc petram Guthlacus habet sibi metam*" (I say this stone Guthlac has for himself [as] a boundary; or, freely, Guthlac has placed this stone for his boundary-mark). On the other hand, fig. 2 is a faithful reproduction from Hübner, p. 63, who refers to Camden, ed. vi (1607), p. 400;



Fig. 1.—St. Guthlac's Cross at Brotherhouse, near Crowland, according to *The Fenland*.

Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.*, i, p. 12, tab. 11; Pownall, *Archæologia*, iii (1786), p. 96, and vi (1782), p. 395, tab. 56, etc.

To return to the inscription. When I pointed out at the Congress that it was originally metrical (no one before ever having declared it to be so), I was met by the concession that it might be so, provided we scanned the words thus,

Lūcĕ(*m*) tŭ|(*am*) Ovĭ|nō ||
dā Dĕŭs | ēt rĕquĭ|ēm,

and read it as an elegiac pentameter. But the objection to this is the elision of the *m* in the first word, before *tuam*.[1] Now if we transpose the first and last words in the first line we



Fig. 2.—St. Guthlac's Cross, according to Hübner.

[1] On the contrary, the elision of *m* is sometimes neglected, especially by the older poets. See Ramsay's *Manual of Latin Prosody*, pp. 64, 113. Lond., 1859. The Dean of Ely has kindly pointed out, in reference to the scansion of the line, the following passages, which I shall proceed to remark upon,

(1.) "Non *ĕnĭm* rumores ponebat ante salutem",

among the fragments of Ennius in J. Wordsworth's *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* (Oxford, 1874), p. 305. But I think we can hardly accept this as a genuine instance of *m* elided before a consonant. Apart from the archaic and unformed style, two emendations have been suggested,—(i), the obvious transposition, "non ponebat enim", etc.; and (ii), "*Nœnum* rumores", etc., by Lachmann, of which Wordsworth himself says it is "certainly very attractive, but seems to me too abrupt." *Nœnum* is an old form of *non*. *Enim* is only found in one other place in Ennius, and there elided before a vowel. It is constantly a pyrrhic in the drama, and may possibly owe this quantity to its enclitic nature, and to its signification. The final *m* is often lost in early Latin; but then it is never expressed as in the case of *lucem* in the present inscription.

(2.) "Hanc *dŏmĭm* regalis simili fulgore
Coruscans aula circumdat",

from E. Platner's *Beschreib. d. Stadt Rom* (Stuttgart, 1832, 8vo, Zweiter Band), p. 88, n. This inscription is of post-classic date, but is quoted from a chronicle into the text of which some corruption may have crept. It is certainly of considerable importance with regard to the inscription of the Ely stone.

(3.) The lines—
"Set tua sacra tenet anima celeste sacerdos",
And "In regionem piam vexit animamque locabit",

in an inscription given by Hübner, *Inscr. Hispan. Christ.* (Berolini, 1871), No. 142, dated "era 667", or A.D. 630. Here Wordsworth proposes "*tuam sacram*

shall have (omitting for the present the first word) the sentence,

—— tuam lucem da Deus et requiem,

an imperfect elegiac pentameter line, correct as to the metrical quantities of its feet, as far as it goes, and, curiously enough, rhyming in the very way followed by all mediæval verses when they rhyme at all.

As an instance of this rhyming of verses, employed to illustrate and adorn special subjects, we have already before us the rhyming verse,

"Aio hanc petr*am* Guthlacus habet sibi met*am*";

and we may select out of a multitude of instances,—

"Hoc Aldelmus *ago* quod presens signat im*ago*",

on the ancient seal of the Abbey of Malmesbury;

"Porta salutis, ave! per te patet exitus a ve:
Venit ab Eva ve; ve quia tollis, ave!"

on the seals of Middleton Abbey, co. Dorset, and Arbroath Abbey in Scotland.

Monks of early and mediæval times were very fond of, and apt at, composing these verses, and they frequently displayed marvellous ingenuity in them.[1]

The first word, however, remains to be accounted for; and although I do not presume to state what the word was, I have no doubt it was of such a nature as to form, with the syllable *tū* of *tūām*, a dactylic foot. Clearly the word *Ovino* does not satisfy this necessity. But, as I suggested at the Congress, the word *Trine*, a vocative agreeing with *Deus*, may have been the word. This word, in connection with *Deus*, is sometimes found on ancient ecclesiastical seals; as, for example, on the counterseal or reverse of that beautiful work of art,[2] the seal of Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 1244 to 1270, we find a

animam" in the first, and Bivar proposes "*in regionem jam*" in the second line. As *m* is not written in the words of the first line, this phrase hardly forms a case in point. It may be compared with the curious accusative, "*ad exarcha*", on an inscribed leaden tablet, dated A.D. 724, in the British Museum, which I published in the *Archæologia*, xliv, p. 124. The word *regionem* is an interesting example of the elision, unless we accept the proposed alteration of the Spanish archæologist.

[1] See *English Cyclopædia, Arts and Sciences.* Supplement. Article on Seals, cols. 1881, 1883.

[2] Figured and described in the *English Cyclop.*, l. c.

spirited representation of the death of Thomas Becket, with the rhyming hexameter inscription around,

"Trine Deus! pro me moveat te passio Thome."

This word *Trine* contains as many letters as *Ovino*, and the third and fourth are identical; and the fifth, if a round *e*, like the others on the stone, may have been easily made into o. If, then, the inscription, when first found by Stukeley, had the word TRINE indistinctly shewn, it was not difficult to read the final Saxon rounded *e* into o. And having thus ...INO, I suspect that the apparent dative form of the word suggested OVINO to him, as he was well aware of the history of Ovin; and to others who eagerly, and without verification, followed his assertion.

As far as I have gone, then, I read

"Trine! tuam lu*cem* da, Deus, et requ*iem*."

The exchange of the first and last words in the first line I attribute to error or carelessness on the part of the stonecutter, who, perhaps, was only verbally supplied with the words, and confused them in his ideas before he began to work them out on the stone. This is probably not the only inscription which perpetuates a stonecutter's mistake. When the words had been so cut, it was too late to alter their arrangement so as to read metrically, but their signification remained the same; and I have no doubt every one, except, perhaps, the composer of the rhyming monastic verse alone, was quite satisfied to read on the monumental cross of Ovin, instead of "*Trine tuam lucem da Deus et requiem*", the misplaced words, but still beautiful Christian sentiment,

LVCEM . TVAM . TRINE .
DA . DEVS . ET . REQVIEM .
. AMEN .

NORTH WALES ON A MAP OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(*Read August* 28, 1877.)

In treating of antiquities of the soil, which have reference to our own history, we are apt to overlook, or at least to pass lightly over, the foreign influences which have always prevailed more or less in guiding the course of events here. I propose briefly to refer to some of these, up to the end of the thirteenth century, which furnish us with certain external evidences as to the march of affairs in Wales, not to be obtained from our own chroniclers.

An ancient map of the British isles has been reproduced, by the zincographic process, from an original in the Bodleian Library, to which I will refer.[1] The accuracy of this reproduction by the Ordnance Survey Department presents the student with a map accessible to all, which was drawn in the reign of Edward I. Some of the names are defaced by age, and others have been badly restored by an inexperienced hand; but in spite of these defects, much remains which is valuable; and the great merit of the map is that it is the first we possess on which the roads and distances are laid down. London and York are distinguished by large gold letters. On it we find Anglesey, or the island of the Angles, no longer known by its ancient name of Mona or Môn, since Edgar had captured and rechristened it in 828. Near to it is Bardsey, or the island of the bards, of reputed sanctity, with the legend written over it, "*ubi nunc Britonum vaticinatores*"; shewing that the bards were not all dead, whom Edward I is accused of exterminating. Some think that he even gave them a fresh life.

On the eastern side of the map, in the Northern Ocean,

[1] The map was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by Thomas Martin, in 1768, and at the sale of his MSS. in 1774 it was purchased by Gough. Mr. Sanders places the date of the map at about A.D. 1300. The forests, as Inglewood, Dean, New Forest, and Sherwood, are denoted by an oak-tree. Hadrian's Wall, from Bowness to Wall's End, is depicted; but the more northern, or Agricola's Wall, in Scotland, is unnoticed.

between the Orkney Islands and the coast of Norway, is drawn a ship on a reef of rocks. Clinging to one of the two floating bales of goods is a female figure, while near at hand is depicted a man in a boat, apparently rowing to the rescue. I am indebted to Mr. William Basevi Sanders, of the Record Office, for the conjecture that this scene represents the end of the unfortunate maid of Norway, grand-niece of Edward I, heiress to the kingdom of Scotland, and whose premature death, while productive of the most important consequences in the subsequent wars waged by the candidates for the throne of Scotland, brought about the implication of Edward I in Scottish affairs. The King destined his grand-niece for marriage with the Prince of Wales,—an event which, if it had come off, might have changed the course of history, though this was not the Prince of Wales who succeeded to the throne. The documents in Rymer,[1] connected with this affair, are interesting. The Bishop of Durham had full authority to treat, as appears by the letter from Woodstock, dated 10th April 1290. The King writes to Eric of Norway, from Ambresbury, on 15th kal. May, to say he had obtained the Pope's consent. The authorities of Scotland agree to deliver up the fortresses of the kingdom to the Prince of Wales ; and the young Princess was to arrive in England before the Feast of All Saints, under a penalty of three thousand marcs. Then there is a safe-conduct granted to the Bishop of Durham, and to the men and women in the suite of the Princess. Given at Northampton, "le lundy procheyn apres la Feste Saint Bartholomeu, 1290"; and we hear no more of the affair but the slight notices of the Maid of Norway's decease.

We may now leave the map, which should be compared with one in the British Museum of an earlier date, attributed to Matthew Paris, and visit the country itself. By journeying through Anglesey, or climbing the heights of Snowdon, we may estimate the truth of the old saying, that Anglesey is fertile enough to grow corn for the whole of Wales, while all the sheep of the Principality might be fed for a long period on the herbage of the district of Snowdon. Gwynedd (Latinised into Venedotia), or North Wales, extended south as far as the Dee river and the Berwyn Mountains, which divided it from Powysland, and was

[1] Vol. ii, p. 471 to 491.

brought with more difficulty under English influence than the kingdom of Powys, which did homage to England as early as Henry I.

Edward I found it no easy matter to hold the independent Prince of Gwynedd, Llewelyn ap Gruffydh, to the engagements he had entered into with the late King Henry III; in fact, neither the threats of the King, nor the excommunication of the Bishop of Hereford, prevented this Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon from openly defying both King and Bishop.[1] When Edward I succeeded his father, he had the task before him of reducing Wales under his government, and at the same time of enlisting in his favour the good will of the people, who by a silent revolution were becoming a power in the state. The preaching friars of St. Dominick and the Friars Minorite of St. Francis, established at the beginning of this century, and whose first appearance in England is assigned to the year 1221, soon became as numerous as all the other orders put together; and their poverty, their zeal, and unselfishness, won them such influence with the people that they might almost be looked upon as their educators, and the founders of the third estate. The higher clergy did not seem altogether to have approved of these institutions, though under the patronage of the head of the Church. In 1256 Pope Alexander disgraced his own chaplain, and disqualified him for ever from holding any ecclesiastical benefice, because he had encouraged a persecution of the mendicant orders, and particularly of the preachers; and a book which the said William de Sancto Amore had written was ordered to be burnt.[2]

Simon de Mountford summoned the deputies of the towns to his Parliament, and the knights of the shires sat in debate with them. When it came to fighting against the King, the barons, who at first had sided with the Earl, all fell away from him. His movements and ultimate fate at Evesham we have recently had prominently placed before us on the spot. Llewelyn, the Prince of Wales, had married Simon de Mountford's daughter; and how far the liberalising spirit of Rome may have influenced him, it is difficult to determine; but the poems of the period sing his praises as they did those of King Arthur and other champions of

[1] See *Journal*, xvii, p. 151-4.

[2] Walsingham.

the Church,—paragons of what a Christian soldier ought to be, without much regard to dates.

The analogy between England and Spain, in the thirteenth century, is remarkable in many respects, and the journey of Edward I to Castile may not have been without its influence on the two countries. He journeyed to Burgos in Castile, to wed Eleanor, daughter of the saintly King Frederick III, the scourge of the infidels and the conqueror of Murcia and Seville, wrested by him from heathen rule. They were married in the Monastery of Las Huelgas, where they received the nuptial benediction after Alphonso had armed his future brother-in-law a knight, according to the custom of young princes before their marriage.[1] Mariana, the historian of Spain, takes so little account of this event, that he does not even mention it in his history, though the important deed of Alphonso, bearing date 1 Nov. 1254, existed among the documents of the Exchequer at Westminster, in which he makes over to his dear relative, Prince Edward, "*quem cingulo cinximus militari*", all rights and claims of himself and family to the kingdom of Gascony. This deed is signed, after the royal family, by three of the Moorish vassals of King Alphonso, Mahomet Abenmahomet, Abenhut, King of Murcia, and two others. Then follow the signatures of the Bishops, officers of state, and grandees of the kingdom.[2]

Alphonso, surnamed the Wise, become by this marriage brother-in-law of our Edward I, had succeeded his father Frederick on the throne of Leon and Castile in 1252. His astronomical tables have gained for him, perhaps, more renown than the codification of the laws of Spain, known as the *Siête Partidas*. Mariana[3] severely censures the code as imposing the principles of the false decretals on the Spaniards. Our Edward may have profited by the hints suggested by the promulgation of the *Siête Partidas*. He certainly had the wisdom, while checking the nobles by the statute of *Quo Warranto*, to restrain, at the same time, the growing accumulation of wealth in the Church by the Statute of Mortmain. The rising power of the lawyers in this

[1] Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv, pp. 224-5. Paris, 1751.

[2] Another document, of very similar import, has been lately exhibited in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. It is hoped that a transcript may be given in the *Journal* on a future occasion.

[3] *Ensaio sobre el Codigo*, etc., tom. ii, c. 52. Madrid, 1834.

reign naturally excited the jealousy of the clergy, who seemed to foresee what afterwards came to pass, that much of their power was slipping from them into the hands of another class. The year 1289 is described by Walsingham as "*Judæis ac justiciariis exitialis*". The Jews were banished, and the judges were nearly all deposed.[1] The banishment of the Jews from Spain seems to have been carried out about the same time.

The Supreme Council, for hearing final appeals from the inferior courts, was at this period established in Spain, and recalls our similar institution of appeals to the Privy Council; and the abolition of the office of justiciary, an official who once had the power almost of a king in this country, marks the progress by which government was moulded into the form it afterwards acquired.

Alphonso of Spain and Edward's cousin Richard were both competitors for the highest honour of the empire of the west; but the gold of the Earl of Cornwall prevailed over the wisdom of the royal astronomer; yet the empty title of King of the Romans was all that accrued to Earl Richard for his vast expenditure of money and anxiety of mind, as he never attained the dignity of Emperor.

The King's protracted residence in North Wales, during which he brought the country under the same government as England, and endowed it with the same laws, may be traced in the castles which he built, and the numerous records we have of events enacted in them and in their vicinity. Rhuddland Castle was built about 1275, and was the scene of a bitter conflict with the Welsh; but in 1282 we have an account of the arrival here of the King and Queen on a more peaceful occasion, when their eighth daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, was born, who became in due time Countess of Holland, and was afterwards married to the Earl of Hereford. We have an account of merry-making at the Castle on this and other occasions,[2] by which it will be seen that the expenses of the minstrels for one day amounted to what would have been considered a good yearly income for a gentleman at that time.[3]

Llewelyn ap Griffith had refused to attend Parliament

[1] *Year-Books of Edward I*, Rolls' Series, vol. iii.
[2] See vol. xviii., *Journal*, p. 318.
[3] See *Archæol.*, v, p. 16; Cal. Pat. Rot., p. 59.

when summoned in 1274, and the next year Edward invaded Wales, causing the Welsh Prince, in 1276, to sue for peace, which was granted him; and he was married to Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Mountford, and cousin of King Edward, at Worcester Cathedral in 1278. But the harmony of the family was soon broken, for David, Llewelyn's brother, in 1281 takes Sir Roger de Clifford, Justiciary of Wales, a prisoner in his Castle of Hawarden; though he paid the penalty for this deed not long after, by being captured and slain at Shrewsbury in 1283. Llewelyn succumbed to superior force, and lost his life, near Llandweyr, in Buelt, December 11, 1281.[1] His head, crowned with ivy, is said to have been exposed on the walls of the Tower of London.[2]

Edward and his castles, Chirk, Flint, Mold, Conway, and Harlech, were too much for the native inhabitants to contend against. Caernarvon, one of the strongest, was the birthplace of a son born on April 25, 1284, who was created Prince of Wales, of a new Welsh dynasty; and a happy augury for King Edward and Queen Eleanor was this event.[3] The King's finding the body or a body of Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, near Caernarvon, and causing the same to be reburied with all honours, was a tribute to Welsh archæological predilections, diplomatic certainly, if true, as recorded by Matthew of Westminster; but for the truth of this fact, the learned Camden, in recording it, says he will not vouch.

Richard, King of the Romans, died in 1272. His heart was buried in the church of the Friars Minorite at Oxford; but his body in the Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, which he had built. Edward lost his beloved wife Eleanor at Herdeby in Lincolnshire, in 1291; the partaker of his joys and sorrows, and who had shared with him the dangers of his crusade in the Holy Land, where one of the children, Joan, was born, at Acre. Altogether they had five sons and twelve daughters born during the thirty-six years of their wedded life, which became a proverb and an example of happy wedlock. All parties agree in praising the noble qualities of the lady as well as the wisdom, prudence, and courage of King. The author of the *Opus Chronicorum*

[1] *Chron. Abingdon.* [2] Rapin.
[3] Matth. Westm., Wike, *Annal. Waverl.*

S. Albani[1] says of her, that she was the pillar of Britain,—in sex a woman, but in spirit and valour a man; and he compares her to Aurora dispelling by her light the darkness and clouds of infidelity, passion, and discord. Queen Eleanor's crosses, erected wherever her body rested on its way to its last home in Westminster Abbey, will be remembered as long as English history shall be read, though three only of those crosses now remain, those of Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham. Edward survived Eleanor sixteen years, and took not a second wife till he had mourned his first nine years. The King's active life was brought to a close at Burgh-on-the-Sands, on Friday, July the 7th, 1307, where he was attacked with dysentery on his way to a fresh campaign in Scotland. The Parliament assembled at Northampton fifteen days after Michaelmas, and voted that he should be buried with the dignity suited to his rank,—an act which was carried out on October 27. The royal corpse reposed the first night in London, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, belonging to the Lady Minoresses of St. Clare,—a house which had been endowed by Blanche of Lancaster, wife of Edmund, the King's brother. On the second day it was carried to St. Paul's, and on the third to the Church of the Friars Minorite, from whence it was brought in an open chariot to the Church of St. Peter at Westminster. Anthony Bec, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Durham, read the last Mass and the funeral service; the Bishop of Winchester, the Gospel; and the Bishop of Lincoln, the Epistle.[2] The body was placed near to those of Queen Eleanor and Henry III, in Edward the Confessor's Chapel; and on the tombs of the wife and father were placed effigies of each in copper-gilt, wrought by that famous artist in metal, William Torel, goldsmith and citizen of London.[3]

Many were the masses said for the repose of the souls of these favourite sovereigns, and many were the wax-lights burnt at their shrines, as appears by the items charged for wax in the accounts up to a late period. In the year 1774 the corpse of King Edward was uncovered, and I am almost tempted to reproduce the description given of it by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart., in the *Archæologia*, who was present

[1] Rolls Series, edited by H. T. Riley.
[2] *Archæologia*, S. A., iii, p. 376.
[3] *Westminster Abbey*, by Sir G. G. Scott. London and Oxford, 1863.

at the ceremony, and found the stature of the King to be 6 ft. 2 ins. in height; and described in minute detail the clothing and its materials, with the two sceptres, one in each hand. I am induced to refer to this because the corpse of Edward's grandfather, King John, was also exhumed, and a particular account of it and of the costume, from the tomb in front of the high altar in Worcester Cathedral, was given by Mr. F. W. Fairholt at our Congress meeting in Worcester, and will be found in our *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 291-297.

If the last native Prince of Wales yielded up his country with his life in 1281, we must not forget that two other Llewelyns had preceded him,—Llewelyn ap Sitsylth, slain by the sons of Edwin in 1021, and Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, buried in Conway Abbey in 1240, after a reign of fifty-six years. It is to be remembered that a hundred years before Llewelyn ap Griffith's death, or in 1188, the tour made through the country by Giraldus, in company with Baldwin, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had brought it much under English influence, and the Earls of Chester and the English sovereigns since Henry I and Stephen had made their sovereignty more or less respected. Owen Gwynedd did homage to Henry II in 1169, and Emma, Henry's sister, married David Prince of Wales in 1175. It is not my purpose to write the history of North Wales; but I may refer, in passing, to the battle which was fought at Corwen, between Owen Gwynedd and the forces of Henry II in 1165. This was not far from Chirk Castle.

It would be interesting to accompany Giraldus throughout his route from Hereford, by Abergavenny and Caerleon, along the south coast to St. David's (the cathedral city of which he was Bishop), up the western coast by Barmouth, Harlech, Caernarvon, and Bangor, along its northern shores to Conway and Chester, and then southwards by Oswestry, Wroxeter, and Ludlow, to Hereford, from whence he had set out; but we must take leave of him on his first entering the bounds of North Wales, when, after passing through Caernarvon (the fortress over against Mona), we find him sitting on the trunk of an old oak tree with the Archbishop, on the road to Bangor. Want of space compels me to make no further use of the journey of Giraldus than to compare his route, as laid down on the map of David Powell's edition

(London, 1804) than to compare it with the Roman roads of which the Rev. Prebendary H. M. Scarth has given us a description and a map in vol. xxiv, p. 109, of our *Journal*. It will be seen how the Roman roads keep at a respectful distance from the sea-shore, for security against the sea-rovers; whilst at the later period, when Giraldus travelled, the roads ran along the line of coast. We see this particularly at Ruthlan, some distance from Varis (now Bodvari), and at Aber-Conway, the modern town near the sea; while Conovium (Caer Hên), the site of the Roman town on the Roman road, is at three miles distance inland, and on the west, Harlech; and the coast line of road by Barmouth and Towyn is far separated from the Roman way, which runs from Castell Tomen-y-Mur by Penallt and Luentium. The first of these three places must have been a very important station in Roman times, from the extensive foundations of buildings, an amphitheatre, and from its position where four roads meet. Mr. J. W. Grover has described the site in our *Journal*;[1] and the last named station (Luentium) must have been also a considerable place, as it is the only town named by Ptolemy in the territory of the Demetæ, except Maridunum, which is generally considered to be Caermarthen.

From the very complete system of roads described at so early a period as when the *Itinerary* of Antoninus was written, we may consider the country as quite brought under Roman rule. The rich corn district of Anglesey and the mineral wealth of North Wales were of such importance to the Romans that we need not be surprised at their massacre of the Druid priests, who were influential enough to be able to stir up both the religious and patriotic feelings of the natives against Roman rule. The lively imaginations of the Welsh were equally stirred in after times by the priests of Christian Rome. The notice of bards and seers in the classic authors was enough to mould the songs of the *trouveurs* in the thirteenth century. The question of the genuineness of the bardic poems, claimed to have been written as early as the sixth century, I will not discuss, as this difficult question, in the absence of external evidence, must mainly depend upon those internal evidences which only a thorough knowledge of the language, and the phases through

[1] Vol. xxvii, p. 277.

which it has passed, can supply; and this I must leave to others present among us who are competent to deal with the question.

Let us see if, from the chronicles of the Danes and Norwegians, or Locklynians as they are called by the Welsh bards, we may get some particulars of the formidable invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, with an inkling of the causes which led to them, not to be obtained from our own historians. Though usually represented as the desultory attacks of pirates or sea-kings, these invasions will appear, on closer inspection, to be really organised attempts of the kings of Norway and Denmark to subject the kingdom of England to their rule. Anglesey was a favourite stepping-stone by which the descents upon Wales were made. Towards the end of the eighth century invasions of these Danes and Northmen are first mentioned; to become, fifty years later, more frequent and better organised. Halfden the Swarthy, king of part of Norway, 847-863, was married to Rahuhilda, in 852, daughter of Thyrrina, whose sister Thyra was married to Aged Gottorm, or Gorm, King of Denmark. The dreams of Rahuhilda and her husband were such as were calculated in those times to bring about their own fulfilment, or at all events to lead to that struggle for the supremacy of orthodox Christianity which the obduracy of the Norwegian earls rendered a matter of great difficulty. The dreams of the sister Thyra, surnamed the Bulwark of Denmark, would not be less happily accommodated to coming events. Harold of the beautiful hair succeeded Halfden on the throne of Norway, and in a long life of eighty-three years did all he could to carry out the dreams of his mother Rahuhilda, and to fulfil the condition upon which Gooda had consented to become his wife; that is, that he would make himself master of all Norway, as Gorm already was of all Denmark, and Eric of all Sweden. Harold not only found occasion to bring the Earls of Norway to submit to his control, but to prosecute his plans of foreign conquest. We find him three times conducting expeditions in person to the coasts of Scotland and the isles. The distant Faroe Islands and Iceland had been lately discovered; and there appears to have been much emigration from Norway to the Shetland Islands in order to escape the rule of Harold and his new system; and this by men of influence,

who retained their heathen religion, and many of whom found it convenient to spend their winters in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and their summers in predatory excursions on the coast of Norway.[1] He went further west, to Menevia, and found that the inhabitants, who had heard of his exploits, had transported themselves and their property to Scotland, so that the island was a desert.

The King, before leaving these western conquests, placed them under the government of an earl,—first of Reginald, and then of Sigurd, who, in conjunction with Thorstein the Red, subdued Caithness and Sutherland.

Einar, the brother of Sigurd, though blind of one eye, was very far-sighted with the other; and on the death of his brother Sigurd was made Earl of the Orkneys by the King, and obtained the appellation of "Turf-Einar" because he first availed himself of the turf found in the islands for fuel, and taught the people to use it.

King Harold, in the partition of provinces to be made after his death amongst his sons, left the Orkneys to Halfden the Holy, and gave to Thorgils and Frotho ships of war, with which to proceed towards the west; and they made good use of these, and laid waste Scotia, Bretlandia (Wales), and Hibernia, making good their footing in the latter country.

Eric, the King's eldest son, surnamed "Bloody Axe", shone conspicuous amongst his numerous brothers, one of his first exploits being to kill his brother Reginald, with eighty of his companions, who were magicians, by burning them alive in their house,—a deed, says his chronicler, which met with universal approval. This Eric seems to have been a Christian when on good terms with his father Harold, and it answered his purpose to be so; at other times he was an unbeliever. Another of his brothers had gone largely into business, and was known as Biorn the merchant, who, returning with a rich cargo from the East, excited the envy or zeal of his brother Eric, and the bloody axe fell upon the devoted head of the merchant,—an act which sent Eric back enriched to his northern possessions in 920. The traffic carried on by Biorn with the Jomensian pirates, whose headquarters were at Tunsburg in Pomerania (a hotbed of infidelity), was probably one of the causes which led

[1] Harald's *Saga*, cap. xxii.

to the catastrophe. The band of the merchants of Tunsburg was the last of heathen communities to submit to the paternal authority of the bishops.[1]

It was in this half century that Rollo left his native land of Norway (895) to become afterwards the founder of a dynasty in Normandy and England. Harold's third expedition to the west was said to be in 932; but the chronology is very confused and contradictory.

It is interesting to find the Welsh taking their place in the councils of our nation in these stirring times. At the "gemot" assembled at Nottingham in 930, three Welsh princes were present, and four at the "gemot" at Amesbury in 932.[2] Harold of Norway was as clever at promulgating laws as were his contemporaries, Alfred of England and Howell Dha of Wales, whose code is said to have been commenced in 926, and completed about 930;[3] and we find the same spirit of law-making break out four hundred years later, when the finding of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalphi may have influenced the legislation of Edward I of England as well as Alphonso of Spain, and that Harold who governed Norway in the thirteenth century; and up to this time the connection between England and Norway continued to be intimate. There is an agreement entered into by the Earls of Norway for delivering up Guy de Mountford, who had fled thither for refuge in A.D. 1280;[4] and Magnus, on his death-bed, commends his sons to the protection of King Edward, and sends him a present, by special messengers, of two noble gir-falcons, and six grey, for "the King's pleasure and recreation". Given in the city of Bergen, in the seventeenth year of his reign.[5]

To go back to Harold of the beautiful hair. His son, Hako the Good, after some difficulty succeeded in obtaining the crown of Norway, and in a reign of twenty-six years (937-963) took advantage of the education he had received in England, under Athelstan, to Christianise and bring under the wise laws which his father had made, a turbulent population much given to their old heathen practices. So much so, that he found it expedient to leave instructions at

[1] *Scrip. Hist. Island.*, Sveisbjorn Egillsonn. Hafniæ, 1837.
[2] Kemble's *Saxons in England*, edited by Walter de Gray Birch ; London, 1876. Cod. Dipl., No. 352, 1107-8.
[3] William Wotton's edition, with good notes and commentary. Lond., 1730.
[4] Rymer, *Fœd.*, vol. ii, p. 143. [5] Ibid., vol. ii, p. 1074.

his death that his body should be buried according to heathen rites.[1] In his lifetime he found most useful a sword which, if the pommel was of gold, the blade was of such well-tempered steel that with it he could sever a millstone in two pieces at a blow; so that the sword obtained the name of the "Quern-Biter"; and such a weapon was needed against Eric, "Bloody Axe", and his valiant sons. This surely must have been the sword sent to Hako as a present, which excited such scruples on both sides,—on the one as to presenting, and on the other as to receiving it, in case homage should be implied thereby either to or from England, and to or from Norway. But could it also have been the same weapon presented by the Pope to Athelstan as the sword of Constantine the Great?

After Athelstan's death Eric, King of Northumberland, gave Hako much trouble, having associated himself with the sons of Turf-Einar in the Orkneys, for the purpose of making incursions upon the Hebrides, Ireland, and the coast of Wales.[2] Anlaf, however, or Olave, who had been placed upon the throne of Northumberland by King Edmund, gave Eric and his allies battle, and succeeded in killing him, when five kings fell on that occasion. Thorfind (the skull-cleaver), another son of Turf-Einar, had greatly helped Eric, with the assistance of Gunhilda, called the "Mother of Kings", who kept up the hostility, and stimulated the revenge of the survivors. However, in the end Hako of Norway had it all his own way, and Christianity obtained the ascendancy.

Before this time, or in the earlier part of the ninth century, North Wales seems to have been frequently subject to the kings of Mercia or of West Saxony. Thus the *Saxon Chronicle* is full of victories over the Welsh. In 828 King Egbert led an army against the people of North Wales, and compelled them all to peaceful submission. In 853 Burhed, King of Mercia, with the assistance of King Ethelwold, marched into North Wales, and made all the inhabitants subject to him.

The Welsh histories, such as the *Annales Cambriæ*, Caradoc of Llancarvan, and *Myvyrian Archæology*, and every other, as far as I know, treat the reign of Roderic Mawr, or Roderick the Great, who ruled over the whole of Wales, as

[1] *Hakonar Saga.* [2] Ibid., cap. vi.

an epoch in the history of Wales, before which the accounts recorded are of contradictory character, and after which the country was divided among Roderick's three sons, with their capitals at Aberffraw in Anglesey, Mathraval or Meivod, and Maridunum or Caermarthen, but formerly at Caerleon.

The exploits of Roderic Mawr can only be compared with those of Rayner Lodbrog, the great hero of the northern chroniclers. They both met their death about the same time (867-877), and the sons of both attempted to revenge their fathers' death. It is a remarkable fact that Raynar Lodbrog is not once mentioned by name by our chroniclers, though he had more influence in his day than any other man in our seas, and his posterity inherited and kept possession of many of the countries which he had conquered. If we take the pedigree of Rayner Lodbrog, showing the descendants in his family, we shall find that for the space of one hundred and fifty years they had the control of the north of England, a part of Scotland and Ireland, with the islands to which reference has been made, from the middle of the ninth to the end of the tenth century; and for another fifty years, under the Danish line, to the middle of the eleventh century.

The Danish kings, through Gorm the Aged, were lineally descended, in the male line, from Rayner Lodbrog; and Harold of the beautiful hair, of Norway, was a son of Rahnhilda, who was also in lineal descent from this great hero, and father of kings.

Norwegian and Welsh affairs must have been much intermingled at the time when Rayner was occupying the Isle of Anglesey, and perhaps met with his death there. But be this as it may, the spirit of liberty among the Welsh, and the spirit of religion, the love of family, and of genealogy, and adherence to ancient customs, which are attributed to them by Giraldus, can be traced all through their history even to the present day. But how shall we penetrate the darkness which reigns before Roderick was king, or collect history from the poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, and Llywarch Hen, or trace the fierce warfare of pen, if not of sword, between such zealous partisans as Pelagius and Celestius, St. Kebi, St. Columba, and St. Asaph? The country was well suited to the lives of the self-denying hermits who practised the asceticism of the East at the dawn of Christianity, and whose

retreats are still to be explored. About a mile to the north-west, from the point of Beaumaris Bay, is the island of Priestholm, or Priests' Island, of which the first inhabitants were hermits, then black monks.[1] Another instance is the grotto which was visited and described by our late Treasurer in *Journal*, vol. xxiv, p. 135; and such secluded islands as Helbre, at the mouth of the Dee, where he found the remains of a small abbey dedicated to St. Hildeburg, a cell to the Benedictine monks of St. Werburg at Chester; and the strong religious feeling of those days can hardly be realised to our minds unless we well consider the blood-shedding and violence of those turbulent times, from which religion was a solace and a refuge.

The earliest religious house of which we have record was that planted at Holyhead by St. Kebius, or Kebi, in about 380. He was the son of Solomon, Duke of Cornwall,[2] and a pupil of Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, with whom he lived fifty years. He was consecrated a bishop for his zeal against Arianism.[3] In the fifth century we do not find any foundations in North Wales; but in the sixth we have record of the episcopal sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, anciently called Llan Elwy; of Bachannis Abbey, or St. Piro's, in Carmarthenshire; of Bardsey on the Isle of Saints; and in the seventh century, of a monastery in Clwyd Valley.[4] In South Wales the foundations were numerous, and we may trace a connection, through their history, with Cornwall, where events seemed to take a similar course as in Wales.

The struggle in Wales between Eastern and Western Christianity was probably fomented by the Danish or Norwegian invasions. Admirably has a foreigner described this struggle: "Cette lutte occupe une place importante dans l'histoire politique et réligieuse des deux îles. Mais comme par ses antécédants elle touchait aux origines des peuples qui l'ont soutenue, et que, par son mobile, elle semblait servir elle-même d'antécédant aux entreprises novatrices des trois derniers siècles, il s'est trouvé qui l'amour propre érudit, en débatant les questions d'origines nationales et l'amour propre théologique, en poursuivant la réforme réligieuse, ont redoublé les ténèbres qui déjà se trouvaient répandues et sur les faits antérieurs mais connexes à cette lutte, et sur

[1] Giraldus Camb. [2] Usher. [3] Fuller's *Church History*.
[4] Birch's *Fasti Mon. Evi Sax.* 1872.

le caractère, soit de ces faits, soit de cette lutte elle-même."[1] The Welsh clung firmly, in ancient times, to their Eastern ritual, their mode of determining Easter, their particular tonsure; but not less firmly did they afterwards adhere to their veneration for mother Church in the West, as is testified by the beautiful remains of Cistercian abbeys and churches which we are about to visit. In a list of the monasteries in North Wales, compiled in the thirteenth century, I find the following are recorded :[2]

"*Sancti Asaf.*

"Abbatia de la Pole Sanctæ Mariæ . Monachi Albi.
„ de Valle Crucis S'ctæ Mariæ . „ „
„ de Com. Sanctæ Mariæ . . „ „
„ de Hudham . . . . Moniales Albæ.

"*Bangor.*

"Abbatia Aberconwach . . . . Monachi Albi.
„ de Kemer . . . . „ „
„ de Basingwerk[3] . . . „ „
„ de Insula Heuli . . . „ „
Prioratus de Ennisenoc . . . Monachi Nigri."

We shall, no doubt, have a particular account of some of them during our Congress in North Wales.

My design has been to bring before you certain events at the close of the thirteenth century, in the reign of Edward I, when Wales entered upon a new phase of her existence, and up to which time there were many points of resemblance between our history and that of Spain, and from thenceforth Wales, in connection with England, has continued to acquire the many excellent institutions and immunities which have been gradually interwoven in our constitution. In earlier times our northern and eastern provinces, at least, have been largely indebted for the influx of a manly and vigorous population from the shores of the Baltic; and I have endeavoured to shew that their influence upon Wales must also have been considerable in the ninth and tenth centuries, and tended to strengthen those principles of independence and self-reliance of which Roderick Mawr and the three Llewelyns of Gwynedd are historical examples of no ordinary kind.

[1] *Académie des Inscrips. et Belles Lettres.* Série I, tom. 5. 1857.
[2] From a MS., Cotton., Cleopatra, A. xii, t. 46, *Journal*, xxviii, p. 62.
[3] Dependent upon Savigny, in the diocese of Avranches. (J. A. de Gerville, *Journal*, vii, p. 167.)

A CORNISH DRAMA.

BY THE REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read at St. Just during the Congress in Cornwall, August 1876.)

I AM inclined to think that there are few parishes in England in which there is a greater variety of historical curiosities and reminiscences of a peculiar kind than in this parish of St. Just. You have seen, or will see, how we have a complete museum, so to speak, of curiosities of every type; and the historical associations about them are curious enough. This was seen a generation ago, when the parish of St. Just was one of the first country parishes in Cornwall that received the dignity of having a book written about it. I refer to Mr. Buller's now scarce *History of St. Just.* From it and other sources we may gain abundant materials; and it is only from the fact of their abundance that I have ventured to accept the invitation to say a few words on the Christian antiquities of the town of St. Just. Among the other points of interest I shall merely mention—1, the curious group of Celtic antiquities around Carn Kenidjak; 2, the so-called Phœnician mines near Botallack; 3, Chapel Carn Brea with its many memories; 4, Cape Cornwall, the Antivæstium (?) of the classics; 5, Pendeen Vau and House; and a number of other curiosities.

As to the name of the parish, I am inclined to think there is a mystery, although I know perfectly well that it is commonly believed that the matter is settled. St. Justus, St. Augustine's companion, the Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 617, is commonly supposed to be the patron. In which case the patron would be a Saxon saint, and the parish founded after the Saxon conquest, by Athelstan. On the other hand, local legend talks of a Cornish St. Just who lived and laboured here; and St. Just is a name not unknown in France. The name Justus need not be regarded as so rare that only one St. Just is possible. We read of a Justus in the Acts of the Apostles. The epithet might well have been applied

to any faithful Christian bishop. May I be considered presuming in doubting, in spite of both feasts of this parish and of St. Just of Canterbury occurring in November, that a Celtic St. Just, whose history is quite lost in a shroud of Celtic legends of possibly heathen origin, was the real patron of this parish and of St. Just in Roseland, near Falmouth? The old name is conjectured by Buller to have been Lafrouda; but I cannot accept his mixed Celtic and Saxon derivation. In the Taxation of 1292 the church is mentioned as "Eccles. Sti. Justi, 8£." The high altar was dedicated by Bishop Grandison in his celebrated visit of July 1336, when within a week he consecrated four parish churches, Madron, St. Just, Paul, and Ludgvan. The present is probably a newer church.

The names of *fourteen* of the mediæval vicars have been preserved, beginning with Richard de Bello Prato, 1333. Among the other vicars, in the fourteenth century, are—Botreaux, Ric. of St. Austle, Jn. Carbons, 1365; 5, Jn. Clerk; 7, Thomas de Lamanva, 1393. In the fourteenth century are Nic. Harry, Jn. Cunegy, Ric. Bahon, Jn. Raffe, Jn. Luhy, Tregoos.

The other Christian antiquity is of more importance than the church. There are many thousand churches in England, but not many amphitheatres; and St. Just can boast of one more illustrious than any of the old *plân-an-guares*, except Perran Round. In Redruth and Marazion there were *plân-an-guares*, but quite destroyed.

There is not much known of the way in which the plays were performed. The stage was probably in the open air, and the place of performance in the amphitheatre form, so that there could hardly have been much scenery. Yet there must have been some, for we find numerous stage directions respecting tents, mounts, houses, etc., and even churches. At the beginning of the play of the Creation there is a direction that Hell should gape when it is spoken of; by which it would seem that the infernal regions were represented by the mouth of a monster,—a common conventional sign in early pictures. There are also directions respecting clouds, etc., which would indicate a far more advanced state of theatrical art than was prevalent in later times, when labels were stuck up to tell the spectators the nature of what they were to make believe. The *plân-an-guare*, or plain of the

play, several specimens of which still exist, was an oval hollow (in one case about 120 feet long) with several tiers of turf benches. It may be from the position of most of these that, as at Ammergau, the background of hills and rocks, with the addition, in our case, of the sea, was made to serve in giving grandeur and effect to the grand stories represented; and that having these before their eyes, the spectators could make believe for the rest. Be this as it may, the directions for dresses and stage properties, and for the movements of the actors, are very minute. To shew this I will instance the following from the Play of St. Meriasek.

One of the most interesting relics of Cornish mediæval literature, as the only one not on a scriptural but on a local topic, is the long drama of St. Meriasek, recently discovered among the Hengwrt MSS. in Wales. The first thirty-six lines of this very interesting and valuable specimen of Middle Cornish was printed by the Rev. R. Williams of Rhydycroesau, in 1869, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The whole drama was printed, with a translation, by Mr. Stokes in 1872, and therefore is now in the hands of the public. The original MS. was written, it seems, about 1504, by "Dominus Hadton", probably a Cornish vicar of the period. The stage directions may be of a later date. Some late alterations are traceable in the MS.

The plot is very complex: in fact the drama appears to be a combination of three distinct plots,—1, the legendary life of St. Meriasek; 2, the legend of the conversion of Constantine the Great, very different from the records of authentic history; 3, the legend of the mother and her son, from the *Miracula de Beato Mereadoco*. These three plots are strangely commingled, but not without art; just as in Charles Dickens' and Shakespeare's works the intertwining of distinct plots is frequently found to be a means of keeping up interest in the story by leaving the spectator or reader suddenly at a point of deep emotion, and suddenly changing the scene to a totally distinct part of the story. The intertwining of the legend of Constantine with the life of St. Meriasek is singular, and not easy to explain. Constantine the Great and St. Meriasek were certainly not contemporaneous. The one was an emperor of the fourth century, the other a Breton bishop of the seventh. The legend

pointed to a St. Meriasek who died in 1302; but this is believed to be either an inaccuracy, or another person bearing the same name. And still the position of Constantine in the dramas is not without interest. Does it point to past memories of the ancient Britons of that British-born prince, the first of Britain's imperial sons, who lived to be Emperor of the civilised world, and deliverer of the Christian Church? It is hard to say whether we should view the story of Constantine as a monastic or as a British legend. If the latter (if a legend of the old Brito-Celtic Church), it is full of interest. The fact that an Irish legend has been found like it does not militate against the possibly local origin.

The story of St. Meriasek is not without interest, and if well acted must have presented many scenes of dramatic power. In the first scene the Saint is introduced as a boy going to school. His father, Duke Conan of Brittany, seeks a master for him. The school scene which follows must have presented some of the comic element which was so essential to the mediæval play, and which even Shakespeare found needful in some of his grave tragedies. The scholars do not appear to have been very rapid in their progress. At dinner-time the Saint refuses to dine because it is Friday,—a most astonishing instance of zeal in a schoolboy. He goes into the chapel, and offers a prayer not without beauty, but with a tone far more Breton than Cornish.

Years are now supposed to pass. The King of Brittany, Conan, appears on the scene, and proposes to his lords that Meriasek would be a fitting husband for his daughter. Meriasek comes home from school laden with honours. The King visits his parents. There is a grand feast given by the Duke, at which Meriasek acts as master of the ceremonies. The mimes play a melody. At the banquet the King brings forward the question of the match, at which Meriasek's parents are of course delighted. To the astonishment of all Meriasek refuses the proffered honour. A long and characteristic discussion follows; but Meriasek remains firm, declaring his resolve to leave the world, "*bones sacris marrek Du*", to be consecrated a knight of God. King Conan is angry, and goes away in a rage. Meriasek asks his parents' blessings, and goes to the Bishop of Kernou (the Breton, not the Cornish Kernou) to be ordained.

A ship is now represented. The sailors take Meriasek

on board. They are going to Cornwall. A storm arises; but they arrive safely. Meriasek lands on the Cornish coast.

The next scene is at Camborne. Meriasek meets a slave outside a chapel. He asks the name of the chapel. It is St. Mary of Camborne. He here builds an oratory, and does many wonderful things.

Teudar, the heathen chieftain of West Cornwall, next comes on the scene. The news is brought to him of Meriasek's works and preaching "*in penwt nebes a weyst the carnebre*" (in Penwith, somewhat west of Carnbrea). Teudar is very indignant, and takes his soldiers with him to find out the popular missionary. They meet outside the chapel, "enos in plen" (there in the Plain). Not an incorrect description of Camborne. There follows a theological discussion between Meriasek and Teudar, in which the heathen chief decidedly loses his temper. At the end (rather hastily one would say now-a-days) Meriasek proposes Teudar shall turn Christian, and be baptised. At this the heathen becomes furious, and goes off in a rage, threatening Meriasek with martyrdom, and calling on his torturers to execute it on the missionary. This colloquy is very natural and characteristic. Perhaps in this nineteenth century we have still imprudent Meriaseks in Asia and Africa, trying in vain to convert heathen Teudars. Meriasek does not court martyrdom; he hides himself under a rock. The torturers seek him at Camborne in vain, looking in every place but the right one,—the established stage trick.

In the next scene Meriasek finds a ship going to Brittany. He takes a passage, and leaves his flock in Cornwall; seemingly not a very heroic act. He goes to an oratory on a mountain, and there becomes a hermit.

A totally different plot now begins,—the legend of Silvester and Constantine. The story has not much to do with either Meriasek or Cornwall, and still less with historical records. Constantine is represented as a brutal heathen and a persecutor; which there is no reason to suppose that he was. He is smitten with leprosy; the doctor is called in to cure him, and a comical but coarse scene ensues, not very complimentary to the medical profession. The Cornish miners of the middle ages seem to have had strange prejudices against lawyers and doctors. Constantine not being

much better, consulted the Bishop (?) of Pola,[1] who advises a bath of children's blood. The scene which ensues must have been particularly sensational. More and more children are gathered in to be slaughtered for the tyrant's bath. At the sight of the innocent victims, however, Constantine suddenly relents, gives them a feast, and sends them home with presents. He sleeps, and beholds a vision totally distinct from the famous one of the cross,—"*In hoc signo vinces.*" He is converted and baptised by Silvester. It is needless to say that this legend is utterly unhistorical.

The drama changes abruptly, and the next scene is the conversion of some Breton outlaws by Meriasek.

The plot then reverts to Cornwall. The Duke of Cornwall, who resides in Castle an Dinas, in Pydar, near St. Columb Major, but who informs us that his chief seat is Tyndagyel (Tintagel), makes inquiry about St. Meriasek. The report is then brought him that Teudar has driven the missionary out of the country. At this the Duke is extremely angry, and uses rather strong language to express his indignation,—the upper classes, in those days, do not appear to have been very refined in their expressions. In his anger he does not confine himself to words, but gathers his army, represented on the stage or arena by twenty armed men with streamers. He finds him at Godren, in Powdar (now Goodren, in Kea parish, near Truro. A solemn invocation scene of the false gods, by Teudar, takes place before the battle. A mutual defiance in the usual theatrical mode, as common in plays of a much later period, ensues. At length the battle begins. Guns are fired (not a much worse anachronism than Shakespeare's stage direction in *Hamlet*,—"Exeunt, marching, after which a peal of ordnance is shot off"), Teudar is overwhelmed, and cries, in words which remind us of the famed apostrophe of Richard III, and which may really be a memory of Bosworth Field,—

> "Soldiers, bring me a horse!
> No longer, surely, is there sparing
> Ruin. My men are dead,
> And I ill wounded."

In the triumph the Duke proclaims the epilogue of the first part of the drama.

[1] In Cornish dramas the heathen chief priests are often called bis! ops.

PART II.—The second part of *Beunans Meriasek* is much less interesting for the Cornish reader than the first. St. Meriasek appears to have left his Cornish friends for good, and to have settled in his native land of Brittany. The scene thus lies in Armorica and Italy, not in Cornwall. The Bishop of Vannes having died, the Earl of Vannes consults the Dean who would be the best bishop. The Dean suggests Meriasek, who has settled as a Breton anchorite. The nomination being approved of, a deputation of the Dean and canons waits upon Meriasek. "Much thanks to all the lords, and to you, worthy canons. I wish not the dignity, nor ever to have a cure or any charge in this world, surely, while I am alive", is Meriasek's reply. The passage which follows the canons' reply is somewhat remarkable, as resembling in its ideas Wesley's aversion to accepting a benefice when offered Epworth and others. The idea, "The world is my parish", appears to have been a Cornish sentiment of the higher call of an evangelist some centuries before Wesley's first visit to the county. To prevent misrepresentation of the original, I transcribe Mr. Stokes' literal translation of this curious speech :

"The same condition surely are ye, even as many certainly to-day of the folk of holy Church. When they labour for a benefice, anon it will be asked,—how many pounds can be made thereof? They remember not the charge, of the need to them to give a lengthy list before Christ when they come to the judgment. All that have charge of a cure, remember ye this now, He will cause to reckon surely the souls every time. Consider, ye! If there be proved certainly on that day fault in the shepherd, woe is him to come to that same charge! The lengthier the roll shall be, the longer, you all know, it shall be ever a reading."

"Un conduconn sur owhy
Kepar ha lues defry
Hythyv an dus sans eglos
Pan lafuryens rag benefys
Ware y feth govynnys
Py lues puns a yl bos
Anethy grueys
Ny remembrons y an charych
A reys dethe ry har lych
Therag crist pan deer then vrueys.

"Myns angeves charge a cur
Remembregh helma lemen

Eff a ree reken in sur
An enevov neb termen
Grugh attendia
Mar peth prevys dyogel
In gethna fout in bugel
Go eff doys then heth chargna."

The Bishop of Cornwall (the Breton Kernou) then, with another prelate, wait on Meriasek. The reply of the Saint rises to eloquence. There is almost a Shakespearean tone about it. "Talk ye not of dignity, for love of Christ above! Bishop I would never be; nor certainly do I wish a cure of a son of any man in this world, save my own soul. My lords, my lords, go ye home! Hinder not my devotion." Still, for all that, "in eglos sent Sampson" (in the church of St. Sampson) he is consecrated Bishop of Vannes.

The latter part of the drama is more confused, and full of passages unsuited to our modern ideas. The closing scene of Meriasek's life is not without pathos, though that pathos is marred by the effort to exalt St. Mary's at Camborne as a holy place,—a practical but not a poetical utilisation of the scene. The death-scene is, it need hardly be said, most triumphant. The drama concludes with the funeral, which may have been made a very imposing conclusion to the spectacle, especially if the Cornishmen of the middle ages took as great interest in funeral pageants as their descendants.

From the stage directions in the course of the play, it would seem that a very large assortment of scenery and stage properties was brought into use.[1] Thus, as regards dresses, we find the following:—510. "Her Meriasek weryth a prest ys goun." 1152. "Her a weryth a rosset mantell and a berde." 1347. "A vysour a redy apon Constantyn ys face" (to represent leprosy). 3006. "Her Meriasek weryth a goun." 3080. "A goun or mantell upon nudus."

As regards scenery:—666. "Tranceat ad pratum." 671. "Her ye well spryngyth up water." 1016. "Her Meryasek schall hydde hymselfe under ye rokke." 8347. "Ascendit ad montem Scraptym." Various churches, palaces, etc.

Among the many miscellaneous articles we find a ship, "yerdis", a tomb, images of SS. Peter and Paul, fire, streamers, guns for the battle with Teudar, papal bulls, a "bagyll"

[1] For some of these remarks on stage directions I am indebted to Mr. Jenner.

(*baculum*) "of sylver, a dragon, a gonn yn ye dragon ys mouthe and fyr", a cross, etc.

Some of the stage directions are curious. Thus at the baptism of Constantine there occurs what is probably a quotation from some legend: "Cum in aquam descendisset baptismatis mirabilis enituit splendor lucis, sic inde mundus exivit, et Christum se vidisse asseruit." At the death of St. Meriasek the direction is, "Y^{e} holy goste a redy ffro hevyn to fett ye sowle, and ye soule a redy." At the death also of the martyrs at Rome, the direction is, "Her ye sowlys a redy". Perhaps the most remarkable direction is the following, "And John Ergudyn a redy a horse bakke y^{t} was ye Justis w^{t} Constantyn ffor to play ye marchant." This occurs at the beginning of the outlaw's scene, when the scene having been laid in Italy, again shifts back to Brittany. This John Ergudyn was, no doubt, one of the performers on some occasion for which the only known manuscript of the play was written.

Such is the drama of Beunans Meriasek, one of the most important, as it is the longest, of the few literary productions we have in the Cornish language. In many points it stands alone, and does not cover the ground of any old Cornish writings which have as yet been discovered. It is not like the other dramas, scriptural, and consequently comes more within the ordinary limits of dramatic criticism. The writer has, for this reason, freer scope for his imagination and use of his poetic or dramatic faculty than the writer of the scriptural or semi-scriptural dramas. It introduces not merely by reference, but in fact, places in the county, as we have seen a large portion of the scene is laid in Cornwall, *e.g.*, at Camborne, Castle-an-Dinas, near St. Columb Major, and Godren in Kea, near Truro. It marks a transitional epoch of the Cornish language rather later than the dramas on the Passion and Creation. As Mr. Stokes says, it fills "the gap between the fourteenth century Oxford plays and the modern Cornish *Creation of the World.*" In doctrine and tone it marks also a change from the earlier Scriptural plays in an Ultramontane direction. May not the author have been a Breton, seeing most of the scene is laid in Brittany? The purer Scriptural tone of the earlier dramas is here interspersed with mediæval legends and tendencies to the worship of the Blessed Virgin. As a work of art, how-

ever, in spite of the many passages which offend a modern English mind, it stands, perhaps, higher than the others. Some of the scenes must have been very striking if properly performed.

Such may have been the very drama which was performed ages ago in the spot whereon we stand. It might seem more appropriate for Camborne, but it is quite possible that it was represented here. In any case we have had before us the type of the drama of old Cornwall as we were standing in the chief theatre of West Penwith, the Plan-an-Guare of St. Just.

Proceedings of the Association.

Wednesday, November 19, 1879.

T. Morgan, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following Associates were duly elected:

Barton, Thomas, Castle House, Lancaster
Clemence, John William, Lowestoft
Colman, J. J., M.P., Carrow House, Norwich
Ferguson, Richard S., Lowther Street, Carlisle
Jarvis, John W., Avon House, Manor Road, Holloway
Jenner, Miss Lucy A., 63 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square
Picton, J. A., Sandy-Knowe, Wavertree, Liverpool
Proctor-Burroughs, T., Great Yarmouth
Robinson, T. W. U., F.S.A., Haughton-le-Spring, Durham
Simpkinson, the Rev. N., North Creake, Norfolk
Stanley, Joseph, Bank Plain, Norwich.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors for the following presents to the library:

To the Society, for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Proceedings during 1878." New Series, vol. iv.

" " "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society." Part I. 1878-9.

" " "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", vol. vii, No. 5. Feb. 1878.

" " "List of the Society of Antiquaries, 1879."

" " "The Archæological Journal." Nos. 142, 143. 1879.

" " "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomery." Part XXV. Oct. 1879.

" " "Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France. Séances du 26 Nov. 1878 au 18 Mars 1879." Toulouse, 1879.

To the Society, for "Smithsonian Annual Report of the Board of Regents, 1877."

" " "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections", vols. xiii, xiv, xv. Washington, 1877, 1878, 1879. 8vo.

" " "Annual Report of the Chief Signal Officer to the Secretary of War, for the Year 1877." Washington, 1877. 8vo.

" " "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland." Fourth Series, vol. v. Jan. 1879.

" " "Historical Collections of the Essex Institute", vol. xiv, Nos. 1-4. Jan. 1877. New York.

" " "Proceedings of the Central Scientific Association, Urbana, Ohio", vol. i, Part I.

" " "New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Association." May 1879.

" " "Sketch of the Life and Contributions to Science of Professor Jos. Henry, LL.D." *From the Smithsonian Institute.*

" " "Transactions of the Imperial Commission of Archæology, St. Petersburg." 1876. With large Atlas of Plates.

To Messrs. J. Parker and Co., for "Church Goods in Berkshire, A.D. 1552", by Walter Money, Esq., F.S.A.

To J. D. Leader, Esq., F.S.A., for "Roman Rotherham". Large folio.

To , for "Catalogue de la Collection Mylius de Génes." Rome, 1879.

To W. George, Esq., for paper "On an Inscribed Stone at Orchard Wyndham, called 'Old Mother Shipton's Tomb.'" Bristol, 1879. 8vo.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.R.S., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited an impression, on soft paper, of a stamp from a flue-tile found by Dr. Hooppell at Escombe in Durham, bearing the letters M P P. It was conjectured by some of the members present to stand for "*Miles Prætorianorum*" or "*Prefecturarum*"; but Mr. Birch said that, judging from the analogous inscriptions on pottery, he had little doubt that it was intended for "*Manu*", followed by the initials of some potter well known in the immediate district.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited the plan and elevation of the newly found Saxon church at Escombe, and read the following note from Dr. Hooppell by way of addendum to the paper already printed in the *Journal* at p. 380:

"In addition to the details enumerated in my paper, Mr. J. P. Pritchett, architect, of Darlington, has found a small doorway in the north-west corner of the chancel, apparently inserted in very early times, and blocked again in early times. This appears both from the considerable size of the stones used in blocking it, and from the fact that

it was covered, both inside and outside, with the mediæval plaster. The inside measurement of this doorway is 2 feet 5 inches by 4 feet 7 inches. It does not appear to have had a cill of its own; at least, not inside, nor a jamb on the side next to the nave; but on the eastern side it had a jamb of one stone, minus a few inches, and it had also a massive lintel. With regard to both this door and the door in the north wall of the nave, interesting results may be expected when the lower portions of them are excavated for the purposes of the restoration."

Mr. John Turner, of Rickinghall, Suffolk, sent a drawing of an ancient bier, with the accompanying notice: "The similarity of outline and construction in several biers I have met with in the churches of this eastern part of Suffolk, viz., Rickinghall Superior, Rickinghall Inferior, Wortham, Burgate, etc., has suggested to me that it might be interesting to record the circumstance, and that there are still in these rural churches the provision of this useful vehicle for the decent interment of those who have 'gone before'. The date of each would appear to be about the beginning of the seventeenth century. They are made of oak, with iron hinge-pins to the handles, nuts, and diamond-shaped washers, plates, and the wedge-shaped hinge abutments banded with iron. The handles are cut and turned out of the solid wood. The holes on the tables are for pins to be adjusted to secure the coffin. I forward a sketch of one of the biers (the one now standing in the porch of St. Mary, Rickinghall Superior) for the inspection of the Association."

Mr. G. Allis reported the discovery of the half of a terra-cotta mould for a female head, of very fine workmanship and design. The arrangement of the hair is clearly shewn. There is a mantle over the shoulder, with a breast-ornament. It has been met with during the further progress of the Lincoln works.

Mr. G. Payne, of Sittingbourne, reported the discovery of another interment, of Roman date, at Bayford near that town. It contains about forty articles of bronze, glass, Samian ware, and other pottery, all in a remarkable state of preservation. The site is a level field with nothing whatever on the surface to indicate Roman remains. The interments are numerous, indicating that this was the site of a cemetery, and are met with owing to the lowering of the earth for brick-making.

Mr. Brock exhibited a scarce old engraving representing a pedestal and fragment of a statue of Hercules, of Roman workmanship, dug out of the foundations of the wall of the city of London, a few yards north of Ludgate, A.D. 1806. This indicates a discovery similar to the recent find of Roman sculptures in the foundations of the wall and bastion in Camomile Street, and points to a Roman origin for the walls

in both places. He had already referred to the date of the City wall met with at Newgate, on a former occasion, and now shewed that the wall was continuous from that point at Newgate to this at Ludgate. Were the wall of later date (say of Norman times), the speaker contended, it was hardly likely that so large a number of Roman sculptures, at different points along the course of the wall, could have been ready to the hand of the builders after a lapse of nine hundred or more years. They have none of the weather-worn appearance which stone exposed for so long would undoubtedly possess. The inscription referred to is the well known funeral one commencing D.M. CL. MARTINAE, and is now in the Guildhall Museum. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806, p. 792, contains particulars of the discovery. The position of its discovery is a parallel case to the Camomile Street find, and never appears to have been noted.

A letter from the Secretary of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings was read, calling attention to the proposal before the Italian Government for rebuilding the front and other parts of St. Mark's, Venice.

It was proposed by Mr. Brock, "That, while expressing no feeling whatever of dictation to the Italian Government, it is very desirable that the necessary reparations should be done in a conservative spirit; and that the Chairman be desired to sign the memorial of the above-mentioned Society, couched in this spirit, on behalf of the Association."

This was seconded by Mr. G. R. Wright, and carried unanimously.

Mr. H. Watling, of Earl-Stonham, sent a large collection of facsimiles, in water-colour, of stained glass in various churches of Norfolk and Suffolk. Some of these were effigies of the family of Tyrrell; and among them was one representing the Holy Trinity in the later conventional style adopted by artists, viz., the Almighty Father supporting the crucified Son, with a dove, emblematic of the Holy Spirit, upon the transverse bar of the cross.

Mr. Morgan F.S.A., *Hon. Treas.*, exhibited some remarkable fragments of earthenware water-pipes, and read the following note concerning their discovery, from Mr. J.C. Ford of Edgbaston, Birmingham: "Lately, while getting sand from a bank near the old manor-house of Soddington, in Worcestershire, the workmen turned up some fragments of water-pipes. Being in the neighbourhood I made a further excavation, hoping to meet with some perfect specimens; but I was not successful. I have, however, sent for exhibition what I found, and shall be glad of the opinion of members upon them. My own impression is that Soddington was originally a Roman station, and that these pipes are of Roman origin, and were used for conveying water from a spring on the neighbouring hill, called 'Clowes Top', to the camp, which pro-

bably formed one of a chain of forts stretching across from the Malverns into Wales."

Mr. Birch read the following note from the Rev. Prebendary Scarth, V.P., of Wrington: "I send a sketch of a sword found lately at Clevedon, eight miles from hence. The handle is wood, and the blade iron, let into the handle and fixed with three rivets. It is in excellent preservation, not at all decayed. With it were found four Roman coins: Hadrian,—large brass; Tetricus,—small bronze; Constantine,—ditto. One with wolf and twins on the reverse; but obverse illegible. Small brass. Also a Flemish token was found with them. I am in doubt about the sword, which is certainly not Roman, but appears to me to be rather Moorish or Saracenic, and of comparatively recent date. A very nice fibula was also found with them, composed of white metal, apparently copper and tin mixed. They are now in the possession of Sir Arthur Elton, at Clevedon Court, and were found in clearing the surface of a field just outside the town, for the site of a villa, in an elevated spot on the surface of the rock. I should like to have an opinion respecting the sword. I cannot but think that these articles belong to very different periods. Human remains, as bones, were found with them.

"Some further very interesting Roman remains have been found in Bath, in carrying out the drainage for the Corporation Baths. In case Mr. Mann, the builder, who is conducting the works, has not sent you an account, I may mention that they consist of three sculptured stones with portions of figures very elegantly carved, and with much spirit in the execution, and with flowered ornaments; two portions of columns (a base and part of a capital); a portion of a pediment. They were found nearly opposite the entrance of the Poor Law Board Office, very near the site of the ancient Roman Baths, of which they appear to have formed a portion; and had in mediæval times been worked into an arch, and so preserved. They are now placed in the area of the Literary and Scientific Institution at Bath. In carrying out the drainage, the level of the Roman city is reached; and three or more steps remain *in situ*, which have led into a portion of the Roman Baths. It seems that the hot water flowing from the ancient Roman Baths had been utilised in modern time for the Kingston Baths."

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, V.P., exhibited the following objects: Earrings; a stud and brooches of old work, obtained in the Isle of Man; also a small conical silver bowl of a pipe, it is believed, very finely chased in scrolls, annulets, and flowers; an ancient British scoop found near York, at the depth of 15 feet, formed from the epiphysial bone of the ox; an extremely fine patera of Samian ware, from off Whitstable, good in colour as in quality,—diameter, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches; potter's name, BELSA . ARV . F. It is seldom so fine a specimen has been recovered.

A *pollubrum* of the same ware, 6 inches in diameter, and nearly 3 in depth; potter's name, SIVERIANVS. For sake of comparison, Mr. Mayhew placed on the table other two, found in London, respectively $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Of Roman glass, a fine white opalescent conical bottle, standing on a ring base, and finished at the neck by a twisted glass string, with four long and very deep indentations. The specimen, both in material and colour, is of very great rarity; and although broken by the pickaxe, the whole of the bottle was recovered and rejoined. Found on site of the Roman cemetery, Southwark. Another rare product of Roman art, a bottle of green glass, six-sided, beautifully granulated and iridescent. Found in Blackfriars.

Mr. Mayhew then read his paper entitled "Notes on the Isle of Man", and exhibited a series of photographs in illustration of his remarks.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, read a notice of "Results of the Congress at Yarmouth and Norwich"; but in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the continuation of the paper was adjourned to the next meeting.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1879.

T. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

Chasewere, Archibald, Putney Bridge
Hill, Captain Henry, 53 Marine Parade, Brighton
Sinclair, Rev. John, Fulham.

M. L'Abbé Arbellot, Chanoine Titulaire, Président de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin, was elected unanimously an Honorary Foreign Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library:

To the Rev. Preb. Scarth, Rector of Wrington, for a paper on "Roman Somerset." 1878. 8vo.

To J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, F.R.S., for a pamphlet entitled "Which shall it be? New Lamps or Old? Shaxpere or Shakespeare?" 8vo. 1879.

Mr. Brock read a report by Mr. Ferguson, F.S.A., upon discoveries of Roman remains at Carlisle. The full account of these was to be laid before the Society of Antiquaries on the 4th instant.

Mr. Birch exhibited, by permission of the Rev. T. O. Bernard, Canon of Wells, the photograph of an Anglo-Saxon charter of King Eadgar,

unknown to Kemble, dated A.D. 958, kindly lent by Mr. Basevi Sanders of the Ordnance Survey, Southampton. The charter itself is in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells, but now lent to the Government Survey. The text will be published, along with other original documents, on a future occasion.

Mr. Birch exhibited also the facsimile of an inscription, + PUR : LALME : IOHAN : DE : PVTTENIE : PRIEZ : ET : TREZE : IVRS : DE : [PARDVN : AVEREZ :], kindly forwarded by the Rev. Canon Bernard of Wells. It has been recently found engraved on the buttress to the north of the great doorway of Wells Cathedral, at a distance of about 4 feet 6 inches from the ground. Canon Bernard promises some notes upon this inscription on a future occasion. The style of the letters appears to be of the thirteenth century.

Mr. Brock exhibited five Florentine salt-cellars with curious illustrations resembling sixteenth century drawings. One of them had a Florentine coat of arms in colours.

Mr. Birch read the following notice by Mr. J. T. Irvine of Lichfield: "A curious scrap of information relative to local history has lately turned up here. Bishop Maclagan has been adding, in proximity to his Cathedral, a stable and connected buildings, placed at that angle where the Palace grounds join to those of the Deanery, over against the Chapter House. The making of a drain in a diagonal line between the south-west angle of the new wing of the Palace and the washhouse connected with the stable, cut through part of a floor and strong stone masonry. The tile-floor was discovered to have a singular covering, of about a quarter of an inch thick, of melted bell-metal, in some parts descending between the joints of the tiles. These last were of almost double the thickness of ordinary paving tiles, and much calcined from the intense heat to which they had been subjected. In the ancient accounts of the Cathedral, under the date of 1315 is found the following entry: 'Anno Domini MCCCXV combustum fuit campanile cum campanis in clauso Lichfeldensi', at which date Langton was Bishop, and John de Derby was Dean. Thus the erection of this stable has led to the recovery of the site of the detached bell-tower so long destroyed."

Mr. Richard Mann, of Bath, forwarded two photographs of Roman remains lately discovered at Bath, on the site of the Roman Baths.

Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treas.*, concluded the reading of

Results of the Yarmouth Congress.

BY THOS. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

If I may be allowed a simile from the photographic art, some "negatives" taken during our late Congress at Yarmouth and Norwich shall be submitted for your approval; to be, I hope, "developed" and enlarged hereafter by some of our members in the *Journal;* and the first

scene shall open in the wainscoted chamber of the Star Hotel on the Quay at Yarmouth, used for a committee-room. The carved paneling of black oak, with its corresponding ceiling moulded into geometrical forms, denotes the Jacobean period. Over the chimney are carved the arms of the Company of Spanish Merchants incorporated in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The arms are not emblazoned. The globe has been broken off the crest, and the supporters are gone.[1] This house belonged to one William Crowe, a merchant, who was wealthy enough to purchase Caister Castle of the Pastons in 1659. We visited a similar room in Carter's mansion on the South Quay, built in about 1596 by Benjamin Cooper, who sold it in 1641 ; and in this room of Carter's house it is said that the execution of Charles I was determined on.

The Rev. Dr. Raven made us acquainted with the town as it stands, by first producing a plan on a large scale, with the walls, towers, and antiquities, carefully marked upon it; and then taking us round to view the walls and buildings, succeeded in making us acquainted, in a short time, with the main features and history of this Dutch-looking town. The ruins of some of the buildings are fragmentary, and to be viewed only piecemeal, by going down into cellars, and in and out shops and courtyards. Thus the Franciscan Priory (founded 1271-96) was traced, in some of its groined arches, in Queen and Middlegate Streets; and in the latter street were some ruins of the house of the Dominicans established here some ten years before their fellow-workers, the Grey Friars, just referred to. The north and south gates in the walls were pointed out, or rather the spots where they once stood, for little of them remains. The towers, however, which to the number of sixteen once guarded the city walls, are in fair preservation, having been built with good flint rubble strengthened with brick. The walls contain within their circuit the streets of old Yarmouth, of which the five principal run parallel to each other, and are intersected at right angles by narrow passages, called here "rows", which to the number of over one hundred and fifty cross the whole town, having the width of two houses between each "row". The houses opening upon them usually have their little courtyard and separate entrance, and there is an air of cleanliness and neatness about them which is very Dutch.

In Charlotte Street we visited the cell of the Austin Friars, now a meeting-house of the Society of Friends. We came to the old "Tol-House" with its gable roof and flight of steps leading up to an arched Early English gateway with dog-tooth moulding,—a relic of the past which is likely soon to disappear. Some old gable-houses told their

[1] The arms of the Company of "Merchants of Spaine", figured by Stowe (*Survey of London*, 1633), agree exactly with this carved work.

own ages by the dates carved outside. Thus the Golden Anchor bore 1659, and another in Middlegate Street, 1687.

We arrived at the old church of St. Nicholas, originally belonging to a Benedictine monastery adjacent. Here, on Sunday, we had the pleasure to witness the largest parish church perhaps in England filled to overflowing by some four thousand persons, and to hear a sermon delivered, on the occasion of the Archæological Congress, by the Rev. G. Venables, the Vicar. I may be pardoned for alluding here to one fact which was ingeniously introduced by the preacher to shew how God works out our good by agencies which to man are obscure, and held of small account. He related how a certain kind of grass grows in the loose sand accumulated, and gradually binds it together, forming by degrees a vegetable earth; so that by the operation of this small plant a sandbank has been transformed into the soil on which Great Yarmouth now stands.

On Saturday we had heard the architecture of the church described, and its history told by the Ven. Archdeacon Nevill of Norwich, and Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., and an interesting history it was. Well was it said by Mr. Brock that he should be sorry to see a proposal carried out for bringing all the work in the church to one date. This, he said, would never have been done by the mediæval builders. "It would destroy the records of the changes which made the building so interesting." Some shields with their charges and tinctures, displayed along the ridge-line of the nave south aisle, were characteristic of the heraldic age of Edward III, when they were placed here. The aisles of the nave and chancel are said to have enclosed no less than twenty chapels or chantries, many of which were founded by the guilds by whom lands and money were appropriated to pay for oil or candles in perpetuity, to be kept burning before the shrines of their patron saints. We have had such chapels more than once pointed out to us by Mr. Brock in different churches visited; and as mediæval guilds have occupied much attention of late, I would refer to the various works on the subject quoted by Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on May 1, 1873, and printed in their *Proceedings*.

We have seen the remains of the Hall of St. George's Guild in Middlegate Street,—a foundation, the members of which seem to have been in the habit of dining together on St. George's Day. This custom may justify the derivation of the word "guild" from the Danish *gilde*, a feast or festive company, and not from *geld*. These associations served a useful purpose apart from those which were altogether of a religious character, by affording mutual assistance in cases of fire, shipwreck, theft, or sickness, like our modern benefit societies, as well as for defraying the cost of pilgrimages, whilst other guilds were merely trading companies.

I must now revert to the Town Hall, a building erected by the same William Crowe who built the panelled room at the Star Hotel; and here, on the opening day, our Association, headed by the President, Lord Waveney, was received and welcomed by the Mayor and Corporation of this ancient borough. On the wall, at the back of the Mayor's chair, hung a large full-length portrait of King George I in his robes, by Worsdale, Painter to the Board of Ordnance, presented to the Corporation in 1728.

The inaugural address of the President stimulated our exertions and awakened our curiosity to behold the interesting Waveney Valley and the camp and minster at South Elmham, as well as the many other places, such as Dunwich, Burgh, and Wymondham, to which he referred.

The Mayor kindly placed the Town Hall at our disposal for evening meetings, as well as a room in which a temporary museum was formed, where many notable objects were brought together. Foremost amongst these were the charters of the Corporation, from the decaying parchment of King John to the confirmations of the same by later monarchs. These were subjected to a close inspection by Mr. Birch, who gave a critical account of them; and we had further a paper read on the charters of Yarmouth, relating to its government, by Mr. C. Teniswood. The regalia of the Corporation and plate, that is, two maces of the time of William and Mary, a large silver oar, sword of state, four small silver maces, bowl of silver with ornamented crown or border to fit on the rim, and other articles, were carefully described to us by Mr. George Lambert, F.S.A., who gave us also an interesting paper on maces. Among the objects in the museum was a circular copper shield with concentric rings, found to the north of the river Yare, on the property of Mr. J. P. Burroughs. It was a good and rare specimen of this class of Celtic shields, and will, I hope, be figured in the *Journal*. In the same collection was a beautiful plan of the town of Yarmouth, drawn with very minute details by Swinden, in his capacity of land surveyor, on a scale of thirty-three yards to the inch, the whole measuring 4 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 4 inches. This was intended for publication in the *History of Great Yarmouth* by Henry Manship, Town Clerk in the time of Queen Elizabeth. His signature was shewn us in an early edition of a local work. The petition of J. Cleveland, written from prison in Yarmouth to the Protector Cromwell, praying to be released, was an interesting original document.

The old "hutch" as it is called, or strong chest, in which the muniments are kept, though much "restored", is an interesting piece of furniture. The massive and ingenious mechanism of the locks for securing it, and the strong braces of iron by which the timber-work is strengthened, attracted much attention.

On Saturday, the last official day of the Yarmouth Congress, we took leave of our many friends, who had assisted us by every means in their power to promote its objects; and conspicuous among these were the Rev. Dr. Raven (whose extensive knowledge of the district[1] had been freely communicated with that *bonhommie* which has the merit of commanding the attention of all hearers) and our Local Treasurer, Mr. E. W. Worlledge, M.A., who was unwearying in his efforts to organise the numerous excursions, and gather in donations and subscriptions in aid of the purposes of the Association. The Mayor, Mr. H. E. Combe, who had been the first to greet us, was the last to wish us "God speed". He had interested himself in our work by taking part in it both in town and neighbourhood; and in the forenoon hoisted his flag on the heights of Gorleston, his place of residence, and with the Mayoress received us right hospitably. We are now in Gorleston, anciently *Gar-leas-tun*, or Yare-lesser-town, afterwards known as Little Yarmouth. We read of contentions, in the reign of Edward III, between the men of Great and of Little Yarmouth. Gorleston then furnished its quota of ships and mariners for the Scottish wars. The Priory here, of Austin Friars, was founded by William Woderove and Margaret his wife, about the middle of the reign of Edward I. John Browe, a monk of the said house, is reported by Lambard to have had "a librarie of most rare and pretious workes gathered together by the industrie of this monk, which dyed in the reigne of King Henry the Sixte."

Gorleston Church, in addition to the decorated English architecture which deserved notice, contained a handsome octagonal font similar to the many we had seen in these counties, having on seven sides illustrations of the seven Sacraments of the Roman Church, and on the eighth some scene of Christian belief, generally the crucifixion, but in this instance the Saviour in judgment. An early brass of Sir John Bacon, *temp.* Edward II, once taken from the church, then restored to it, and now built up against the wall, is remarkable as one out of the only five brasses known on which the knight is depicted with legs across. The figure of Sir John Bacon is habited in the armour of the period, with vanbraces and goussets of plate, wearing the ailettes, little wings of leather attached to the shoulders, in use only in the first half of the fourteenth century. These ailettes were charged with the cross of St. George.

Before leaving Yarmouth, where there is so much to remind us of the beginning of the seventeenth century and of James I, who identified himself with the new era inaugurated by his predecessor, and

[1] His published account of the Roman roads in the eastern counties should be carefully studied. See a late number of the *Journal* of the Royal Archæological Institute.

when were revived, with ancient learning, ancient classical forms in architecture, we must go back to the four days spent in excursions to the neighbourhood, where the architecture of the churches carried us back to the preceding times of Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, when the Establishment seemed to put forth all its strength in the building and adorning of churches. Let us bear in mind also the intermediate period between these two eras, and mark the effect of the Spanish marriage of Queen Mary I, and the rebuff to Spain by Queen Elizabeth, and note the sequence to the marriages of Margaret and Mary, the two sisters of Henry VIII, which led to the deepest tragedies ever enacted on the stage of English history. The alliance of Margaret with James IV of Scotland entailed on her granddaughter, the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, the distressing circumstances and final catastrophe familiar to every one, while a similar fate befel the young and accomplished Lady Jane Guildford, better known as Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of the other sister, Mary, who had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. It will be interesting, as we proceed, to mark the various influences upon the march of events in these counties, consequent upon the alliances referred to, and to visit the scenes among which many of these great actors in history have lived. The mansion, Westhorp Hall, in the Hundred of Hartismere, in which Charles Brandon had resided, was pulled down about the middle of the last century.

At Caister the remains of the brick-moated castle of Sir John Fastolfe, though standing now in a most peaceful and picturesque recess, recall the troubled times in which he lived, and the loss of the French provinces, which left little to shew for the victories of Henry V, but the retention by England of the lilies of France quartered with the lions on the royal escutcheon. The honours heaped upon Sir J. Fastolfe during a long life sufficiently testify to the valour of this old soldier, who with the brave Talbot did his best to maintain the fortunes of his country in France, and in England was known by his benefactions to the Universities and to his own neighbourhood. Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps has shewn that he was not the Sir John Falstaff of Shakespeare, and that the poet's other character of Fastolfe was founded upon an inaccuracy of one of the chroniclers. The whole case is fully gone into by Mr. T. J. Pettigrew in his account of Caister Castle in *Journal*, xiv, p. 223. Dr. Raven read us an interesting account of the Castle, by Miss Haddon.

At Filby Church, entering from the west, a massive door of oak, with seven locks and bands of iron, at the foot of the tower, attracted our attention, and seemed to have served as a defence in times of danger when the tower was sought as a place of refuge. Proceeding to the chancel we saw the first of those painted rood-screens which

were a distinguishing feature of many of the churches afterwards visited. The lower part, divided into eight panels, was decorated with good paintings of the fifteenth century, well preserved. The roof of the nave of Filby Church was thatched with the reeds of the country, a mode adopted in these parts in village churches, and which will, perhaps, account for the walls usually not being surmounted by a parapet, the thatch projecting over.

Equally interesting a rood-screen as that at Filby was seen at Ludham, the next church visited, and on which was the donor's name, and date, 1493. The carving was very rich, and the colouring and gilding still visible upon it. The rood-beam, in its place, still supported the upper part of the screen, which below, as at Filby, was in panels with paintings of saints, deciphered by Dr. Raven. Mr. Brock found, stowed away in the stair-passage leading to the rood-loft, some of the paneling which had belonged to the screen above the rood-beam, and with the paintings upon it. Here, at Ludham, was the first specimen of the very large clerestory windows which served to light up these churches, and display the beautiful timber roofs of hammer-beam construction, of which we afterwards saw many fine examples.

The remainder of Tuesday was well filled up in traversing the interesting country watered by the "Broad" or Lake of Filby, which was crossed by a bridge; and passing by the ruined church of Burgh St. Mary with its western flint circular tower, now cracking with age, we came near Rollesby Church with its octagonal tower of two stages set on a circular base.

On a marshy flat, which we had to traverse by a swampy road, a massive gateway of stone met our sight, which seemed to be controlled by a modern superstructure of brick, the basement of a large windmill, now as ruined as the venerable structure which once was the ancient portal of St. Benet at Holme Abbey, a Benedictine foundation, which played an important part in the history of East Anglia, and had been originally founded by King Canute a short time before A.D. 1020. Mr. Brock gave an account of the Abbey building and its history, and sketched out the disposition of the parts of the Abbey and its church, much of which had to be taken on trust as far as seeing the plan for ourselves; for though some masonry on the site of the church remained, the greater part was leveled with the ground, and we could only scan, in the distance, the boundary of earthworks which surrounded the property of this once fortified Abbey.

We had been traveling to the north of the Yare river, and in the early part of the day to the east of the Bure, where we visited the high ground overlooking Yarmouth; and as far as the eye could stretch, Burgh Castle might be seen on the height south of the Yare. Nothing is now visible of the Roman camp at Caister, which once guarded the

north as Burgh Castle did the south of the estuary. Some excavations had been made in the Rectory garden, to the west of Caister Church, by which masses of rubble foundations had been laid open; and Dr. Raven explained what had been done, and how in an ash-pit some coins and many broken fragments of Roman pottery had been found, which were exhibited. Mr. Gunn's paper on a Roman pottery-kiln found in a sand-pit on a farm to the south of the church, in 1851, was read, and a drawing of the same exhibited; and Mr. Gunn compared this with a pottery-kiln found at Sibson, near Castor, in Northamptonshire (Durobrivæ).

On Wednesday we had the opportunity of visiting Burgh Castle, a Roman fort built on an elevated platform, which looks over Breydon Water, the estuary formed by the rivers Waveney, Yare, and Bure. Climbing up a very steep bank on the western side, we found ourselves in an enclosure of three walls built at right angles to each other; the corners rounded off, and the longest wall being that on the eastern side, which faced us, and is said to measure 642 feet. Here we were welcomed by Sir Francis M. Boileau, Bart., the owner of the property, which had been purchased by his father in order to secure a work of great national historical interest from destruction, with which it was threatened. The wall has disappeared, and the precipice up which we climbed shews where the earth has been washed away, or crumbled together with the wall. To make the dimensions correspond with the camps below referred to, it should extend 342 feet, or thereabouts, beyond the present boundary. We should then have the lateral entrances to the camp near where the present wall ends. The entrance in the long east wall is about 16 feet wide. The size of the walled camp at Porchester, which in many respects resembles this, is 630 by 621 feet; that at Reculver is as nearly as possible the same size; and similar dimensions would not be unreasonable for the two great cavalry stations guarding the coast of Norfolk. As to the construction of the walls, which are stated to be 9 feet thick, and from 10 to 11 at the base, they are of flint rubble masonry; pounded tile being used in the mortar, which is excellent, as usual in Roman work, though it was stated that in some portions of the walls the mortar wanted this ingredient; but it is not unusual to find a different mortar used by the Romans in the same building. The facing of the walls is or was of square and smoothly cut flints; but a great part of them no longer remains, though I had the opportunity of seeing a very perfect portion of the facing stones outside the north wall, where it abuts on the precipice. There are five bonding courses of tiles, uniform throughout. Each consists of three tiles laid on each other, cemented with mortar, forming one solid mass 7 inches thick, the distance between the bonding courses being about 24 inches. The massive flanking tower at the

south-east angle, of which the masonry is very perfect, is circular, and of the usual dimensions, resembling those at Porchester and Lymne. This mass of masonry is separate from the wall at the bottom, but bonded into it at the top, agreeing with the description of these solid bastions at the corners and sides of walled *castra*, given by Mr. C. R. Smith.[1] Though these camps shew a uniformity of construction, architects contend that no builder would erect such bastions without bonding them into the wall throughout, that is, from bottom to top, and therefore conclude that though all may be Roman work, yet the bastions must have been added afterwards to strengthen the walls, and probably to form watch-towers above them. If so, the same rule must apply to all the other walled forts of the same construction. Such strengthening of the forts seems to be alluded to on more than one occasion, notably when Constantius restored Britain to Rome after a severance of the island from her rule for a space of ten years; and at a later period Theodosius is recorded to have put the fortifications of the country in a good state of defence.[2]

There seem to have been a town and monastery here in the time of Beda, under the name of Knobersburg. The manor of Burgh was held in socage by Bishop Stigand *temp.* Edward the Confessor, and held under William I by serjeanty and the service of finding a crossbow-man, with three horses, for forty days, at his own cost, for the King's use; which service was valued at 100*s.*[3] *Temp.* Edward I the Prior of Bromholme was returned as holding the manor of Burgh of the King *in capite*, by same service as of old, of finding a crossbow-man to follow his army into Wales, at the Prior's expense, for forty days; which service was then valued at £30.[4]

From the flint work of Burgh we are brought, by an easy transition, to the lofty flint tower of Herringfleet Church, one of those circular towers which have been attributed to Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman builders. The form is such as Romans would have adopted for their *castella* of observation, and they abound along the shores of the Waveney; but later nations would equally have adopted the circular in preference to the square form, when the materials were such as rough flints, which would have required stone quoins to hold them together if an angular form had been used. The walls appear to be ancient; and the east window in this Herringfleet tower was particu-

[1] *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, by C. R. Smith. 1850. *A Report of Excavations, in Situ, of the Roman Castra at Lymne in* 1850. 4to. 1852. Same, of Roman Castra at Pevensey in 1852. 4to. 1858.

[2] "Instaurabat urbes et præsidiaria, ut diximus castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis." (Amm. Marcel., lib. xxviii, c. 3.)

[3] *Testa de Nevill.*

[4] Herbert de Losinga, first Bishop of Norwich, is said by many good historians to be a native of Suffolk.

larly pointed out to us by Mr. Brock as having Saxon features,—two triangular-headed windows are enclosed by a circular arch with blind tympanum.

Another example of Saxon or early Norman work was seen at Fritton Church, with round west tower, small nave, chancel, sacrarium, and low eastern apse decorated with zigzag mouldings on which traces of colour remain. On the wall opposite the south porch the thick coats of whitewash have been cleared off, shewing a large figure of St. Christopher.

The church of Herringfleet belonged at one time to St. Olave's Priory, the remains of which were on the same day visited; a very small Priory of Augustinian nuns founded by Roger Fitz-Osbert near the ferry across the river Waveney, in the beginning of Henry III's reign, perhaps on the site of an older foundation. Major Leathes, the lord of the manor, here met us and shewed us the matrix of the Priory seal, of the date 1280-1290; and a Roman sacrificial cup of brass found in the neighbourhood, and bearing underneath the inscription QVATTENVS F.

Somerleyton Church, rebuilt at the cost of Sir S. M. Peto in 1854, and containing within it a tomb of one of the Jerninghams, and the old parish church of St. Margaret at Lowestoft, are all that remain of archæological work to be mentioned for this day; but while waiting outside this church attention was called to two masons' marks in the church wall, under a window.

The hospitality shewn us by Mr. H. E. Buxton, at his residence on the banks of the picturesque Fritton Decoy, must not be forgotten. We were entertained in front of the modern Elizabethan mansion, Mrs. Buxton taking part in welcoming our large party. If Fritton is rightly derived from "Frith-tun", or the abode of peace, the name well answers to this charming spot.

When the labours of the day were over we were agreeably refreshed by the sea-breezes at the marine residence of Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., whose house at Corton was thrown open to us, in which are many works of art, such as paintings of old Crome and others, who gave to Norwich a name as a school of painters. We saw old carved woodwork and a museum in which rare geological specimens from the neighbourhood attracted attention, particularly some fossil remains of a submerged forest lately discovered at very low tides.

After partaking of the hospitality of our host and hostess, and the attentions of their amiable family, many of our party strolled down the sloping banks which lead from the great elevation on which the house is situated to the sea-beach, and then made our way back to Yarmouth to hear a paper read on the Saxon shore by Mr. C. H. Compton, and on some recent finds of coins in Norfolk and Suffolk, by Mr. H. Prigg.

Thursday was given up to our President, Lord Wavency, who had kindly invited us to partake of his hospitality, and view the archæological remains along the Wavency. The first visit was to Wingfield Church, built partly in the fourteenth and partly in the fifteenth century. On the south side of the chancel are three arches, one wider than the others. The narrower arches bear on the mouldings shields with the rebus of the Wingfields and the knot of the Staffords. There is a monument to Sir John de Wingfield; another to the memory of Michael de la Pole, second Earl of Suffolk. The figure of the Earl, as well as that of the Countess, is of wood. There is another monument to John de la Pole, who married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV.

The adjoining castle, or rather moated house, of Wingfield was described to us by Mr. Phipson under an old yew-tree just within the portal in front of the house. He told us the first Earl of Suffolk, Michael de la Pole, had license to crenellate it in 1384. Sir John de Wingfield, who died in 1362, desired the church to be made collegiate. He was a soldier in the French wars, and left one daughter, Catherine, through whom the property passed to the De la Poles by her marriage with Sir William. This Sir William was son of a Hull merchant, and became Lord Chancellor of England and Knight of the Garter in the reigns of Edward III and Richard II. The most illustrious of the race was William, fourth Earl, who was a great soldier, and became first Duke of Suffolk, and married Alice Chaucer, grand-daughter of the poet. The present owner of this interesting manor house, known as Wingfield Castle, is Lord Wavency. A plan shewed the outline of the Castle, enclosing a space eighty-three yards square. At the four corners were octagon turrets. Round the whole runs a moat about ten yards wide. We were here entertained by his Lordship, and our large party was then conveyed to South Elmham old minster.

On entering a copse of large trees, across some fields, we found ourselves in a large square Roman camp with an area of about three acres and a half, clearly defined by earthen vallum and ditch. In the interior were ruins of ancient masonry grown over with ivy and turf; and here the President read a paper upon the remains, and described the outline of the ground-plan. The ruins oriented north-east by east, and had a length of 104 feet by 33, consisting apparently of western galilee, 26 ft. long; nave, 41 ft., which opened by a comparatively wide arch into a circular apse, 37 feet to wall. It was not unusual to find early churches in Roman camps; and Mr. Brock then followed upon the President's observations, and considered this a Saxon church abandoned before the time of the Normans. Roman urns had been found in the immediate neighbourhood. The name of Minster, given to this building in old documents, opens a field of inquiry which has

been discussed in the *Transactions* of the West Suffolk Archæological Institute.[1] There seems no reason why this South Elmham should not be the place whither the see was removed from Dunwich instead of North Elmham, where it has been somewhat arbitrarily fixed, without support of contemporary evidence, in order to carry it into Norfolk.[2] The group of nine parish churches of early foundation, and built near together, seems to indicate a powerful ecclesiastical centre at some time, having been known from the earliest times as "The Parishes".

The President has redeemed his pledge of shewing us a unique example on which we might pursue archæological knowledge in the two ways referred to in his inaugural address, that is, "the positive, which might be traced step by step by the touch of the hand, and the comparative, which must be mainly founded upon inference guided by a power of assimilating likelihoods, and inferring from them what could not be seen." We need not despair of finding yet many a *Politorium* in our own country, hitherto unexplored, if we will see with our own eyes, and not be blind to the lessons which the stones will teach us.

The interest excited by South Elmham (heightened by the fact that a large party of the members of the West Suffolk Archæological Institute were also assembled here by invitation of our President), and the discussions upon the camp, deprived many of the pleasure we should have had in visiting Flixton Hall, as the evening meeting at Yarmouth had to be attended; but some were able to avail themselves of Lord Waveney's kind invitation to see his noble park and mansion.

The peregrination of Friday was a long one, still to the south of the Yare, but further eastward, towards the coast; that is, to Dunwich and Southwold. That Dunwich (the Dummoc-Ceastre of Saxon times) is the Sitomagus of the Roman itinerary seems now pretty well established. The name Sitomagus implies the town of the way or passage, *Sith* and *Magus*. It is, therefore, not surprising to find in the old tower of All Saints' Church a window with Roman brick, which Mr. Brock considered might be Saxon. This church, now in ruins, stands near the edge of a high cliff, and the action of the sea at the base of the cliff has gradually undermined and caused it to fall, while the continuous current of the sea towards the north has carried the sand and *débris* washed from this coast to augment the land or sand in front of Yarmouth.

On the high ground, not far from the church, are the ruins of a Monastery of Grey Friars,—a picturesque object which the ripening

[1] See particularly the articles by B. B. Woodward and Henry Harrod in vol. iv, p. 1 et seq. 1864.

[2] Beda says simply Elmham.

corn by which it was surrounded prevented us from viewing to advantage. In the neighbourhood is the ruined chapel of the Leper's Hospital, of transitional Norman work, of good type; but without roof, and three sides only remaining.

Colonel Barne, lord of the manor, invited us to see an old map of Dunwich and the coast, of the date 1587. There was then a river running through the low ground, nearly parallel to the sea, and falling into a harbour, which with the river and the town have entirely disappeared; just as on the south coast of England, the current setting eastward has silted up the old harbours of Portslade, Hastings, New Romney, and others. Dunwich sent two members to Parliament from the reign of Edward I to the date of the Reform Bill. The old port was rendered useless in the first of Edward III.[1] All Saints' is the only church remaining, and will probably, before long, follow the others, which were dedicated to SS. Leonard, John Baptist, Martin, Nicholas, and Peter.

Near the mouth of the river Blyth we saw two churches, Blythborough and Southwold, grand examples of the late Perpendicular style; the first of which is in a state of dilapidation; the latter, rebuilt during the reign of Henry VII, has been restored by Mr. E. M. Phipson in that conservative spirit which received commendation. At Blythborough I counted no less than eighteen clerestory windows lighting up the church, which, of one span from end to end, must have had a grand effect with its timbered roof and colouring. The fifty-four shields of arms were referred to by Dr. Raven in his account of the roof; and among the many figures in the coloured glass windows to which he referred, were St. Anthony of Padua with cross, an ecclesiastic giving the benediction, and St. Etheldreda in the costume of the fifteenth century. The skill of the builders in the outside work is shewn in the ornamentation of the lower part of the walls, on a level with the sight, in a rich paneling on the west front, beneath a large Perpendicular window; and on the east front, thirteen old English letters and monograms in freestone, on a flint ground, which probably refer to benefactors of the church; while viewed from a short distance, the pierced parapet which crowns the wall catches the eye from the light and shade produced by its mouldings and quatrefoil openings.

Southwold is a church of equally impressive outline, being one of the finest examples of the late Perpendicular in East Anglia. Dr. Raven pointed out a good specimen of a "Jack o' the Clock", a figure in armour, of the early Jacobean period, striking a bell for the hours, as did formerly the well known figures at St. Dunstan's in Fleet Street.

[1] Account of Dunwich, written perhaps by J. Stow, in Harl. MS. 532, fo. 54.

He derived the name given to such figures from the Jacque Mart on the great clock at Dijon, derived from the clockmakers, Jacques Marck, grandfather and descendant, who were living in Dijon in 1360 and 1422. The silting up of Dunwich harbour drove the trade of shipping to the neighbouring ports, which may account for the wealth shewn in the large churches of Blythborough and Southwold.

On our way home we visited Thorington Church, restored too effectually about twenty years ago. It is an interesting specimen of late Norman. A great eyesore was the inside pseudo-Norman tower-arch, a modern insertion, which was criticised, as well as the fact that the thick, ancient walls of the church had been cut away to a great depth, leaving an unsightly projection, to give more space for seats in the church. This was a utilitarian contrivance which, let us hope, could never be tolerated in the present day.

At Norwich it gave us much pleasure to be joined by the members of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, among whom were still some who remembered the Congress of our Association in 1857. To those who were here at that time, the two days to be spent in Norwich would be an agreeable refresher to their memories; but to those who visited Norwich for the first time, this hasty visit would excite without satisfying their curiosity. At least, however, we had the opportunity of seeing the Cathedral under the best auspices, the Very Rev. the Dean, Dr. Goulburn, having undertaken to give us the benefit of his knowledge of the architecture and history of this noble pile, and to describe which he devoted several hours. He first gave a history of the building and of its builders in an arched room of the fourteenth century, to the north-west of the nave-front, now used as a school. Here many interesting MSS. were shewn to us, comprising charters, the *Norwich Doomsday Book*, written 1420-40; the Prior's book, which was referred to as *Registrum Primum* (not *first*, as sometimes mistranslated); and convent books, forming a history of the foundation and progress of the Cathedral from 1096 to 1320, written in 1326; and one of the ten sealed books of Common Prayer, this and that at Chichester being the only copies uncollated and unedited in our own day; and Dr. James' MSS., written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and many others.

Dr. Bensley followed with a detailed account of this rich and rare collection, and we then adjourned to the Cathedral. To follow the Dean in his account of the architecture of the Cathedral is beyond my province, and unnecessary, as it will appear hereafter in print. I may say in general terms that what must strike the beholder is the sudden transition from Norman to the full development of Perpendicular architecture; the extraordinary numbers and variety of the sculptured bosses, each with its emblem or legend, the best guide to which is the

Dean's book;[1] and the original Bishop's stone throne against the eastern wall of the church, discovered during the reparations; and the many traces of mural painting, both of figures and of mere decorations, exposed to view by removal of the whitewash.

The Dean, in the course of his explanations, said he would not allow the project to be executed in his time, as had been urged by distinguished architects, of removing the Perpendicular work, and making the eastern limb and its apse uniformly Norman. He felt he had no right to remove a page of history from the Cathedral,—a sentiment which will receive the unqualified approval of our Association. The description by the Dean of the Bishop's monument, upon which the recumbent figure in stone, attired in full canonicals, enabled him to point out the different component parts of the episcopal robes, attracted much attention; and in reference to the stone of which the figure was composed, Mr. G. G. Adams gave some practical information, and identified it as the same material of which Cawston Church is constructed. At the Prior's door, leading from the cloisters into the church, a discussion arose as to the figures represented under the fan of seven canopies above our heads, the Dean suggesting that a figure holding a church in his hand, next that of our Saviour in majesty, was that of the architect Bishop, whereas Mr. Lambert pointed out that this was a conventional symbol of St. Boniface of Metz. Dr. Goulburn stated that St. Boniface does not occur in the series of illustrations of saints' lives, forming the bosses of the south walk; and beyond these few remarks I will only add that the system of looking-glasses placed under the bosses, which in some cases, as in the Beauchamp Chapel, or of St. Mary the Less, were at a great elevation, brought down to the level of the eye, without raising the head, the sculptured legendary scenes which otherwise would have been lost to sight.

The Dean then kindly invited the whole of our party to his grounds, where a *recherché* luncheon was spread out, and the honours were done by himself and Mrs. Goulburn in a manner which will cause this visit to Norwich Cathedral to be long remembered by the British Archæological Association, apart from the soul-stirring narrative which had filled up the morning.

To the north of the Castle stands the Bishop's Palace, built between 1300-1325, in the kitchen of which edifice the plain, ribbed vaulting of stone must have witnessed the serving up to many a goodly company, and with what various sauces, since Edward I was King. In the garden was a picturesque, ivy-clad ruin with a room over; and from thence we adjourned to the Grammar School close by, the crypt of

[1] *The Ancient Sculptures of the Roof of Norwich Cathedral.* By E. M. Goulburn, D.D., and H. Symonds, M.A. London and Norwich, 1876.

which building dates from about 1316, and is remarkable not only for the antiquity of its architecture and history, but for the many illustrious men who have been educated here.

We left the Cathedral by the Erpingham Gate, built by Sir Thomas Erpingham in 1396, and profusely ornamented on its eastern face with sculptured figures under canopies and shields of arms. The intermixture of stone with the polished surface of the flints has a striking effect.

We had entered the Close through another gate, that of St. Ethelbert, erected by the citizens in 1272, and containing within it a chapel dedicated to that kingly martyr. The great church of the Dominicans then claimed our attention, rebuilt by Sir Thomas Erpingham, who had been a soldier at Agincourt, and died in 1422, before it was completed; and at the dissolution of the monasteries nave and chancel parted company, the former being converted into a music-hall, and still used as such, under the name of St. Andrew's Hall, while the chancel was let to a Nonconformist congregation. The nave and aisles, divided by seven arches, retain their ecclesiastical character with its fine proportions, the nave measuring 124 feet by 32; the aisles, each 124 feet by 16. St. Andrew's Church is another of the Perpendicular period, rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century, and of large dimensions, and possesses some fine plate, which was commented on by Mr. G. Lambert.

We then visited the Strangers' Hall, which Mr. Brock described as a valuable example of a merchant's house of the time of Henry VIII; interesting as shewing a combination of the last period of Perpendicular work and the first of the Renaissance; and several rooms with Jacobean paneling and moulded ceiling were seen upstairs. At St. John's, Maddermarket, were some good Elizabethan and Jacobean monuments; and at St. Gregory's, built of flint masonry, we saw a brass lectern of the date 1496; and a fresco on the south-west wall of St. George and the Dragon, discovered by Mr. Phipson when restoring the church in 1864; also a good Decorated font.

Mr. Phipson described the old walls and gates of the city on an ancient map in the Guildhall, glancing at the principal churches, most of which he said were rebuilt in the fifteenth century, though a few exhibit features of the earliest Norman work.

Mr. Brock remarked upon traces, in the round tower of St. Julian's Church, of a Saxon character. The windows had a double splay, and were placed north and south.

Mr. Birch's notes on the charters and seals of the Corporation, which are in excellent preservation, were listened to with attention.

The building of the Guildhall, in which we were assembled, and which was placed at our disposal by the kind invitation of the Mayor, was a small flint-faced structure in front of the great Market Place,

rebuilt in 1407-13. A rich Perpendicular stone doorway, with spandrels and canopy, formed the entrance to the Guildhall, brought here from a private house built by John Basingham, goldsmith, in the reign of Henry VII. Above the head are the arms of this King; in the sinister spandrel, those of the city of Norwich; and in the dexter, those of the Goldsmiths' Company.

We then adjourned to the large church of St. Peter's Mancroft, rebuilt 1430-55. Here is a series of alabaster panels carved in relief, and representing passages in lives of saints, hung up in the vestry, where were also shewn a Latin Bible on vellum (date about 1340), and a twelfth century copy of the Pauline Epistles with gloss. The church plate was admired. An unpretending brass tablet to the memory of Sir Thomas Browne, and another to his wife, records the name of one famous in his day for his writings and collections of specimens in natural history. He died in 1682, having been knighted by Charles II in 1671.

We passed round the Castle Mound into the suburb of Heigham, where we were shewn the house occupied by Bishop Joseph Hall, 1647-56, after being deprived of his see of Norwich by the Puritans. It is of late fifteenth century, with traces of earlier work. There remains a portion of an oak staircase, a plaster ceiling in one room, and a carved Elizabethan oak door. Two dates are worked into the front,—1587 over the door, and 1619 in the flint work. Here Bishop Hall probably worked at his satirical folios; and when a brother Bishop was ashamed to own his mitre, he might well write satire, and exclaim, "Good God! That a Bishop should renounce his episcopal functions, and cry mercy for his now abandoned calling!"[1]

We saw at Arminghall a Decorated church (restored), and near it a farmhouse of late Elizabethan period, of timber and moulded bricks; but these, as well as a series of plaques of terra-cotta, appear to have been rather insertions of later date than to have belonged to the original building. There is an inscription carved on an oak door within the south porch,—a prayer for the soul of Master William Gladwyn, followed by the date, in Lombardic characters, of 1487.

We were welcomed at Carrow Abbey by Mr. J. H. Tillett, who resides in the house, and gave us a history of the Benedictine Nunnery from the time two sisters founded it in 1146. The domestic buildings stood on the site of the present house; and the last Prioress known was Isabella Wygun, who seems to have built the existing apartments. At the Dissolution the site was given, in 1539, by Henry VIII to Sir John Shelton, Knt., uncle of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who lived here. The old portion of the house is of the date of Henry VII, with some alterations. In the spandrels of the fireplace, and door in

[1] Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. iii, last edit., p. 957.

the parlour, and on the beam in the open roof of the refectory, is repeated the rebus of Isabella Wygun,—a letter Y and a rude carving of a gun.

The Rev. John Gunn exhibited an engraving of a seal of the Abbey, in the collection of Mr. Fitch of Norwich. The Nunnery covered an area of ten acres, and walls and masses of masonry are to be seen in the grounds, where the plan of the Abbey buildings can be traced.

After partaking of refreshments on Mr. Tillett's lawn, we walked into the house and grounds adjoining, which belong to Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., who here shewed us many objects of interest in the house, particularly a fine series of paintings of the Norwich school, including some by the Cromes, the Cotmans, W. P. Hunt, Drake, Lance, and others, besides many antiquarian treasures.

On the closing Wednesday we set off for Aylsham, through a finely wooded country, and at about five miles from Norwich could see the park surrounding Cossey Hall, the old seat of the Jerninghams.

As we began with a Jacobean room, so we ended our Congress with one of the best preserved Jacobean country mansions in England, Blickling Hall, near Aylsham, to which we were invited by the Marchioness of Lothian, who received us graciously in the entrance-hall, and entertained our party in a noble apartment with carved oak panelling, dated 1647. Proceeding up the staircase, rich in Renaissance carving in low relief, from the hall, we passed two wood-carved figures in niches, of gigantic size; the one of Anne Boleyn, the other of Queen Elizabeth. In the ante-room and drawing-room, hung with tapestry, and containing many post-Tudor portraits, were full-length likenesses of Lord and Lady Buckinghamshire, by Gainsborough, and of Henrietta Countess of Suffolk (1779), sister of Sir Henry Hobart, Bart., the first Lord Buckinghamshire, who, after her retirement from court to Marble Hill, Twickenham, was there surrounded by the wits, politicians, and courtiers, of the reign of George II. Horace Walpole does scant justice to the memory of this remarkable lady, to whom the highest compliments were paid by Pope and the Earl of Peterborough. Witness the words of the latter in his concluding stanza:

> "O wonderful creature! A woman of reason;
> Never grave out of pride, never gay out of season.
> When so easy to guess who this angel should be,
> Would one think Mrs. Howard ne'er dreamt it was she?"

Her husband, Mr. Howard, succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk in 1731. Her life and letters shew how unjustly she has been maligned.[1] We entered the library, a noble room, 127 feet in length, and well stored with some 10,000 volumes of books (many of early and rare editions) and MSS. Among the latter I noticed a fine copy of Saxon

[1] Two vols., 1824. Murray.

homilies, in good preservation. 'Twere long to tell of the varied devices and conceits which fill up the moulded panels of the ceiling. There are represented the senses, the virtues, and the vices, in numerous allegorical figures, male and female. Cupids and Fauns, Mars and Venus, represent the foibles and delights of life; and a dedication, "*Cuique et nemini*", points the satire without naming the person. The story of Prometheus chained to the rock, the vulture gnawing his liver without depriving of life one who was immortal, with the grim inscription, "*Divina misericordia*", is a keen criticism on the tender mercies of the avenging Jove of the ancients. The age under the last three Henries is not less severely dealt with in the figure of a pilgrim, scrip and staff in hand, with sorry countenance and long beard, trudging along the road. The inscription, "*Personam non animum*" (the mask, not the spirit), might well be applied to those who made pilgrimages by deputy or for hire, as when Alice Cooke of Horstead leaves money, by will, for such purposes as follows:[1] "Item I will have a man go these pilgrimages—to our Lady at Refham, to Seynt Spyrite" (which appears to have been at Elsing), "to St. Parnell of Stratton, to St. Leonard without Norwich, to St. Wandred of Byskeley, to St. Margaret of Horstead, to our Lady of Pity of Horstead, to St. John's Head at Trimmingham, and to the Holy Rood at Crostewyte."

The Rev. William Meyrick gave us an account of the building and owners of the manor since King Harold the Saxon, and Herfast, the last Bishop of Thetford, held it. In later times we have Sir Thomas de Erpingham, Sir John Fastolfe, Sir J. Bolleyn in 1457 (who built a chapel here), and Sir William Boleyn, lord of Hever, three of whose sons were here buried. After the Bullens came the Clares. Sir H. Hobart died here in 1655. The third Baronet (Sir Miles) of this family married Hampden's daughter. Relics of Anne Boleyn were not wanting; that is, a cap, ruff, stockings, and toilette-box.

The thanks of the Association were presented to Lady Lothian by Sir F. Boileau.

The church of St. Andrew, not far off, has lately been restored, under Mr. Street, by the Marchioness. There is a brass to Sir N. Dagworth (1401) in the church; and on north side of chancel a tablet to the memory of the widow of the seventh Marquis of Lothian, who was a daughter of the second Earl Talbot.

In the ancient church of Burgh, near Aylsham, which we visited, and which has been restored, was "a continuous range of beautiful lancet-lights, areaded within, and absolutely simple without." These were the words of the late Sir Gilbert Scott.

On our way back to Norwich, two of the finest churches we had yet seen were visited, that is, Salle and Cawston. Their dimensions were those of cathedrals; but there are no congregations to fill them, if

[1] *Reg. Cast. Norwic.*, fo. 71.

restored. How shall such cases be dealt with? The chancel of Salle, if it were shut in from the nave by glass, would itself form a church large enough to hold the few persons who attend in a parish of some two hundred persons only in all; and the lofty nave and its hammer-beam roof seem to be abandoned to the bats and the owls. The stone tower at Cawston was much admired; the rich chancel-screen also, and the noble proportions of this building, which will vie with any in Norfolk and Suffolk.

It is only by visiting the country as we have done, and inspecting the grand churches built up in rural districts often thinly populated, that we can appreciate the vast efforts made, and expenditure of money, by the Church just before the Reformation; and we can understand how in these counties, where such exceptionally fine examples of churches remain, Queen Mary I, from her residence at Kenninghall and her fortress at Framlingham Castle, looked up to her supporters in Norfolk and Suffolk to maintain the creeds and ritual of the Roman Church in their integrity against the armed partizans of her cousin, nominated Queen by the will of Edward VI. The support these counties afterwards gave to Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant cause, and the further display of reforming zeal they shewed in the Puritanical times at a later period, may be traced in some measure to influences from beyond the seas, and their early connection with the house of Lancaster, as well as to the memory of many of her illustrious sons who sanctified the opinions of their lives by suffering violent deaths. Bitter experience had then not yet taught those in power that there were two sides to the game of intolerance, and that the time might come when the oppressed party would have their turn at the top of Fortune's wheel. Norfolk was then a great seat of manufacturing industry, and her commerce extended far beyond her own confines. The intercourse of Norwich and Yarmouth with the Low Countries and other parts by sea was considerable. Their maritime population, by contributing to the navy of the country, were brought into frequent collision with Spain. The repressive measures employed in the Low Countries by the Viceroy of King Philip, the husband of our Mary I, must have reacted upon the freethinkers in England in the reign of her successor; while the skilled craftsmen driven from the workshops of Flanders and France, found refuge in our towns, where they introduced both wealth and an independent tone of thought. The rebellion of the Ketts in the reign of Edward VI had its springs deeply laid to be able to gather together 20,000 men at the time of the great meetings at the Oak Tree, and when a battery of ordnance was planted by them at Gorleston to bombard Yarmouth. Such numbers were not collected together without some definite object, and they would not have been easily dispersed if the country had favoured their cause.

In the discussions at the evening meetings at the Guildhall several subjects of interest were brought forward,—1st, the regalia and rich collection of plate belonging to the Corporation were kindly exhibited by the Mayor. Two large maces of elaborate workmanship, surmounted by crowns, were displayed, one of which had belonged to the old Guild of St. George. An antique mace called forth some interesting remarks from Mr. George Lambert. The staff was composed of crystal and enamel, and thought by some to resemble one in the hand of "Our Lady", on an ancient Spanish painting at the Royal Hotel. Mr. Lambert contended that the crown by which it was surmounted would not bear out the Elizabethan date attributed to this mace; but the crown may have been a later addition, which would seem to fall in with the observations of Mr. Sim Reeves, though Mr. Fitch knew of no record competent to fix the mace to the time of Elizabeth; and this learned antiquary having filled the highest office in the Corporation could speak, from having worn them, to the massive weight of the solid gold chains which were also exhibited. The plate, flagons, and goblets, were commented on by Mr. Lambert.

The next subject was Mr. Pieton's paper on the "Place-Names of Norfolk", shewing how the local nomenclature elucidates the languages, incidents, and history, of the races who have occupied the country. It is to be hoped this interesting subject will be continued and followed up by a gentleman who has joined us from Liverpool, where he is well known for his exertions in the cause of mental culture by the establishment of free libraries and reading-rooms in that great focus of northern trade, and where his labours have recently been publicly acknowledged by his fellow townsmen.

Mr. M. Knight read a paper on Norwich and the *Venta Icenorum;* but the vexed question of the sites, mystified as it has been by raising an argument before agreeing on the hypothesis upon which it is to be based, scarcely received further development than was given to it by our late Associate Mr. George Vere Irving, in 1857, in his papers on "The Earthworks of Norfolk, etc."[1] The Rev. J. Gunn, F.S.A., gave us an ingenious theory on the Trinitarian arrangement of certain parts of Norwich Cathedral; and Mr. H. W. Henfrey read a paper on "The Mints of Norwich", illustrated by many coins which he exhibited. The last paper was by Dr. Jessopp on the Grammar School-House. Beyond the architecture of this ancient building, how many thoughts are suggested by the illustrious men who have been here educated; and we are carried in memory to the Norwich school of literature which shone forth brightly down to the Gurneys, Martineaus, Taylors, and many others, within this century.

If Norwich has been famous for cultivating the arts of peace, we

[1] *Journal*, xiv, pp. 193 and 305, et seq.

have also been reminded that she has not been insensible to the value of deeds of arms. At the head of the Market Place, in front of the Guildhall, stands a bronze figure of a soldier in the prime of life, a piece of artillery at his side, who became, after his last great battle, the Duke of Wellington. The statue[1] was erected a quarter of a century ago, by subscription of the inhabitants, in recognition of his merits, and of the daring, duty, and discipline for which he was especially distinguished. And as to his sailor contemporary, the great Lord Nelson, we have seen more than one original portrait of him; for he was born at Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk, and landed at Yarmouth after some of his great victories. As other Wellingtons and Nelsons have arisen during the present century, so we may be sure that the spirit of modern England is capable of producing more before its close.

In taking leave of these counties I could have wished to say something of the following places we did not visit; that is, Wymondham and its remarkable church of the Abbey, founded by William de Albini in the reign of Henry I, and where many of the Albinis, Earls of Arundel, were buried.[2] In the 31st Henry VIII, the parishioners, desirous of saving this noble structure, petitioned the King to have granted to them the "Abbey steeple as it stands, with the bells as they hang, being weight for weight for the bells, and paying for the lead." It was put to a strange purpose shortly afterwards, when used for a gibbet on which to hang William Kett in 1549. His elder brother, Robt. Kett, was executed at Norwich.

Not far off is Kimberley Park, the property of the Woodhouses, who bear the proud motto, "Agincourt", beneath their escutcheon. Clare Castle, situated on the south-west border of Suffolk, on the Stour river, gave name to the ancient family of Clare, and in later times a title to the Dukes of Clarence. In the collegiate church here was buried Joanna de Acre, daughter of Edward I, wife to Gilbert, the second De Clare, who was Earl of Gloucester.

We have missed at this Congress some of our members who used to furnish genealogical and heraldic information, and particularly our venerable Somerset Herald and Rouge Croix. The former, in 1857, at Norwich, gave us an account of Raoul de Gael, the first Earl of Norfolk, whom he proved to have been not a mere recipient of King William's bounty, but a legitimate claimant of the earldom as successor of his father, the great Earl, whose mother was sister of Edward the Confessor;[3] and in June 1865 he continued the account of the Earls of East Anglia, though the family of Le Bigod, a name which he very plausibly derived from Vigot, or the Visigoth, by a less forced reason-

[1] The artist was Mr. Geo. G. Adams, F.S.A.

[2] See the excellent account of this church, and the numerous illustrations, in the Norwich volume of the Archæological Institute, 1851.

[3] *Journal*, xiv, p. 30.

ing than the many other popular derivations.[1] Would that he might continue the succession to the earldom through Thomas of Brotherton, son of Edward I by his second marriage with Margaret of France, and through the families of Mowbray and Howard to the Dukes of Norfolk.

I trust these notes may suggest subjects to many of our members for papers in the *Journal*. It is gratifying to see the large towns progressing in archæological work. Liverpool has sent us visitors; so has Bristol in a still larger number,—and among them those who have often assisted us before, and will, we hope, do so again. Our best thanks are due to the gentlemen of the press, who have shewn not only their usual diligence, but an amount of archæological talent in reporting the proceedings very useful to our cause.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. C. W. Dymond on "The Trethevy Stone", which was illustrated with a carefully prepared plan and table of measurements.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

The Antiquary.—We extract the following from the prospectus of *The Antiquary, a Magazine devoted to the study of the past*, edited by Edw. Walford, M.A., formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford, and late Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

"In spite of the fact that this age lives so much in the present, worships progress so keenly, and looks forward to further advancement so hopefully, there is in the breast of our 'nation of shopkeepers' a deep-seated reverence for antiquity, a *religio loci*, which shows itself in the popular devotion to ancient art, whether in architecture, in painting, in design, or in furniture, and in the eager reception accorded to fresh discoveries of relics or works of antiquarian interest, and which finds its expression in the hearty and general welcome accorded year after year to our leading archæological societies when they make their annual excursions, and hold their 'congresses' in pleasant places. It is hoped that a magazine devoted to the work of cherishing and fostering the antiquarian spirit in the various paths of inquiry and research will meet with the support which it aspires to merit. The *Gentleman's Magazine*

[1] *Journal*, xxi, p. 91.

has for some time ceased to fill the position which "Sylvanus Urban" once held as the organ of all students of antiquity; and we desire reverently but hopefully to take up the work which he too hastily abandoned.

"We shall not, however, allow ourselves to be so restricted in our choice of subjects as was our predecessor half a century ago. We have many other questions to discuss which were unknown to our grandfathers, or at all events unappreciated by them. The more intelligent study of history, the wide spread of art education, the increased interest felt in the study of local traditions and dialects, as shown in the establishment of societies for promoting it; these and other causes have enlarged not only our sphere of knowledge, but also our sympathies.

"Our pages will furnish original papers on such subjects as fall within the scope of our magazine, as indicated generally in the following list, and our columns will also be freely open to correspondence on these and kindred topics:—Alchemy and witchcraft; ancient ballads and dramas; ancient castles and seats; antiquities, local, etc.; archæology; architecture; arms and armour; art, ancient and modern; articles of *vertu;* autographs; bibliography; biography, eccentric and forgotten; British and Anglo-Saxon literature; calendar, notes on the; campanology; cathedrals and abbeys; ceramic art; church furniture; church restoration; curiosa; dress and vestments; early voyages and discoveries; early printing and block books; epitaphs and inscriptions; engravings and etchings; excavations and explorations at home and abroad; exhibitions of paintings, sculptures, etc.; family pedigrees; genealogy; heraldry; illuminated MSS.; inns and hostelries; letters and extracts from family archives; local traditions and folk-lore; manorial and other customs and tenures; meetings of learned societies; monumental brasses; music and musical instruments; numismatics; obituary notices of antiquaries; old English poets, travellers, etc.; parish registers; picture and art sales; provincial dialects and customs; public records and muniments; reviews of archæological and historical books; seals; topography, English and foreign.

"On all these subjects we shall endeavour as well to elicit the opinions of others as to teach and supply information ourselves; and we trust that our pages will form a medium of intercommunion between persons of common tastes and pursuits wherever the English language is spoken. With this object in view we invite correspondence from those who have a right to speak on their special subjects, because they have studied them deeply and lovingly; and we do not doubt that the result will be acceptable to a large and increasing number of readers. It is hoped that in this respect our efforts will be largely seconded by the secretaries and correspondents of local societies.

"We shall provide a column for inquiries on all subjects of antiquarian interest, without in any way trenching on the domain of our pleasant and instructive contemporary, "Notes and Queries", for whom we feel a love and veneration second only to that which we reserve for the laced coat and ruffles of *Sylvanus Urban*."

Codex Alexandrinus.—The Trustees of the British Museum have published an autotype facsimile of the fourth volume of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, containing the New Testament and Clementine Epistles. As only a limited number of copies is printed, the work will not be included among the ordinary presentations. The price of the facsimile (in portfolio) is £4 16*s*. Copies may be obtained on application to the principal librarian of the British Museum, or the following agents: —Messrs. Longmans and Co., 39, Paternoster Row; Mr. Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly; Messrs. Asher and Co., 13, Bedford Street, W.C.; and Messrs. Trubner and Co., 57, Ludgate Hill—London. A facsimile of the three Old Testament volumes of the *Codex* is now being prepared.

Restoration of Irthlingborough Church.—The committee, through the Rev. Thomas Grabham, rector, and Thomas Freestone, Esq., and John Allen, Esq., churchwardens, ask consideration for the following appeal. The whole of the fabric of the church has been for some years in a state almost ruinous; and while in almost every other church the needful repairs have been successfully carried out, this one, from various causes, has been allowed year by year to become worse, and at the present date it is barely safe, and altogether unfit for its purpose of Divine worship. The parishioners have, however, this year come forward, and with subscriptions raised among themselves and their friends, together with a loan on mortgage of the church lands, have been able to undertake the restoration of the nave, transepts, and aisles at a cost of about £2,200. But there is the tower yet to be attended to, and it is on this behalf that assistance is more especially and most earnestly solicited. Standing detached from the church, a rare specimen of its kind, if not altogether unique, with its lofty octagonal lantern, there can be few persons in the diocese who have neither heard nor read of it, if they have not seen it on the journey between Northampton and Peterborough; and it is to be hoped that the lovers of the rare and beautiful, as well as of the antique, will help to stop the mischief that threatens to overthrow the whole structure, the tower having gone over considerably towards the south, and having given during the last few months such decisive evidence of its being still "on the move", that it has been found necessary to stop the ringing of the bells. From the nature of the case it is impossible to give an exact estimate of the cost. The bells and clock must be lowered, and the

floors removed before the requisite plumbing and examining of the walls can be done. But the committee can hardly hope that it will cost less than £1,000 to repair the wall of the tower, and preserve for posterity its "Early Decorated" lantern, and hence this appeal for help. The parishioners feel that, having subscribed their money for the church, and also made themselves responsible for the repayment of the loan of £1,000 in twenty-one years, they are justified in going further afield for the tower, and their appeal rests on the double ground that every Englishman knows how to appreciate. The people of Irthlingborough have a worthy object in view, and they have exhausted their own powers before calling in the assistance of their fellow-countrymen.

Swiss Lake Dwellings.—The remains of another lake village have lately been brought to light at Lorcas by the shrinking of the waters of the lake of Bienne. The station at Lorcas, assigned to the age of stone, is a short distance from the lake shore, not far from another and similar station, which was explored in 1873. An exploration conducted by Dr. Gross of Neuveville, has resulted in the gathering of many novel and interesting objects, pierced stone hatchets, similar to those found in Denmark, large flint lance heads, jade hatchets, with staghorn and wooden hafts fastened with pitch; vessels in wood, among others a colander and a vase in a good state of preservation. Near these were found several arms and instruments of pure copper—a circumstance which points to the probability that, intermediate between the age of bronze and the age of stone, was a period when prehistoric man had not discovered the art of alloying copper with tin. This was the age of copper. Still more remarkable is a find of human skulls, which bear unmistakable marks of having been trepanned. Round pieces have been cut out, doubtless after death, as is supposed for use as amulets. In some instances pieces were cut from the craniums of living infants, in order, as M. Broca, an eminent authority, conjectures, to let out the spirit by whose malignant influence they were afflicted with fits, convulsions, and other maladies. These pieces of infants' skulls were sometimes used in a way of which an example has been found at Lorcas; they were put inside the heads of the dead, to protect them from the wiles and assaults of evil beings in the world of spirits. A similar custom formerly prevailed among the American Indians of Michigan, and trepanned skulls have been met with in the sepulchral caves and dolmens of the South of France, but the specimen at Lorcas is the first that has been found in a lacustrine station. Skull amulets have also been found in Sweden, in Germany, and Austria.

Relics of an Extinct People in America.—Important archæological discoveries have been made within the last few weeks in the United

States among the mounds of the Little Miami Valley, in the State of Ohio. Near the town of Madisonville an extensive aboriginal cemetery has been explored, which has disclosed many interesting facts in relation to the prehistoric mound-building race of that section. Thus far the excavations have extended only over a limited portion of the burial ground. Two hundred skeletons have been taken from the graves already opened, of which number, however, not more than forty or fifty crania could be preserved sufficiently well for measurement. There appeared to be no constant orientation of the bodies, though many of them were laid in a horizontal position, with the heads directed toward the east or south-east. Some of the skeletons were found lying at right angles with these, but it is worthy of note that all of the remains which were associated with the finer vases, pipes, and other choice objects, had their heads placed towards the east, with slight variations. One bone had imbedded in it a small triangular stone arrow-head, which had evidently occasioned death. Accompanying many of the remains of children, various toys or ornaments of perforated bone and shell, and diminutive earthen vessels were found. A large number of the latter were exhumed, varying in capacity from a gill to over a gallon. This ware is, in some instances, elaborately ornamented with scroll-work, handles in the forms of lizards, human heads, etc., and is almost invariably provided with four handles, placed at equal distances around the circumference. One interesting specimen is furnished with eight handles, arranged in two horizontal rows, the vessel being two-storeyed, or formed of two separate pots, placed one above the other, with the bottom of the upper one removed. The number of these vessels thus far discovered is upwards of ninety, the majority of them being found with valves of the unio or fresh-water mussel in them, which had evidently served as spoons. The vases were usually placed around or near the heads of the bodies. Over the surface of the ground vast quantities of broken pottery occurred, indicating the immense amount of earthenware which had been originally buried with the occupants of the graves. In addition to these objects, large numbers of stone discs, axes, chisels, flint knives, arrow-heads, ornaments and implements of bone, twelve stone tobacco pipes, and two tubes of rolled copper were exhumed. One of the most interesting and unique features brought to light by these excavations is the existence of large numbers of deposits, which may be designated ashpits. Of these, more than fifty have been opened, averaging 3 ft. to 4 ft. in diameter, and 4 ft. to 6 ft. in depth. They are composed of layers of leaf-mould and sandy clay, burnt earth and charcoal, white ashes, sand, and unio shells. Throughout the deposits were scattered fragments of pottery, stone implements, ornaments of shell and stone, and bones of wild animals. That these graves date back to a remote antiquity may be proved by the fact that

no objects of European introduction have been found in them. In some instances the skeletons were found directly beneath large trees, and occasionally imbedded in a network of roots. One oak tree, whose roots had penetrated the skull of one of the skeletons, measured 6 ft. 2 ins. in diameter, and other giants, which belong to the original forest that still covers the site of the cemetery, measure 15½ ft. and 12 ft. in circumference. It will be difficult to determine to what particular race or time the people of these graves belonged until further investigations shall have been prosecuted. Excavations are still being made.

History of King Richard I.—M. L'Abbé Arbellot has lately published a monograph entitled *La Vérité sur la mort de Richard Cœur-de-Lion*, in which he proves that the narrative of this event given by Roger de Hoveden is incorrect, although it has been accepted without hesitation by such historians as Barrow, Rapin de Thoyras, Hume, Goldsmith, Sismondi, and Lingard. The writer shows, from Coggeshale and other chroniclers, as well as from French poems and other *pièces justificatives*, that the detailed account of these circumstances has to be written afresh, and the arguments he uses, as well as the numerous references and quotations he gives, are so weighty that future historians of England and France will be under a deep debt of gratitude to M. Arbellot for the powerful light which he has cast upon a somewhat obscure period of history.

Church Work and Life in English Minsters, by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., etc. Chatto and Windus.—This work has just appeared in two neat and handy octavo volumes. "Part I.—Architectural", is perhaps the least satisfactory portion. In sections 1 and 2, entitled respectively "Two Styles: Basilican and Norman", and "Stone takes the place of Wood in Churches", Mr. Walcott makes no mention of the early Cornish churches, and omitting the history of Offa's work at St. Alban's, scarcely says sufficient about the buildings of the Anglo-Saxon period. Section 3, "On the Ground-Plan of a Church", contains some useful explanations of the different portions of a church and its fittings, with their ancient names. With regard to the explanation of that mystical "symbolism" which the author sees in every part of the building, although ingeniously worked out, opinions will differ. The sections on architecture ("4, Technical Terms; 5, Different Styles"), though evidently intended for beginners in archæology, are too brief and general to be of much use to such persons. They not only do not sufficiently describe details, but being entirely without illustrations of any kind, we fear the young student will be unable to properly understand the variations in the styles of mediæval architecture, or the technical terms. What a beginner really requires is one of the elementary manuals devoted solely to architecture, with plenty of elucidatory

woodcuts, such as Bloxam's *Manual* and Parker's *Introduction*. A page or two at this part of the volume would also have been well filled by some remarks on the interesting subject of coloured glass.

Part II, "Domestic", describing the daily life of seculars and conventuals, will by many readers be found the most novel and entertaining portion of the book. The dress, occupation, meals, and diurnal habits of monks and canons are well and minutely described; and the section on the "Arrangement of a Conventual Cloister", illustrated with comparative ground-plans of Chester, Durham, Worcester, and Westminster, is especially valuable. The remainder of the first volume is devoted to cathedrals; but as good descriptions of all the English cathedrals have been so often published already, and in a much fuller form, this portion is neither so new nor interesting as the preceding division. It is, however, comprehensive and well up to date, and will therefore be found useful when more elaborate works are not at hand.

The first fifty-two pages of vol. ii are occupied by Part V, entitled "Historical: the origin and development of monasteries in England", and Part VI, "External: the relation of monasteries to the outer world." In this latter division, which is of much general interest, the author brings down the history of religious houses to the dissolution in 1536, 1539, and points out that the reformers had no share in this "reign of terror and cupidity or its destructive consequences". "The Student's Monasticon" is one of the most valuable contributions to English archæology that has appeared for a long time, and will be useful alike to the practised antiquary, and to those who are little skilled in the science. Although necessarily given in the most compressed form, it represents the outcome of a vast amount of reading and labour, and every student of ecclesiastical antiquities must feel under a debt of gratitude to the author for giving us the results, and an index, as it were, of his researches. This *Monasticon* consists of an alphabetical history of all the ancient religious houses, collegiate churches, and hospitals in England and Wales, and gives—1, the dedication of each religious house; 2, its order; 3, its geographical position; 4, its net income at the dissolution; 5, its founder; 6, the number of its inmates at the suppression, followed by brief descriptions of the original plan and present remains. Occasionally illustrative anecdotes and legends are introduced, with references to manuscript illustrations, printed books, views, and special monographs. These details are arranged in three classes. The bibliography of the subject is a welcome feature, including in some cases the most recent books and magazine articles. In this portion one is struck by the numerous references to the *Journal* of our Association, which clearly show what useful work is done by this and kindred societies. We must not omit to mention that both volumes are illustrated by some useful ground plans of cathedrals and monasteries.

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